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The
TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST
(1803-1853)

The TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST
(1803-1853)

A HISTORY OF ITS ACQUISITION AND SETTLEMENT

BY

CARDINAL GOODWIN, PH.D.

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D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
NEW YORK :: 1922 :: LONDON

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TO

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

AND TO THE GROUP OF YOUNG SCHOLARS WHO OWE THEIR LOVE OF WESTERN HISTORY TO THE INSPIRATION AND TRAINING WHICH THEY RECEIVED FROM HIS INSTRUCTION

PREFACE

This volume covers the period of expansion in the United States which begins with the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 and ends with the Gadsden Purchase fifty years later. During the last fifteen years a great deal has been done by State Historical Societies and by individual students to develop the local history of communities west of the Mississippi. While the work is incomplete, enough has been accomplished to justify one in attempting to give a general account of the acquisition and settlement of the country by the people of the United States. This work is the beginning of such a study.

While the writer has made liberal use of the monographic and other secondary works dealing with the Trans-Mississippi West, he has not confined his investigations to them. Frequently he has gone to the sources, and occasionally work in these primary materials has rewarded him with new information. Particularly is this true with investigations connected with such topics as explorations and commerce in the Southwest. The volume, too, will be found to contain a more complete account of the settlement of the country west of the Mississippi by citizens of the United States than has appeared formerly. Some of the information presented has been published in magazine articles. This is true of chapter one, parts of chapters two and three, practically all of chapter eight, and a few paragraphs in chapter thirteen. The rest of the work is presented here for the first time.

On many occasions during the last five years I have discussed the work with Professor Bolton. His remarkable enthusiasm and his broad grasp of the entire field of Western history have been unfailing sources of inspiration and help.

I desire particularly to acknowledge my obligations to my wife. The manuscript has been twice typewritten by her and she has assisted me in many other ways, including the drudgery of proofreading.

C. G.

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THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST

CHAPTER I

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

The work of La Salle.—That part of the Trans-Mississippi West included in the Louisiana purchase was claimed by France by right of discovery and settlement. To the work of Robert Cavelier, better known as Sieur de la Salle, more than to that of any other man she is indebted for a basis for that claim. This indefatigable pathfinder had explored the Mississippi to its mouth in 1682. Returning to France in 1683 he won royal support and sailed from Rochelle in July of the year following with an adequate equipment for establishing a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The Spaniards captured one of his four vessels and he missed the mouth of the great river with the other three, finally coming to Matagorda Bay during the early part of 1685, far west of his intended destination. Another vessel was soon lost by being grounded and La Salle landed his pioneers and built a fort which he called St. Louis. Disease, loss of tools, the hostility of the Indians, the departure of Beaujeau with the better of the two remaining vessels, and the wrecking of the other a little later all combined to defeat the success of the enterprise. After vain efforts to find the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle and a few surviving followers started overland for Canada. But the leader was killed on the Brazos River [1] and his followers scattered.

[1] Bolton, Herbert E., "The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1915.

turned to France with the ships, leaving Sauvole in command at Biloxi with Bienville as his lieutenant. Upon a later visit to the colony, in 1702, he ordered the post removed to a twenty-seven mile Bluff on Mobile River, and eight years later, two years after the death of Iberville, Bienville moved once more, on account of floods, this time to the site of modern Mobile.

English on the Mississippi.—During these years numerous exploring expeditions were made along the lower Mississippi. On one of them, in the summer of 1700, Iberville was accompanied by Pierre Charles le Sueur, an adventurer who had been on the upper Mississippi in search of furs, copper, lead, and colored earth several years earlier. A number of explorations for mines were made at this time in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Tennessee by various prospecting parties. Through the reports of leaders of some of these expeditions the French learned of the appearance of the English in the lower Mississippi. Le Sueur had found an English trader at the mouth of the Arkansas when on his way to the upper Missouri country, and in 1699 while descending the river in small boats Bienville and his party came upon an English frigate of sixteen guns at a bend in the river eighteen miles below the present city of New Orleans, at a place called English Turn.

Founding of New Orleans; division of Louisiana.—In February, 1718, New Orleans was founded by Bienville, and immediately became not only the seat of government but the metropolis of the Louisiana province. Both Bienville and Sauvole had been favorably impressed with the site in 1699 and had reported it as a suitable location for a colony, but Iberville was afraid that a town established inland would be subject to Indian raids. Three years after New Orleans was founded Louisiana was divided into nine military districts called Mobile, Biloxi, Alabama,

New Orleans, Yazoo, Natchez, Arkansas, Illinois, and Natchitoches. The last of these was founded as a buffer colony against the hostile Spaniards.

French inland expeditions and posts.—One of the motives which had actuated the French in founding Louisiana was the development of an overland commerce with the Southwest. Texas was claimed by the Spaniards at this time, and frightened by La Salle's intrusion at Matagorda Bay, they had occupied parts of the territory and subsequently withdrawn. The same territory of Texas was claimed by the French because La Salle's ill-fated colony had been founded there. An expedition was sent into the country by Bienville in 1714 under the command of Louis Juchereau, better known as Sieur de St. Denis. Other expeditions were led into the Spanish territory of the Southwest, and in 1717 the French erected a fort at Natchitoches near the Red River and about seven leagues from an outpost built in Texas by the Spaniards.

These expeditions were not confined to the Southwest, however. As early as 1704 French Canadians were reported on the Missouri River. A little later expeditions among the Osage and Pawnee Indians were led by such traders as Du Tisne and Bourgmont.[2] The appearance of the French in this region revived the interest of the Spanish. In 1720 they led a "retributive expedition" among the Missouri allies. This movement alarmed the French of the Illinois country and Fort Orleans was erected on the Missouri, probably in the present county of Carroll on the north bank of the stream. Bourgmont built the fort and remained there for four years supported by a strong garrison. He then began to withdraw gradually and in

[2] Margry, Pierre, *Découvertes, et établissements des Français dans L'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754) Mémoirs et Documents Originaux.* 6 vols. Paris, 1888. VI. 313-315, 385-452.

1725 or 1726 the remaining troops were slain by the Indians.

Apparently there were expeditions led from the Illinois country into Trans-Mississippi Louisiana Territory in 1734. The one in 1739 was headed by Pierre and Paul Mallet. They reached Santa Fé and some of them returned by way of New Orleans. Here they delighted Bienville with an account of their explorations—explorations which had brought Frenchmen, perhaps for the first time, within sight of the Rocky Mountains.[3] This was nearly four years before Chevalier Verendrye discovered the Bighorn Range farther north.[4]

In the meantime French settlements were being extended on the upper Mississippi in the Illinois country. As early as the time of Marquette the Jesuits had operated in Indian villages along the Illinois River. The Seminary priests opened a mission of the Holy Family at Cahokia on the Mississippi some time in March, 1699. During the following year the Jesuits removed their establishment to Kaskaskia. In 1718 Fort de Chartres was erected for the purpose of checking the encroachments of the English on the Ohio and the Mississippi. At St. Philippe and at Prairie du Rocher posts were erected in 1723 and 1733 respectively. The Arkansas post which was erected by Tonti in 1686 had been rebuilt by La Harpe in 1722, during the period of his explorations from New Orleans up the Mississippi to the Arkansas.

Development of French Louisiana.—The Illinois country became noted for its agricultural products during the first half of the eighteenth century. Sup-

[3] "Voyages des Frères Mallet avec six autres Français, depuis la Rivière des Panimahas dans le Missouri jusqu'é Santa-Fe" (1739-1740), *ibid.*, 455-ff.

[4] A brief but critical study of the Verendrye explorations may be found in O. G. Libby, "Some Verendrye Enigmas," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1916.

plies were sent in large quantities to Detroit, to Ohio posts, and to New Orleans and Mobile. From the two last-named places they were shipped to the West Indies and to Europe. During a winter, about 1746, when provisions were scarce at New Orleans, it is reported that the French in Illinois sent to the distressed people of that district about eight hundred thousand weight of flour. In exchange for their products the inhabitants of Illinois received direct from other French colonies and from Europe sugar, rice, indigo, cotton, manufactured tobacco, and similar luxuries. Education was neglected, Kaskaskia actually having no school at all until 1817. The few schools which existed were limited almost entirely to "informal private groups collected in various communities by migrating teachers; . . ."[5]

The growth of Louisiana was not rapid. Time and again the life of the settlement was threatened by starvation and by Indian troubles, but was saved finally from both of these disasters by the arrival of the Indian trader and by the introduction of European plants. The cultivation of indigo was introduced about 1723, but it failed to attract popular favor and finally ceased to be a staple. In 1751 the Jesuit fathers began the culture of sugar which for a few years following was used for making spirits. A cargo of sugar was shipped from the colony in 1765, but it did not prove a profitable commodity of commerce at that time because it was crystallized so poorly that it leaked out of the hogshead before the shipment reached France. From then until 1794 sugar was cultivated only for distillation purposes but during the latter year Bore, a planter, again tried cultivating it on a larger scale and sold his crop for twelve thousand dollars. The success of this

[5] Alvord, Clarence W., *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, Springfield, 1920; (Vol I of the *Centennial History of Illinois*), ch. x, and p. 455. See also Thwaites, R. G., "France in America," VII. Chapter V, in A. B. Hart (editor), *The American Nation, A History*, 28 vols. N. Y.

venture together with the introduction of cotton in 1795 improved the economic basis of Louisiana. Rice and tobacco had been introduced already, and fig trees from Provence and orange trees from Santo Domingo had become acclimated.[6] By 1802 the colony was exporting large quantities of cotton, sugar, and molasses; and smaller quantities of indigo, peltries, lumber, lead, corn, horses, cattle, and other articles were being shipped. These commodities and large supplies of naval stores were carried in American and Spanish vessels, the former outnumbering the latter nearly two to one.

Louisiana transferred to Spain.—By secret treaty of November 3, 1762, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain to compensate her for the loss of Florida. The territory which passed at this time from the French monarch to his cousin the king of Spain included the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River and the island on which New Orleans stands—an island extending along the eastern course of the river for about two hundred and thirty miles above its mouth. That part of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi with the exception of the island noted, was acknowledged to belong to Great Britain by the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the French and Indian war. France also guaranteed free navigation of the Mississippi to Great Britain. It was not until October, 1764, that the commandant learned of the cession and it was much later, March, 1766, before the first Spanish governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, accompanied by ninety soldiers, arrived to take command of the new province. Feeling ran high. Ulloa was unpopular and at the end of two years he was expelled by the French population. Charles III then sent

[6] Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, XII, Chapter IV., in The American Nation Series. *See also* Thwaites, *France in America*, Chapter V, and Phelps, *Louisiana*, Boston (American Commonwealth Series), 199-200.

Alexandro O'Reilly, a man made of tougher fiber. For over a year he ruled as special commissioner to establish Spanish authority. Some of the rebels were executed and others were imprisoned—acts for which that vigorous officer received the sobriquet of "The Bloody O'Reilly." Having restored order O'Reilly became more conciliatory and numerous old French officers, like Villiers and De Mézières, were appointed to important positions. By the end of 1770 possession was taken again of the interior posts and the Spanish flag had been raised at all points, Ste. Genevieve being the last to haul down the tricolor.[7]

Population and settlement.—The ceded district had a total population estimated at from eight thousand, two hundred and fifty to eleven thousand, five hundred, more than half of whom were colored. The principal settlements were scattered along the Mississippi and the lower Missouri, and along the Red River as far as Natchitoches. The most densely populated area, however, lay between Pointe Coupee (situated on the Mississippi below Red River) and New Orleans, where there were more than seven thousand inhabitants, approximately two-thirds of whom were colored. Other settlements in the lower district had been established at La Balize, Attakapa, Opelousas, Avoyelle, and Natchitoches. There were posts also farther up the Mississippi opposite Natchez and the Arkansas settlement, and still farther northward, near the Missouri, were St. Charles and Ste. Genevieve. Farther west there were slender trading posts, such as St. Louis, among the Cadodacho at the bend of the Red River, and a similar station on the Osage, and Fort Cavagnol near the mouth of the Kansas. In the interior, still farther beyond the pale of civilization, roamed many

[7] Bolton, H. E., and Marshall, T. M., *The Colonization of North America from 1492-1783*, N. Y., 1920, 395-396. Thwaites, *France in America*, Chapter XVIII.

renegade Frenchmen and half-breeds who under the name of hunters had become practical outlaws. One official wrote that the Arkansas River was the "asylum of the wickedest persons without doubt in all the Indies. They live so forgetful of the laws that it is easy to find persons who have not returned to Christian lands for ten, twenty, or thirty years, and who pass their scandalous lives in public concubinage with the captive Indian women who for their purpose they purchase among the heathen, loaning those of whom they tire to others of less power, that they may labor in their service; giving them no other wage than the promise of quieting their lascivious passions; in short they have no other rule than their own caprice, and the respect which they pay the boldest and most daring, who control them."[8] Chief of these Arkansas outlaws at the time was Brindamur, who, being of gigantic frame and extraordinary strength, had made himself a petty king over those vagabonds and highwaymen.

Prosperity of Louisiana under Spain.—Louisiana remained under Spanish rule for thirty-four years. During that time, contrary to the general conception, its prosperity was greater than it had ever been before. The population had increased to fifty thousand by 1803 as compared with about ten thousand at the end of the French régime. Gradually commerce was made freer and the restricted trade relations of Ulloa's time gave place to a more liberal policy. Furs were exempted from duty for a period of ten years for the purpose of encouraging their exportation. The fur trade was reorganized and greatly improved. Instead of following the time-honored custom of relying upon the mission and the presidio for controlling the natives—a custom which was being followed at that time in California—Spain utilized the numerous French traders

[8] Bolton (editor), *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1914, I. 166.

who were already among the Louisiana tribes. "A regular corps of licensed traders was installed; vagabonds, outlaws, and unlicensed traders were driven from the tribes, presents were distributed annually, and medals of merit were given to the friendly chiefs."[9] St. Louis was the principal center for the fur trade on the west side of the river and Kaskaskia on the east. Into the northern territory drained by the upper Mississippi and its tributaries and into the vast stretches toward the Spanish commercial center of Santa Fé, itinerant merchants found their way and carried on a lucrative trade with the Indians. French traders had reached the Mandan villages at the great bend of the Missouri by the close of the century. Here they met British agents who had come from posts located on the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan farther north in Canada.[10]

Anglo-Americans, the Spanish, and the Mississippi.—By the treaty of 1783 that part of Louisiana Territory which had been ceded by France to Great Britain was in turn recognized by the latter as a part of the newly-formed American nation. During and immediately following the Revolutionary War large numbers of settlers crossed the Alleghanies and erected homes in Kentucky and in the territories to the north and to the south of that region. The sole outlet for the products of these western settlers was the Mississippi River. The national authorities were slow in realizing this, as a result of which there was much discontent among the settlers of the West and they became involved in schemes which judged by modern standards were disloyal. At first filibustering expeditions against the Spanish were proposed. But this did not appear practicable and in 1788 George Rogers Clark and men like him appeared willing to join with Spain in developing the interior of the continent. At-

[9] *Ibid.*, 251.
[10] Thwaites, *France in America*, 292-293.

tracted by promise of large land grants many Kentuckians settled in Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. Daniel Boone and his family moved there in 1799.

When the Spanish autnorities during this perioa proposed to close the mouth of the Mississippi through a treaty to be signed by the confederate government the indignant wrath of men of the western country was so positive that negotiations were halted temporarily. Nothing definite was accomplished until the government under the constitution was put into operation. Then a treaty was signed at Madrid in 1795 by which citizens of the United States were given free navigation of the Mississippi and the right to land their goods at New Orleans free of duty while awaiting trans-shipment. But during this period events were transpiring on the other side of the Atlantic which were to bring Louisiana again within the scope of European politics and finally into the possession of the United States. To these it will be necessary to turn our attention.

France attempts to regain Louisiana.—The French government had tried to regain possession of Louisiana on several occasions before the act of retrocession was carried out. Following the treaty of 1783 which ended the American Revolution, Vergennes wished to recover that territory, and Spain was willing to return it. France could not pay the price although it was no more than the amount necessary to reimburse Spain for the expense of the colony. Following the peace of Bale of July 22, 1795, the French Republic again tried to get possession of Louisiana and failed. She did succeed in procuring Spain's consent to cede the eastern part of Santo Domingo at this time as already indicated, but the French did not ask for immediate possession because of the English superiority on the sea. Once more, in 1797, influenced by Carnot and

Barthelemy, the Directory offered the Spanish king a principality to be made by uniting the Duchy of Parma with three legations just taken from the Pope, the same to be given the king's son-in-law as the kingdom of Etruria, but Charles refused to be bribed even by the splendid position which this would have given his daughter. Still another attempt was made in 1798 but with no more success than had followed earlier efforts.

Two years elapsed before the subject was proposed again to the authorities at Madrid. During this time Talleyrand spent some anxious days trying to recover what his mismanagement had lost. The storm of protest in America following the return of Monroe and Pinckney had not died down when Adams appointed new commissioners to Paris upon his own responsibility. They arrived there in the spring of 1800 and on September 30 following, the treaty of Morfontaine was signed. This restored relations between France and the United States.

Berthier's mission.—In the meantime Napoleon, then at the head of the French government, took the final step in the acquisition of territory for establishing his colonial system. He ordered Talleyrand to send a special messenger to the French minister at Madrid with powers for concluding a treaty with Spain by which she should retrocede Louisiana to France. The subject was pushed rapidly and successfully at the Spanish court, but despite this Napoleon determined to send a special agent and General Berthier, a man who stood close to the First Consul in confidential matters, was selected for the mission. He left for Madrid during the last of August, 1800, carrying with him a letter of introduction from Bonaparte to the Spanish king and the *project* of a treaty of retrocession which had been drawn by Talleyrand at the command of the First Consul. Certainly the *project*

would not tend to allay uneasiness in the United States.

The French Republic pledges itself to procure for the Duke of Parma in Italy an aggrandizement of territory to contain at least one million inhabitants; the Republic charges itself with procuring the consent of Austria and the other States interested, so that the Duke may be put into possession of his new territory at the coming peace between France and Austria. Spain on her side pledges herself to retrocede to the French Republic the colony of Louisiana with the same extent it actually has in the hands of Spain, and such as it should be according to the treaties subsequently passed between Spain and other States. Spain shall further join to this cession that of the two Floridas, eastern and western with their actual limits.[11]

Besides this Spain was to give to France six ships of war, and the provinces mentioned were to be delivered to France whenever the territory promised for the Duke of Parma should be delivered by France to Spain. Mutual assistance was to be given against any person or persons who should threaten or attack them in consequence of executing their engagement.

In the history of the United States—to quote again from Henry Adams—hardly any document, domestic or foreign, to be found in their archives has greater interest than this project; for from it the United States must trace whatever legal title they obtain to the vast region west of the Mississippi. The treaties which followed were made merely in pursuance of this engagement, with such variations as seemed good for the purpose of carrying out the central idea of restoring Louisiana to France.[12]

Treaty of San Ildefonso.—The retrocession was not to be concluded without difficulties. The object of Berthier's mission had been published in a Paris news-

[11] Quoted in Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America*, 9 vols., N. Y., 1903-1904. I. 367.
[12] *Ibid.*, 367, 368.

paper and this reached the American minister at Madrid, who sought a denial from Urquijo, the French minister to Spain. The denial was not convincing. There was further difficulty. Louisiana had been demanded by Alquier, but Berthier was told to require the Floridas and six ships of war in addition. Louisiana was French as we have seen and the Spanish king was willing to part with it for a kingdom in Italy, but he was not willing to part with the Floridas. So the final agreement provided that the prince-presumptive of Parma, who was the son-in-law and nephew of Don Carlos, should receive an Italian kingdom of at least a million inhabitants. Tuscany was the territory selected for the new monarch who was to be known as King of Etruria. In return Spain was to retrocede Louisiana to France. After the general peace, the king might also cede that part of west Florida which lay between the Mississippi and the Mobile. At San Ildefonso, on October 1, 1800, the treaty of retrocession was signed. As has been indicated[13] this agreement undid the convention of 1800 signed on the preceding day by Joseph Bonaparte and the American ministers.

Godoy versus Napoleon.—The First Consul's brother, Lucien, was sent as ambassador to Madrid to complete the details of the agreement. At the Spanish capital Urquijo was dismissed, Godoy was called from retirement to take his place, and the struggle for the possession of Louisiana began. Lucien negotiated a new treaty closing the bargain in regard to Parma and Tuscany to which Godoy offered no opposition. The treaty provided that the Prince of Parma be created King of Etruria and that Louisiana should be retroceded at once to France. This was signed at Madrid on March 21, 1801, and the young king and his consort were sent to Paris where they were hand-

[13] Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 59.

somely entertained by Napoleon. A few months later the First Consul called upon the King of Spain for authority to take possession of Louisiana, but Godoy had determined that this should not be permitted. The excuse which the wily Spaniard used was that Napoleon had not fulfilled his part of the agreement. The young king had been sent to Italy to take possession of his kingdom, but upon his arrival he found there was no royal authority to go with his royal title. The entire control was in the hands of the French, and no foreign power recognized the new kingdom. Napoleon was vexed beyond measure at having his policy held up in this manner, but for about a year longer he permitted Godoy to hold Louisiana.

While Godoy still defied him Napoleon turned to crush another opponent whom he detested even more than the Prince of Peace. This was Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Importance of Santo Domingo.—The island of Santo Domingo was chiefly Spanish, but its western end belonged to France by language as well as by history. During the days of the Bourbons this small part of the island had been considered the most valuable of French possessions. Two thirds of the commercial interest of the French nation centered there before the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. More than seven hundred ocean-going vessels were employed in its carrying trade and its exports and imports combined were estimated at more than $140,000,000. The home market was supplied by it with sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo. Many prominent creole families in Paris received their incomes from this French possession and wielded considerable political influence in France, "while in the island itself, society enjoyed semi-Parisian ease and elegance, the natural product of an exaggerated slave system combined with the man-

ners, ideas, and amusements of a French proprietary caste."[14]

Class distinction on the island.—Of the six hundred thousand people living on the island in 1789, approximately five sixths were full-blooded negro slaves. About one half of the hundred thousand free citizens were mulattoes who were disqualified from holding office because of negro blood. Between these and the forty or fifty thousand creoles who held all the social and political privileges of the island there was considerable jealousy. Then too, the creoles were restless under the despotic colonial system, claiming for themselves political rights which the home government refused to grant. So when the revolution began in France in 1789 the creoles sympathized with the movement until the National Assembly supported the mulattoes. The creoles then turned royalists. The civil war which began in the island produced a slave insurrection that resulted in unspeakable horrors being committed.

Toussaint L'Ouverture.—For several years the strife continued and the confusion was increased by the entrance of the Spaniards and the English who hoped to effect a conquest of the island. The National Assembly abolished slavery on February 4, 1794, but at the time this rather increased the confusion. One of its greatest immediate results was that in April following Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had been head of a royalist band in Spanish pay since the beginning of the outbreak, returned and took service under the Republic. His grandfather had been a negro chief on the slave coast of Africa and had been brought to Santo Domingo as a slave. The French accepted Toussaint's services, but not until more than a year later was he commissioned brigadier-general by the National Convention. In May, 1797, he was made

[14] Adams, *History of the United States*, I. 378, 379.

General-in-Chief and was given military command over the whole colony. He rendered efficient service to the French nation and was liberally rewarded.

Toussaint seeks independence and relations with United States.—In July, 1797, commissioners arrived in France from the United States. They had been sent for the purpose of settling disputes then existing between the two countries, but Talleyrand refused to negotiate with them unless they would pay him a bribe of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In the middle of April, 1798, two of the commissioners arrived home thoroughly disgusted. The report of their reception in the French capital and of Talleyrand's demands were published in the United States soon after their arrival and resulted in the spread of a strong resentment against the French. On June 13, 1798, Congress passed an act suspending commercial relations with France and her dependencies. At that time Toussaint was absolute ruler of Santo Domingo, although he recognized a general allegiance to the French Republic. He knew that the act of Congress if strictly enforced would work a great hardship on the blacks of the island, and that French authority would be strengthened by whatever weakened him. He determined upon absolute independence from France with a view to seeking better relations with the United States, an action upon which the latter nation had counted. Toussaint's advance was encouraged by the United States' Consul, and the former sent a special agent with a letter to the President giving complete assurance that if commercial intercourse were renewed between the United States and Santo Domingo he would do all within his power to protect it. Influenced by both political and economic reasons the President secured a new act from Congress which was approved February 9, 1799, and which was intended to satisfy Toussaint's request.

Having secured a reopening of the trade between the United States and Santo Domingo and having concluded a favorable treaty with England, L'Ouverture proceeded to carry out his intentions in regard to the establishment of independence. By the successful siege of Jacmel he captured and expelled his principal rival, Rigaud, in July, 1800. Following this almost immediately the French agent, Roumé, was imprisoned. Then came the seizure of the Spanish part of the island which had been ceded to France by the treaty of Bale in 1795, but which had not been actually transferred. In May, 1801, Toussaint gave a new constitution to Santo Domingo in which he assumed political power for life and reserved the right of naming his successor. In the last act he had outstripped Napoleon, and meanwhile, says Henry Adams, Bonaparte "chafed under the idea of being imitated by one whom he called a 'gilded African.' "[15]

Napoleon versus Toussaint L'Ouverture.—Summoning his brother-in-law, Leclerc, to Paris in the fall of 1801, the First Consul placed him in command of an expedition of twenty-five thousand men who had been ordered to assemble at Brest to overthrow Toussaint and reëstablish slavery in the island of Santo Domingo. In the United States, in the meantime, the political revolution of 1800 had produced a change in the administration of that country, and Napoleon had concluded a temporary peace with England. Toussaint was left to depend entirely upon his own resources. Even so he might have succeeded had his own men remained loyal, but the odds against him were great and on May 1, 1802, he surrendered to Leclerc. Shortly afterwards another foe appeared on the island against which the French battled in vain. The yellow fever broke out in the army. In September,

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[15] *Ibid.*, 380-387.

1802, Leclerc wrote Napoleon that only four thousand of the twenty-eight thousand three hundred men sent to Santo Domingo remained fit for service. This was soon followed by news that Leclerc himself had succumbed to the horrible malady.

Napoleon thinks of selling Louisiana.—These disasters, together with the growing difficulty of maintaining peace with England, were important factors in Napoleon's determining to dispose of Louisiana. This decision had been reached probably by October 28, 1802.[16] Livingstone wrote to Jefferson on that day stating that he had had a conversation with Joseph Bonaparte and the latter had asked whether the United States would prefer Louisiana to the Floridas. But Livingstone had declared that his country had no desire to extend its boundaries across the Mississippi, so the plan for Louisiana was checked temporarily.

Closing the Mississippi and its effect.—In the United States at this time complications were developing which were to result in President Jefferson's sending a special envoy to France. The United States and Spain had agreed to a treaty in 1795 by which the boundaries between their territories were fixed, the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed American citizens, and for a period of three years they were to deposit merchandise at New Orleans, with the privilege of exporting goods without paying duty. This privilege was to continue unless the king of Spain found it contrary to his interests. The Americans enjoyed the right of deposit for seven years without interruption.[17] Before Congress met in December, 1802, the authorities in Washington received word through Governor Claiborne at Natchez that Don

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[16] T. M. Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (University of California Publications in History, 1914), 3, 4.

[17] *Ibid.*, 6.

Juan Ventura Morales, Spanish Intendant, had arbitrarily closed the port. This news created consternation in the United States. The people of Kentucky and Tennessee talked of war when they learned that the Mississippi was closed to them, and the New England Federalists, overjoyed at the attitude which Jefferson's western followers assumed and anxious to force the President to make some rash move which would cause his friends of that section to forsake his leadership, did all they could to plunge the country into instant war.

> Never in all his long and varied career [says Channing] did Jefferson's foxlike discretion stand him in better stead. Instead of following the public clamor, he calmly formulated a policy and carried it through to a most successful termination.[18]

To calm public agitation was the first task he set for himself, the second was to regain the right of deposit, and the third was to get possession of New Orleans and the Gulf coast. To these things he at once turned his attention.

Monroe's mission.—Despite the alarm expressed in his well-known letter to Livingstone dated April 18, 1802, at Washington, Jefferson's second annual mesage to Congress the following December was written in a tone of calm indifference as if nothing out of the ordinary had occurred. He did state that the cession of Louisiana to France would make necessary a change in the foreign relations of the United States, but what the change would be he did not indicate. More than a month later the House went into executive session and General Samuel Smith moved to appropriate two million dollars, the same to be used to meet "any expenses in relation to the intercourse between the United

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[18] Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, 63.

States and foreign nations." Jefferson nominated James Monroe minister extraordinary to France and Spain on the day the motion was put. Both motions passed and Jefferson wrote a letter of explanation to Monroe on January 13, 1803.[19]

The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late supervision of our right of deposit at New Orleans [he said] is extreme. In the western country it is natural and grounded on honest motives. In the seaports it proceeds from a desire for war which increases the mercantile lottery; among the Federalists generally and especially those of Congress the object is to force us into war if possible, in order to derange our finances, or if this cannot be done, to attach the western country to them as their best friends, and thus get again into power. Remonstrances, memorials, etc., are now circulating through the whole of the western country and signed by the body of the people. The measures we have been pursuing being invisible do not satisfy their minds. Something sensible therefore was become necessary; and indeed our object of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes that no instructions could be squared to fit them, it was essential then to send a minister extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers, first however well impressed with all our views and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party.

British minister's comment.—The first part of Jefferson's programme was realized by this move. On the thirty-first of the same month Thornton, the British *chargé,* wrote to Lord Hawkesbury that the country seemed satisfied with the action which had been taken, and reliable information had assured the government at Washington that "the people of Kentucky will wait with patience the result of the steps which the executive government may think it right to take, without re-

[19] Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford editor), VIII. 190.

curring, as was apprehended would be the case, to force, for the assertion of their claims. The President regards this circumstance (with great justice, it appears to me) as the surest pledge of the continuance of his authority, and as the death-blow of the Federal party."[20] In the same letter Thornton already had said that Jefferson had assured him that the United States would never abandon its claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi. While the President hoped that a peaceful settlement could be made, he thought it very probable that Monroe might cross the channel to converse with British ministers about the free navigation of the Mississippi, and if compelled to resort to war the United States would throw away the scabbard.

The French chargé becomes uneasy.—The French *chargé,* Pichon, was thoroughly aroused by what had been done. Again and again he appealed to Talleyrand. He declared that it would be impossible for a government to be more bitter than that of the United States "at the humiliating attitude in which our silence about Louisiana places them." Jefferson, he thought, would be forced through necessity to yield his scruples against a British alliance, and Pichon had noticed that the President was "redoubling his civilities and attentions to the British *chargé.*" Pichon had a conference with Madison at the latter's request which confirmed his deepest fears. New Orleans and West Florida were essential for the American settlements on the upper Mississippi and Mobile rivers, Madison informed him, and Monroe had been instructed to obtain all the territory east of the Mississippi at a price not to exceed two or three million dollars. Since New Orleans was of no value to the French they could sell it to the Americans and build another city on the op-

[20] Quoted in Henry Adams, *History of the United States,* I. 436, 437.

posite bank of the river. The true policy of France required her to make the Mississippi her boundary anyway, because "the United States had no interest in seeing circumstances rise which should eventually lead their population to extend itself to the right bank." If Napoleon was not convinced by these arguments, Madison intimated to Pichon, "it might happen that the conduct of France would decide political combinations which, getting the upper hand of all these considerations, would tend to produce results no doubt disagreeable to the United States, but certainly still more so to France and her allies." [21]

The right of deposit restored.—Briefly, every possible thing was done to make France understand that the Mississippi must be kept open to the people of the United States. If France should force a war on the administration, Madison wrote Livingstone and Monroe in April, 1803, the two envoys were to invite England to form an alliance by which it should be agreed that neither party would make peace or a truce without the consent of the other. Before Madison had completed these instructions to the American representatives in France, however, the Spanish minister, the Marquis of Casa Yrujo, informed him that the Spanish government had sent a special messenger to notify the President that the right of deposit would be restored until another place could be selected or until some other arrangement could be made which would satisfy both parties. The Spanish minister was also instructed to thank the President for his friendly conduct during the time of recent excitement. So the second part of Jefferson's plans was realized. The third was not to be accomplished in its entirety for several years, but the attempt to realize it resulted in the Louisiana purchase—an incident which has been

[21] *Ibid.*, I. 437-439.

called rightly the greatest diplomatic success recorded in American history, and an event which ranks in historical importance next to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution.[22]

Napoleon on the sale of Louisiana.—Monroe sailed from the United States on March 9, 1803, and arrived in Paris on April 12. Two days before he landed Napoleon called Marbois and another counselor to him and declared his intention of ceding Louisiana to the United States.

> I know the full value of Louisiana [he said vehemently] and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successfully taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, New Foundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They are engaged in exciting troubles in Santo Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their conquests in all parts of the globe, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France, acquaints me with their wish to take possession of it, and it is thus that they will begin the war. They have twenty ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico, they sail over these seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in Santo Domingo have been growing worse every day since the death of Leclerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I know not whether they are not already there. It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is still time, to take from them any idea that they may have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding

[22] *Ibid.*, II. 2, 3 and 48, 49.

it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it.[23]

Marbois directed to sell Louisiana.—The discussion was continued into the night but no decision was reached. At daybreak on the following morning Napoleon received word that England was hastening preparations for renewal of the war. Summoning Marbois to him he reiterated his intention of parting with Louisiana.

It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. . . . I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingstone; but I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. . . . If I should regulate my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions (francs), and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries.[24]

Negotiations begin.—Marbois did not see Livingstone on that day, but Talleyrand did. Livingstone had

[23] Barbé-Marbois, *The History of Louisiana*, 263, 264.
[24] *Ibid.*, 274, 275.

been in conference with Talleyrand for several weeks trying to purchase the island of Orleans and West Florida. On Monday, April 11, 1803, the day that Napoleon had placed the negotiations in Marbois's charge, Talleyrand asked Livingstone whether the United States would like the whole of Louisiana. Livingstone told him that the United States wanted only New Orleans and the Floridas, but that it might be to the interest of France to cede the country above the Arkansas River to his people in order to place a barrier between French territory and Canada. Talleyrand replied that if they gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value and he would like to know what the United States would give for the whole. To this Livingstone refused to commit himself until he had had an opportunity to introduce Monroe.

Livingstone and Marbois confer.—On the night of April 13, two days later, Livingstone had a conversation with Marbois, the minister of the Treasury, which he considered so important that he thought it necessary to report it to Madison at once, while the impressions were strong upon his mind.[25] Until midnight the two men conversed. Marbois said that the First Consul, in a recent conference with him, had declared his readiness to part with the whole of the Louisiana territory to the United States provided that country would pay one hundred million francs and pay the claims of their own citizens. "Seeing, by my looks, that I was surprised at so extravagant a demand," wrote Livingstone, "he added that he considered the demand as exorbitant, and had told the First Consul that the thing was impossible; that we had not the means of raising that. The First Consul told him that we might borrow it. I now plainly saw the whole business: first,

[25] These letters are in the *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* II. 552-554.

the Consul was disposed to sell; next, he distrusted Talleyrand, on account of the supposed intention to bribe, and meant to put the negotiations into the hands of Marbois, whose character for integrity is established." Livingstone assured Marbois that the United States was anxious to preserve peace with France; that his nation wished to remove the French inhabitants to the west side of the Mississippi; that the United States would be perfectly satisfied with New Orleans and the Floridas, and had no disposition to extend across the river; that, of course, they would not give any great sum for the purchase; that Marbois was right in his idea of the extreme exorbitancy of the demand; and that the United States would be ready to purchase, provided the sum was reduced to reasonable limits. Marbois then urged him to name the sum, but this Livingstone declined to do. The French minister, upon being urged to do so, then suggested as a fair price sixty million francs, in addition to which the United States should take upon itself the American claims to the amount of twenty million more.

While Livingstone urged the exorbitance of this demand he took particular pains to inquire whether France would stipulate never to possess the Floridas and would promise to aid the United States to procure them. Being assured by Marbois that the French government would do this, Livingstone closed the conversation by promising to confer with Monroe, assuring Marbois that the American representatives would do every reasonable thing to remove any cause for difference which might exist between the two countries.

Thus, sir, you see a negotiation is fairly opened [he exulted in concluding his communication to Madison] as to the quantum, I have yet made up no opinion. The field opened to us is infinitely larger than our instructions contemplated; the revenue increasing, and the land more than

adequate to sink the capital, should we even go the sum proposed by Marbois; nay I persuade myself that the whole sum may be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe, whose vicinity we should not fear. I speak now without reflection and without having seen Mr. Monroe as it was midnight when I left the treasury, and is now three o'clock. It is so very important that you should be apprised that a negotiation is actually opened, even before Mr. Monroe has been presented, in order to calm the tumult which the news of war will renew, that I have lost no time in communicating it. We shall do all we can to cheapen the purchase; but my present sentiment is that we shall buy.[26]

Napoleon's proposal.—True to his promise Livingstone worked hard for a reduction in the price. A week was spent in haggling over this, and a fortnight passed after Monroe's arrival without anything more definite having been accomplished. On April 23 the First Consul drew up a "*Project* of a Secret Convention" which was given by him to Marbois. For the purpose, among other things, of strengthening friendly relations between the two nations the French Republic according to this document was to cede Louisiana to the United States; in consequence of which cession, "Louisiana, its territory, and its proper dependencies shall become part of the American Union, and shall form successively one or more states on the terms of the Federal Constitution."[27] French commerce in Louisiana was to be given all the rights of American commerce with permanent *entrepôts* at six points along the Mississippi together with a permanent right of navigation. The United States was also to assume all debts to American citizens under the treaty of Monfontaine and was to pay France one hundred million

[26] *Ibid.*, 554.
[27] Quoted in Adams, *United States*, II. 40.

francs. Armed with this document on the afternoon of April 27, Marbois held a conference with Livingstone and Monroe in the rooms of the latter. Too unwell himself to sit at the table Monroe reclined on a sofa throughout the discussion.

A counter proposal.—The conversation was opened by Marbois who submitted Napoleon's *project.* After admitting that he thought it hard and unreasonable, he presented his own. The former demanded a total expense of one hundred and twenty million francs to the American government, the latter reduced the demand to eighty million. Livingstone was particularly anxious to settle this question of claims first and separately, but Monroe overruled him in this. The twenty-eighth of April was spent by the two American envoys in revising Marbois's *project,* and drawing up one of their own. On the following day they called upon the French minister and presented their proposal. In this they had suggested fifty millions as the amount to be given France, and twenty millions more on account of her debt to the citizens of the United States. But Marbois refused to proceed unless eighty million francs was accepted as the price, and the American commissioners finally yielded. Marbois took the revised document for a conference with Napoleon on April 30.

Monroe meets Napoleon.—On Sunday, May 1, Monroe was conducted to the Palace of the Louvre and presented by Livingstone to the First Consul whom he found in a genial and inquisitive frame of mind. " 'You have been here fifteen days?' Napoleon asked. I told him I had. 'You speak French?' I replied, 'A little!' 'You had a good voyage?' 'Yes.' 'You came in a frigate?' 'No, in a merchant vessel charged for the purpose.' Then turning abruptly to the subject in which Monroe and Livingstone were particularly interested he assured them that their affair should

be settled, and left them. After dinner the First Consul again came to Monroe and inquired whether the Federal city grew much. I told him it did. 'How many inhabitants has it?' '. . . in itself it contains two or three thousand inhabitants.' 'Well, Mr. Jefferson, how old is he?' 'About sixty.' 'Is he married or single?' 'He is not married.' 'Then he is a *garçon.*' 'No, he is a widower.' 'Has he children?' 'Yes, two daughters who are married.' 'Does he reside in the Federal city?' 'Generally.' 'Are the public buildings there commodious, those for the Congress and President especially?' 'They are.' 'You Americans did brilliant things in the war with England, you will do the same again.' 'We shall I am persuaded always behave well when it shall be our lot to be in war.' 'You may probably be in war with them again.' I replied that I did not know, that that was an important question to decide when there would be an occasion for it,"[28] and so the conversation ended.

The treaty concluded.—On that same evening the two American envoys had a final discussion with Marbois. Some amendments were made to the treaty and a few minor changes were agreed upon. On May 2 the "treaty and convention for sixty millions of francs to France in the French language" was signed. The English copies were prepared and signed two or three days later. The convention affecting American claims was not signed, however, until about the eighth or ninth, and all these documents were antedated to April 30. But in the document thus agreed upon there was no attempt to define the boundaries of the property which changed hands. This subject was left for later diplomatic negotiations, and in the meantime American explorers, fur traders, and settlers were crossing

[28] Hamilton, Stanislaus Murray (Editor), *The Writings of James Monroe, Including a Collection of His Public and Private Papers and Correspondence Now for the First Time Printed,* 7 vols. New York, 1898-1903, IV. 13-16.

the Mississippi to seek adventure and furs and to build homes in the Trans-Mississippi West.

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CHAPTER II

AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI (1804–1822)

The country west of the Mississippi which was purchased from France in 1803 was practically unknown to the people who had acquired it. The American frontiersmen had learned something of its eastern fringe south of the fortieth parallel, but beyond and to the north was a field into which they had not penetrated. It was a land whence sounded the call to wild adventure and boundless solitude, and hither came many during the first quarter of the nineteenth century to satiate their restless spirits and to spy out the land. But preceding the American explorer into the Trans-Mississippi was the interest of the President under whose administration the purchase had been concluded.

Suggestions of American expedition to the Pacific.—Jefferson's desire to learn of the country which he had been instrumental in adding to the public domain of the United States antedates the Louisiana purchase by many years. Indeed as early as 1782 we find him endeavoring to obtain information in regard to the animal and vegetable life of the country.[1] A year later, while attending the Confederate Congress at Annapolis, he wrote to Rogers Clark: "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. they pretend it is only to promote knolege. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter. some of us have been talking here in a feeble

[1] *See* the letter to Steptoe, November 26, 1782, in Paul Leicester Ford (editor) *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* 10 vols. (N. Y., 1892-1899). III. 62.

way of making the attempt to search that country. but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. how would you like to lead such a party? tho I am afraid the prospect is not worth asking the question."[2] Three years later Jefferson met John Ledyard in Paris. This restless spirit lent a willing ear to the future President's hazardous suggestion, which was nothing less than to cross the dreary wastes of Siberia to Kamtchatka, thence to go by water "to the western side of America and penetrate through the continent to our side of it."[3] Ledyard exerted himself to carry out the project, but it failed because of the interference of the Russian government. In 1790 Captain John Armstrong of Louisville at the suggestion of the Secretary of War, General Knox, undertook to cross the continent by way of the Missouri, but he was turned back a short distance above St. Louis by reports of disturbances among the Indians. Two years later André Michaux, a French botanist, proposed an expedition to the Pacific to be conducted under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. Jefferson gave the proposal his hearty support, but Michaux became entangled in Genet's plans for conquering Spanish Louisiana and the former's western project terminated with the events of 1794 which brought the Genet mission to such a sudden end.

Jefferson asks Congress to provide for expedition.—But these abortive schemes for exploring Spanish territory west of the Mississippi, while discouraging, were not sufficiently so to cause Jefferson to abandon the project. After he was elected president his attempts were more successful. On January 18, 1803, he proposed an expedition and outlined plans for it in a confidential message to Congress.

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[2] Thwaites, Reuben Gold (editor), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806.* VII. Part I, 193.

[3] Ford (editor), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* IV. 298, 447, 448.

An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders as others are admitted, agree on convenient depositis for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms and accouterments, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on whether here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery . . . in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe it to the same object, as well as its own interests, to explore this the only line of easy communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own part of it. . . . The appropriation of $2,500 "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States," while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way.[4]

Meriwether Lewis selected to head company.—Congress passed a bill complying with Jefferson's recommendations for sending out an exploring expedition into the Far West and Captain Meriwether Lewis, a young man under thirty years old, was selected to head the enterprise. Lewis was Jefferson's private secretary. He was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in the vicinity of the Blue Ridge, and had in-

[4] Richardson, James D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*. Published by authority of Congress (1900), I. 353, 354.

herited sterling qualities from a race of worthy patriots and vigorous pioneers. His father and uncle had served in the Revolutionary War, and he himself had been accustomed to the life of the hunter and woodsman and had rendered military service in the Northwest under the leadership of Mad Anthony Wayne. Jefferson considered him a man of exceptional courage, "possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves—with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him." [5] In order to acquire additional technical training in botany and astronomy which an expedition such as he was to lead demanded, he went to Philadelphia and studied under the direction of some of the learned members of the Philosophical Society. While there he also directed the manufacture of arms for his party in the arsenal at Lancaster.

Lewis assisted by William Clark.—Complying with the suggestion made by Lewis the officials at Washington decided to associate with him another officer of equal authority, so that the party could operate effectually in two divisions if the occasion should require it. He was permitted to select his own companion and chose William Clark of Louisville, the younger

[5] *Original Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806,* I. Part I, 25, 26.

brother of George Rogers Clark. William Clark, like Lewis, was an army officer who had seen trying service against the Indians of the Northwest. He had traveled extensively in the country, having on several occasions crossed the Mississippi. He was in every respect admirably suited to share with Lewis the responsibilities and labors of such an undertaking as the government had decided upon. Lewis ranked as captain while Clark's commission gave him the rank of second lieutenant of artillery, but the former insisted on regarding the latter as his official equal, both being styled as captain by all who were connected with the expedition. During the three strenuous years of western explorations their respect for each other deepened and their friendship strengthened.

Jefferson's instructions to Lewis.—The object of the expedition was outlined by Jefferson in his instructions to Lewis dated May and June, 1803. Not only was the Missouri River to be explored but "such principal streams of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, or Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce." The party was to take observations fixing the latitude and longitude of all important places along the rivers traversed, and of all the portages between their headwaters. The leaders were ordered to keep careful notes and other members of the expedition were encouraged to keep diaries. The names and numbers of the various Indian tribes were to be learned, and all conditions tending to promote trade and harmony between them and the Americans were to be noted. Careful observations were to be made of the soils, animal and vegetable life, minerals, geological remains, and of the geography of the region. Should they reach the Pacific Ocean they were to de-

termine "whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri . . . as at Nootka Sound or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and the United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised." Furthermore Lewis was to try to find some vessel by which he could send back two members of the party with the information collected. Or if he thought it advisable the entire party might return by sea, in which case Lewis was to make use of an open letter of credit furnished by Jefferson and pledging the faith of the United States for the repayment of such sums as might be advanced to the explorers. The safety of the party was not to be endangered, however, for the sake of collecting information.[6]

Meanwhile Louisiana had become a possession of the United States and the expedition was no longer a movement into foreign territory.

Lewis left Washington for Pittsburg about the middle of the summer of 1803 and on the last day of August began the descent of the Ohio. Volunteers were enlisted at several military stations along the Ohio and the Mississippi. When completed the party contained a total of thirty-two people and sixteen others were employed to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan villages. The winter was spent in quarters on a little stream, the Dubois or Wood River, which empties into the Mississippi from the east side. Here the men were drilled and trained for the arduous experiences which they were about to undertake.

Expedition leaves St. Louis, May, 1804.—On May 14, 1804, the expedition entered the Missouri and began the long voyage up that river. The difficulties and dangers of the journey were recognized by all who

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[6] Ford, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII. 194 ff.

were connected with it from the beginning, but they believed also that it would confer high honors on them and on the nation if it were carried out successfully. The importance of the expedition was realized likewise by the people living along the Missouri. The people of St. Louis and of St. Charles and many others who had migrated thither recently from east of the Mississippi manifested a deep interest in the small company as it made its way up the tortuous stream. On the twenty-fifth of May the party passed the extreme western settlement. This was La Charette, a little village of seven houses, near which Daniel Boone lived.[7] Thence the journey was through the Indian country and occasionally, during the early stage of their passage up the Missouri, they met traders who were bringing down boatloads of furs from the Kansas, the Platte, and the Sioux. Near the present town of Sibley, Missouri, a fort was erected and named Fort Clark in honor of one of the leaders of the expedition.[8] Continuing up the river they came to a place named by them Council Bluffs where they held a great conference with several Indian tribes. They passed the present site of Sioux City on the twentieth of August, where they experienced their only loss by death, and toward the end of October the little company reached the Mandan villages.

Reaches the Pacific.—Here near the present town of Bismarck, North Dakota, Fort Mandan was erected from cottonwood logs found growing along the river

[7] The village had disappeared when Bradbury was there in 1811, because of the encroachments of the river. It was near the present town of Marthasville in Warren County. *See* Bradbury, John, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," etc. in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels,* V. 42, note 15.

[8] McDougal, H. C., "Historical Sketch of Kansas City from the beginning to 1909." In the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1909, 12, 13.

In 1808 the name Fort Clark was changed to Fort Osage in honor of the Indian tribe of that name. For another account of this fort *see* Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* V. 60, note 31.

banks. Five months were spent in hunting, preparing reports and collecting information to be sent back to the President in the spring, cultivating friendly relations with the Indians, among whom British influence was established, and completing preparations for the westward movement. Early in April, 1805, the river having become clear of ice, a boat was sent downstream bearing dispatches for the officials at Washington while the main party headed their expedition up the Missouri. Toward the end of the month they reached the mouth of the Yellowstone. From the natives of that section they collected information on the source, direction, and length of the river, and the character of the country through which it flowed. Game was found in greater abundance than they had experienced before and the large number of beaver in the vicinity led them to suggest that some spot near the junction of the two rivers would be a desirable location for a trading post. The Falls of the Missouri were reached in June and on the twenty-fifth of that month they arrived at the three forks of the same river. The three rivers were explored and named after the three prominent statesmen of that day, Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin. Up the Jefferson they toiled, weary, footsore, and some of them almost exhausted, finally reaching the mountains on the last of August. Horses were procured from the Shoshone Indians, parties of whom were found in the vicinity, and they pushed on toward the navigable waters of the Columbia system. This they reached by following the Lolo trail to the Clearwater after three weeks of toilsome marching through dense woods and shady defiles and over what must have seemed to them to be numberless obstructions of rock and fallen timber. From the Clearwater they made their way to the Snake River, down that to the Columbia, past the Great Falls, the Dalles, and the Cascades to the tide water. On the

seventh of November, 1805, the party reached the Pacific.

Return and results of expedition.—They spent the winter in the most humid section of the Oregon coast. The supply of game was not abundant, but the members of the expedition continued to enjoy good health. Early in the spring of 1806 they began moving eastward, and on September 23 following the entire party entered St. Louis. They had recrossed the mountains by the same general route but had made more extensive explorations of considerable importance off the original trail. For example Clark had descended the Yellowstone River. They had opened a practical route across the continent, they had established a strong claim for the valley of the Columbia, and they had become the pioneers of a westward movement which ultimately was to carry the customs and institutions of the United States across the great plains and over the rocky plateau until it gave the nation a frontage on the Pacific slope similar to the one it had already on the Atlantic coast.

Explorations in southern part of Louisiana Territory.—Before Lewis and Clark left St. Louis on their transcontinental journey Jefferson had begun perfecting plans to explore the southern part of the newly acquired territory. In fact the original intention appears to have been to employ several parties who should explore various parts of the purchase. Jefferson made a distinction between the object of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the others which were to be more restricted in their operations.

> The object of your mission is single [he wrote Lewis on November 16, 1803] the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri and perhaps the Oregon. I have proposed in conversation, and it seems generally assented to, that Congress appropriate ten or

twelve thousand dollars for exploring the principal waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri. In that case I should send a party up the Red River to its head, then to cross over to the head of the Arkansas and come down that. A second party for the Panis (Platte) and Padouca (Kansas), and a third, perhaps, for the Morsigona (Des Moines) and St. Peters (Minnesota). This (exploration) will be attempted distinctly from your mission, which we consider of major importance. . . .[9]

The new task was to be carried out by a group of men, the most prominent of whom were William Dunbar, George Hunter, John Sibley, and Thomas Freeman. As a result of Jefferson's personal influence the subject was recommended to Congress by a committee of that body in March, 1804. Funds were appropriated to meet the expenses of the undertaking, but the results were disappointing. Fairly complete scientific explorations were made of the Washita by Dunbar and Hunter, and Freeman ascended the Red River about six hundred miles, but this was the extent of the work accomplished. Explorations which had been originally planned to include the entire courses of streams flowing into the Mississippi and Missouri rivers were restricted to limits hardly beyond the frontier line and almost entirely within the present boundary of the state of Louisiana.[10]

Pike's mission to upper Mississippi.—Another expedition was led to the upper Mississippi by Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike under the auspices of the War Department. According to his instructions which were dated July 30, 1805,[11] Pike was to explore

[9] Quoted in Isaac J. Cox, "Explorations of the Louisiana Frontier, 1803-1806," in The American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1904, 153, note b.

[10] *Ibid.*, 151-174.

[11] These are given in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 942 and in Elliott Coues (editor) *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 3 vols., New York, 1895. II. 842-844.

the source of the Mississippi River and to procure information concerning its main tributaries. Negotiations with the various Indian tribes were to be undertaken and Pike was to use every effort to establish peace among them, fur-trading conditions were to be studied, and land cessions were to be obtained with a view to establishing forts and factories. Pike believed an important part of his duty was to assert the authority of the United States in this border country and to enforce regulations in respect to the fur trade. His action in this matter was carried out with so much vigor that this became the most important feature of his expedition.

Northwest Company in possession of country.—Pike's explorations covered the period from August 9, 1805, to April 30, 1806. The first part of the voyage to Prairie du Chien was made in a keel boat and then a flat-bottomed bateau and a light barge transported the party to the Falls of St. Anthony and to Little Falls respectively. The main party was left in winter quarters at the latter place while Pike and two companions traveled seven hundred miles farther in canoes and sledges to Cass Lake. The Northwest Company was in complete possession of the field in this section. From their trading posts at Sauk Rapids, Sandy Lake, and Leach Lake their furs were readily transported to Lake Superior and Montreal whence they found easy access to the markets in Europe and the United States. On the St. Peters (Minnesota) Murdock Cameron was prosecuting an independent business.

Pike insists authority of United States be recognized.—With both the independent trader and with the representatives of the Northwest Company the young Lieutenant dealt firmly. Cameron and La Jeunesse were selling liquor to the Indians and were both reprimanded. The associates of the Northwest

Company were generally cordial and extended generous hospitality to him, but this did not prevent Pike from reminding them that they must show greater respect to the government in whose country they were operating. They were told to quit distributing medals among the Indians and disseminating ideas among them that were hostile to the interests of the United States. At Sandy Lake he found the British flag flying over the fort, and his feeling of indignation was relieved but little when he was informed that it belonged to the Indians.[12]

In order that the United States might more easily enforce such regulations and laws as applied to the operation of the fur trade in these remote possessions, Pike recommended that government factories be established at the mouth of the Wisconsin, at the Falls of St. Anthony, on the St. Peters, and on the St. Louis River at the head of Lake Superior. He also urged the importance of settling the northern boundary upon the basis of the Lake of the Woods as early as possible, in order to prevent the British from claiming two-fifths of Louisiana.[13]

His estimate of what he had accomplished.—In letters to Wilkinson dated April 18 and July 2, 1806, Pike gave an account of what he had accomplished. He mistakenly thought he had reached the source of the Mississippi. He said he had explored the region bordering upon that river and the Red River of the North. He had substituted the sovereignty of the United States for that of Great Britain. He had established peace between the Sioux and the Chippewas. He had prepared reports on the Indians and on the geography of the country. The list of services which

[12] Coues (editor), *Pike*, I. 133.

[13] Isaac J. Cox, *The Early Explorations of Louisiana*, University of Cincinnati Studies, 1906, 104.

he noted was a fairly long one and after allowance is made for exaggerations, it is one of which he could be justly proud.

Proposed tour of the Southwest.—Pike reached St. Louis on his return April 30, 1806. While in the midst of preparing his reports he received a proposal from Wilkinson to undertake a tour to the far Southwest. It was an invitation which the ambitious Lieutenant accepted eagerly and he hastened his preparations for departure.

Instructions.—His first official instructions were issued June 24, 1806.[14] He was to escort some returning Indians to the Osage River, was then to attempt to establish peace between the Kansas and Osage Indians, and was to hold a conference with the Comanches and try to persuade some of them to visit Washington. Careful observations were to be made of the country drained by the Arkansas and the Red rivers. On July 12 following, Wilkinson issued additional instructions urging his subordinate to depart immediately.

The trip across the plains.—Pike left St. Louis on July 15 with a company of twenty-three men, besides fifty-one Indians returning to their homes on the Osage and Republican rivers. He made his way up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the Pawnee villages. In the meantime news of his expedition reached the Spanish officials and Lieutenant Malgares was sent out from Santa Fé to intercept him. The Spaniards had come first to the Pawnee villages and when Pike arrived there they had already turned back. Despite the great superiority of the Spanish forces the American commander determined to follow them, hoping thereby to reach the Red River. He came to Pawnee Rock on

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[14] Coues (editor), *Pike*, II. 562-565. For a discussion of the instructions and of the motives which induced Wilkinson to send the expedition *see* Cox, *Early Explorations of Louisiana*, Chapter XI.

the Great Bend of the Arkansas and rode up that stream through droves of buffalo, deer, elk, and wild horses until he finally reached the mountains. Near the present town of Pueblo, Colorado, he erected fortifications and explored the country. After a vain attempt to reach the top of Pike's Peak he began to search for the source of the Red River. He ascended the Arkansas as far as the present site of Cañon City, and thence made a detour to its source near Leadville. Thinking he had found the Red River he descended the stream until he came upon one of his former encampments. He did not know that the Canadian and not the Red had its source near Santa Fé. The months of December and January spent in this way were most severe. The passes were filled with snow, game was scarce, guns burst with cold, the horses were exhausted, and the men were becoming mutinous, but Pike refused to abandon the quest.

Pike enters Spanish territory.—On Grape Creek at the foot of the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas he decided to build a blockhouse and leave two of the men there to look after the horses and luggage while with the main party he crossed the Sangre de Cristo Range. In this desperate venture nine of his men had their feet frozen. The food supply which they carried with them was soon exhausted and game seemed to have left the country. The party was saved from starvation after having been four days without food when Pike managed to shoot a stray buffalo. Three of the men gave out and were left on the trail with a small supply of meat while the others struggled on. He reached the River Conejos, a western tributary of the Rio Grande on February 1, 1807, and began the erection of a stockade five miles above the mouth of the stream. He claimed that the building was to serve as a protection against the Indians while the abandoned companions were brought up and game was being

killed. Pike with four soldiers remained at the stockade while a small detachment was sent back over their route to bring up the men and baggage left behind.

Robinson's mission.—In 1804 Baptiste Lalande had been sent on a trading expedition to Santa Fé by William Morrison of Kaskaskia. In September of the following year Lalande applied in person at Chihuahua for New Mexican citizenship, but meanwhile he had made no remittance or report to Morrison for the goods which he had brought to Santa Fé. Pike was requested to collect the debt and used this as a pretext to enter Santa Fé.[15] On February 7, 1807, he sent Dr. John H. Robinson who had joined the expedition as a volunteer to collect Morrison's claim and incidentally to learn what he could of New Mexico. Robinson was well treated by the Spanish officials at Santa Fé, but was sent farther into the Spanish territory—"a policy that, as long as he was kindly treated, accorded only too well with the American's wishes."[16]

On February 16, 1807, Pike was visited in his stockade by two Spaniards. This was the first result of Robinson's mission. Ten days later Captain Salteo appeared with one hundred mounted men and took the Anglo-Americans to Santa Fé. After being examined there by Governor Alencaster they were sent on to Chihuahua where they underwent another examination. The matter was finally settled by Salcedo's determining to deport them by way of Texas, and their enforced tour ended on July 1 at the American encampment at Natchitoches. Pike had collected a mass of information which presented the Southwest in a new light to the prospective trader and adventurer.

Period of inactivity.—These explorations had not been sufficiently extensive to carry out the original

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[15] Cox, *Early Explorations of Louisiana*, 117, 118, 126.
[16] *Ibid.*, 126.

plans outlined by Jefferson in 1803, but with the return of Pike and Lewis and Clark a great deal had been done to extend the knowledge of the country acquired from France. If all the principal streams flowing into the Mississippi and Missouri had not been explored, at least the country itself had been penetrated in its northern and southern parts. But the President was not in a position to prosecute the work with the same vigor after this time. Foreign problems and Jefferson's own peculiar method of settling them had placed his administration in a contemptible light abroad and was bringing upon him the growing wrath of his opponents at home. This was the condition as his second term came to an end. The man upon whom his mantle fell inherited these problems while they were still multiplying, and the rising spirit of the West under the direction of Henry Clay played its part in the overthrow of peaceable coercion and a declaration of war.

War Department decides to build post on upper Mississippi.—The events leading up to the War of 1812 and the war itself absorbed the interests and energies of the administration so completely that little attention could be given to the western country. Before the expiration of his second term, however, Madison appointed a committee consisting of four Americans and a French engineer of distinction, General Bernard, to examine the coast and the inland frontier for the purpose of determining their needs. During the summer of 1817 Major Stephen H. Long led an exploring expedition up the Mississippi to sketch the course of that stream and select places for forts. He recommended three sites as desirable locations for military posts: one at the lower end of Lake Pepin, a second south of the St. Croix, and a third just above the mouth of the St. Peters. Secretary of War Calhoun determined to fortify the last of these and in the summer of

1818 preparations were begun for executing his plans. The post, according to the Secretary of War, "from its remoteness from our settlements, its proximity to Lord Selkirk's establishment on Red River of Lake Winnipeg, and from its neighborhood to the powerful nations of the Sioux, ought to be made very strong." [17]

Fort Snelling established.—For the purpose of executing Calhoun's plans the War Department issued orders to Major-General Jacob Brown, the commander of the division in the North, which resulted in the initial move being taken. The task was assigned to Colonel Leavenworth. Having made all necessary preparations he conducted his men from Prairie du Chien up the Mississippi and reached the mouth of the St. Peters (Minnesota) River toward the last of August. By the fall of 1822 Fort St. Anthony had been completed. The name was changed later to Fort Snelling in honor of Josiah Snelling who had succeeded Colonel Leavenworth.

Plans for fort at Mandan villages.—By the summer of 1818 Calhoun had determined to build a post on the Missouri River at the Mandan villages. This particular site was chosen because it afforded certain advantages for counteracting British influences among the Indians. It would be particularly well situated to compete with "the British post on the Red River." [18] The command of the expedition whose duty it was to carry out these plans was given to Colonel Atkinson. Calhoun's instructions to him are dated March 27, 1819. The "two great objects" of the expedition, the Secretary of War asserted, were "the enlargement and protection of our fur trade, and permanent peace of our North Western frontier by the establishment of

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[17] J. Franklin Jameson (editor), "Private Correspondence of John C. Calhoun" in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, II. 148.

[18] American Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1899, II. 134-136.

a decided control over the various tribes of Indians in that quarter." Of the two the latter was considered the more important. As long as American fur traders were obeying regulations they were to be protected. Foreigners were to be treated discreetly until the military posts were well established, then notice should be given that after a fixed period foreign trade would be rigidly excluded. Particularly was Atkinson to avoid hostilities with the Indians if possible. If hostilities should occur and additional forces were necessary, he was informed that troops at the mouth of the St. Peters River might be called to his command.

On December 2, 1818, the government made a contract with Colonel James Johnson to transport the troops and provisions up the Missouri. He provided five steamboats, but none of them accomplished the purpose for which they were intended. Two probably never entered the river, a third abandoned the trip thirty miles below Franklin, and the other two wintered at Cow Island a little below the mouth of the Kansas and returned to St. Louis in the spring. Despite the delays occasioned by the government's attempt to use steamboats instead of the more practical keel-boats, Atkinson succeeded in getting his troops as far as Council Bluffs by September, 1819, where they experienced a disastrous winter from an attack of scurvy.

The scientific expedition.—The scientific branch of the expedition was under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. A special boat had been constructed for the members of this division which proved to be more practical than the vessels provided by Colonel Johnson. The wheels had been placed in the stern and the boat drew only nineteen inches of water. Even the "absurd attempts at ornamentation" served the purpose intended. Not only the Indians but the frontier settlers themselves were profoundly impressed with

this "apparent monster" bearing "a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with portholes and bristling with guns."[19]

The result was that Long and his party found themselves the center of considerable interest as they steamed up the Missouri. At Franklin where a stop of a week was made they were entertained with a genuine frontier hospitality. Despite the delay occasioned by this, Long's boat, which had left St. Louis in June some time after the other vessels, passed them all and was the only one to arrive at Council Bluffs, reaching there in September, 1819. Major Long remained a short time and returned to Washington.

Congress investigates.—Here opposition to the entire expedition was soon to develop. On December 21, 1819, on motion of John Cocke of Tennessee, the committee on military affairs was ordered to find out what the expedition had already cost the government, what sums would be required in order to accomplish the objects intended, and what those objects were. It was in response to these demands that several papers were submitted to Congress on January 3, 1820, by Chairman Smyth of that committee, among them Calhoun's report on the Yellowstone expedition. The report was tabled. On January 24 following, Cocke submitted another resolution directing that the secretary of war be ordered to report to the House an itemized statement of the money paid Colonel Johnson and of the amount claimed by him under the contract of December 2, 1818. The attempt to table the resolution failed. Calhoun submitted the data required on February 3 and it was referred to the committee on military affairs.[20]

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[19] Chittenden, Hiram Martin, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 3 vols., New York, 1902. II. 571.

[20] *Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess.*, I. 1047; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, II. 68, 69.

Calhoun continues to plan.—Four days later, February 7, 1820, the Secretary of War wrote to Colonel Atkinson. Among other things Calhoun commended the leader for his management of the expedition and approved his plans for connecting posts on the frontier by opening roads between them. While the use of steamboats for transporting troops and provisions was left to the judgment of Colonel Atkinson, Calhoun thought it would add dignity to the expedition and that it might serve to impress the British and the Indians with the power of the United States if such vessels could be used.

Congress refuses to provide funds.—These plans, however, were not to be carried out. Cocke's opposition developed strength and Congress finally refused to supply the necessary funds. As a "half-hearted apology to the public for its failure," says Chittenden, "a small side show was organized for the season of 1820 in the form of an expedition to the Rocky Mountains." This was placed under the command of Major Long.

Major Long's expedition as substitute.—The meager equipment of his company when compared with the expedition he had conducted up the Missouri was indeed discouraging. In this change in the character of the expedition at the head of which he had been placed may be found psychological reasons for the wholesale condemnation of the far western country by Major Long.

The reorganized expedition consisting of twenty men left the Missouri at Council Bluffs on June 6, 1820. At the Pawnee village on the Loup River they visited the Indians and employed two Frenchmen as guides and interpreters. Two days were spent among the Indians before the party resumed their westward journey. From the vicinity of Grand Island the route followed the north bank of the Platte to the forks

whence they crossed to the south bank of the South Fork.

In Colorado.—The company had left the Indian villages on June 13. On the thirtieth of that month they came within sight of the Rockies. They had hoped to celebrate the Fourth of July in the mountains, but in this they were disappointed. On the fifth they camped on the present site of the city of Denver and on the sixth directly in front of the chasm through which issues the South Platte. Two days were spent here while a vain attempt was made to cross the first range and reach the Platte on the other side. However, they did succeed in attaining an elevation from which they could distinguish the two forks of that river. On July 12 the camp was made a few miles south of Colorado Springs. From here James, the chronicler of the expedition, accompanied by two men, ascended Pike's Peak. This was probably the first time the top was reached by white men, and Long called the mountain James's Peak in honor of the achievement, but the name has not been accepted. The height of the mountain above the plain was properly estimated by Lieutenant Swift, but the height of the basal plains above sea level was inaccurately made so that an error of nearly three thousand feet in the determination of the elevation of the summit above sea level was the result. The observations for longitude and latitude here as elsewhere were erroneous.

Expedition divides.—The party broke camp July 16 and moved southwest to the Arkansas, coming to that stream twelve or fifteen miles above the present city of Pueblo. On the following day four members of the party went up the river to the entrance of the Royal Gorge at Cañon City, but they turned back baffled again by what seemed to them to be impassable barriers. Two days later, on the nineteenth, the whole expedition moved down the Arkansas. At the end of

another two days camp was made a few miles above the later site of La Junta, Colorado. Following instructions from the war department the party was divided in two and preparations were made for exploring the courses of both the Arkansas and the Red. Long commanded the more important of the two divisions down the latter stream, while the former, having been examined already by Pike, was explored by Captain Bell and his division.

Long's division fails to find Red River.—Major Long's division left the Arkansas on July 24, crossed Purgatory Creek and the upper waters of the Cimarron River, and after six days came to a small tributary of the Canadian River. Nearly a week later they came to the last named stream near the present boundary of Texas and New Mexico. The members of the party believed that they had reached the Red River, and naturally so because they came upon the Canadian in the region where the Red was supposed to rise. But the stream deviated from the course which the Red was supposed to follow and the party became doubtful. They were not convinced of their error, however, until they arrived at the junction of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. The journey down the latter stream had been made amidst almost constant suffering caused by exposure to violent storms and excessive heat, by lack of an adequate supply of food and water, by annoying attacks of wood ticks, and by occasional encounters with bands of unfriendly Kaskaia and Comanche Indians. Despite these obstacles the party arrived at Fort Smith on September 13. This was the meeting place which had been previously determined upon, and Long found Bell's division awaiting him upon his arrival.

Divisions meet at Fort Smith and descend Arkansas.—The commander of the Arkansas expedition had experienced difficulties and hardships scarcely less try-

ing than those encountered by Long. On a night in August (the thirteenth) three soldiers deserted, taking with them all the manuscripts which had been prepared by Dr. Say and Lieutenant Swift since leaving the Missouri. These contained notes on the animals examined, a journal of the expedition, considerable topographical data, besides information on the customs, manners, history, and languages of the Indian. To add to their discouragement they went astray. This occurred soon after passing the Great Bend when they mistook the Ne-Ne-Seah for the Negracka or Salt Fork of the Arkansas. Other similar errors added to their bewilderment and for some time they did not know just how to reach the appointed rendezvous. But finally they met a band of friendly Osage Indians near the Verdigris River on September 1 who were able to give them information, and they reached Fort Smith on the ninth of the same month.

The entire expedition descended the river to the Cherokee towns on Illinois Creek in Pope County, Arkansas. From here they proceeded overland to Cape Girardeau in Missouri. Two members of the party went from the Cherokee towns to Hot Springs, Arkansas, and returned to the Arkansas River at Little Rock whence they also crossed the country to Cape Girardeau. Here all members of the expedition met on October 12, 1820, and a little later they were disbanded.[21]

The Magee-Kearny expedition.—While Long and his party were exploring the country west of the Missouri another expedition was sent out from Council Bluffs in the opposite direction for the purpose of opening a road between that place and the military post on

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[21] James, Edwin, "An account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, 1819-1820" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1840,* Cleveland, 1905. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.

the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peters River. This was led by Captain Magee of the rifle regiment. Accompanying the party were Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan and Captain Kearny. It is to the latter that we are indebted for our knowledge of the undertaking.

From Council Bluffs to Camp Cold Water.—The party required twenty-three days to make the trip. Leaving Camp Missouri on July 2, 1820, they followed a route leading in a general northeasterly direction, veering occasionally to the east or to the north, finally arriving at Camp Cold Water on July 25. "Our circuitous and wavering route (which is to be attributed to the guide's advice . . .)," noted Kearny, "the immense prairies we have crossed; the want of timber which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts was to be found; the high and precipitous mountains and hills which we have climbed over, render that road impracticable and almost impassable for more than very small bodies." [22]

Unofficial explorers.—The explorations noted above were made directly or indirectly under the auspices of the government at Washington. They were official in character. There had been many Anglo-American explorers in the Trans-Mississippi, however, who had no official connection whatever with the government of the United States. Sometimes they were scientists like Bradbury and Brackenridge and Schoolcraft and Nuttall; or again they might be adventurers or traders or both such as John Shaw and John Fonda and Jacob Fowler. All of these men completed explorations into the western country within the limits of the period under consideration. It becomes necessary, therefore, to turn from the official to the unofficial explorations, and the men whose names have just been mentioned

[22] "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny," Valentine M. Porter (editor), in Missouri Historical Society, *Collections*, III. 8 ff. A map of the route which Magee followed will be found in this volume.

will be considered in a somewhat different order from that which is given above.

Bradbury, Brackenridge, and Shaw were in the Trans-Mississippi West before the War of 1812. They followed chronologically Lewis and Clark, Dunbar, Hunter, Sibley, Freeman, and Pike.

Expeditions of Bradbury and Brackenridge.—John Bradbury, who was a naturalist and traveler, arrived in the United States in the summer of 1809, bearing a commission from the Botanical Society at Liverpool to make an examination of plant life in America. The president of the society had provided Bradbury with a letter of introduction to Jefferson as a result of which he visited Monticello. Following a brief visit Bradbury started for St. Louis, arriving there the last day of the year 1809, carrying with him a letter of commendation from Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis. St. Louis became the center from which the naturalist made a number of short excursions. He was planning to move south to the Arkansas country when he met Hunt, the leader of the overland Astorian expedition. He received an invitation to accompany the expedition and immediately decided to do so. The larger part of Bradbury's journal is occupied with a description of his tour with Hunt's party up the Missouri. He went by boat to the Arikara villages several hundred miles from St. Louis and then accompanied Ramsay Crooks to the fur-trading station among the Mandans about two hundred miles farther up the river. Upon his return to the Arikara villages he found the members of his party busily engaged in preparing to continue their journey to the Pacific. Manuel Lisa, in his second trip up the Missouri, had overtaken Hunt and with the former had come Henry M. Brackenridge, a friend of Bradbury's. Lisa and

Brackenridge were about to return to St. Louis and Bradbury decided to accompany them.[23]

Bradbury had made his excursion into the West in the interest of science. Brackenridge was seeking merely pleasure and adventure. Colonel John Shaw, whose explorations covered an entirely different area, combined the experiences of the adventurer with those of the fur trader.

Colonel John Shaw.—Colonel Shaw was one of the early pioneers of Wisconsin, a man whose integrity and honesty have been vouched for by some of his fellow countrymen. The editor of the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, Dr. Draper, through whose hands Colonel Shaw's narrative passed, tells us that it may be considered substantially correct. His account was written from memory when he was an old man and therefore allowance must be made for dates. But the internal evidence of that part of his narrative outlined here, will indicate that his explorations were made not only before the War of 1812, but pretty near the time he claims to have made them.[24]

Shaw's explorations.—Colonel Shaw says that he spent the winter of 1808 in St. Louis and its vicinity. During the following spring, accompanied by Peter Spear and William Miller, he set out from the extreme western settlement of Cape Girardeau County on the headwaters of the St. Francis River for the Pacific Ocean. He thinks his route was very near the thirty-seventh parallel, or perhaps a half degree south of it. He crossed a branch of the White River which he claims to have named the Current. Proceeding westward he came to the Black, afterwards called the Spring, which stream he followed to its source. Cross-

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[23] For an account of these expeditions *see* Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846,* 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907, V, VI.

[24] Col. John Shaw, "Personal Narrative," in the Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections,* II. 197-232.

ing to the main fork of the White River he then made his way to the prairie country. He continued westward, he thought, beyond the headwaters of all the tributaries of the Mississippi except the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, a distance of about eight hundred miles or more. When within the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, he met three traders who were the survivors of a company of fifteen that had been trading among the Indians. They told him that a band of warriors was on the plains at no great distance and urged him to turn back. But disregarding their advice he continued his journey until within sight of the Indians. Convinced that discretion was the better part of valor he then decided to retrace his steps.

The autumn of 1809, the year 1810, and the winter of 1810 to 1811 were spent by Shaw in hunting in eastern Kansas and western Missouri and Arkansas. During this period he collected "fifty beaver and otter skins, and eight hundred gallons of bear oil." These were carried to the headwaters of the White River, transported in rudely constructed boats down that stream to the Mississippi, and thence to New Orleans. These products would have brought him between two and three thousand dollars, he thought, if he had been able to ship them to Europe, but the "Embargo" [25] was in force, he said, and he was compelled to sell his commodities for thirty-six dollars.

On his return he passed through the Chickasaw and the Choctaw country to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee, thence to Vincennes, and finally to St. Louis. He was in the vicinity of New Madrid when the earthquakes occurred there, he claims, on December 14, 1811, and February 7, 1812. Soon after this he went to Prairie du Chien and made Wisconsin his home during the remainder of a long and useful life.

[25] This was of course impossible if we accept the dates which he has given.

Expedition of Henry Schoolcraft.—The exploring expedition led by Henry Schoolcraft covered the period from November 6, 1818, to February 4, 1819. His object was to "traverse the plains and mountain elevations west of the Mississippi, which had once echoed the tramp of the squadrons of De Soto—to range over hills and through rugged defiles, which he had once searched in the hope of finding mines of gold and silver rivaling those of Mexico and Peru. . . ."[26]

The route.—The members of the little company organized and began their explorations into the West from the frontier village of Potosi in the present county of Washington, Missouri. They traveled in a "west-south-west" direction until they passed successively the Big and Little Fork of the White River. Continuing in the same general direction they terminated their westward movement near the headwaters of the White River in north-western Arkansas. Schoolcraft determined to ascend this stream. He purchased a large canoe from some hunters who had established themselves at Beaver Creek in the solitude of the Ozarks. Selecting from their packs such things as were considered essential and loading the canoe with necessary provisions the company began the descent of the stream. This was January 9, 1819. Schoolcraft was intoxicated with the new method of travel. "The very change from traversing weary plains and prairies and ascending steep cliffs, was exhilarating and delightful." Then, too, the stream and the country through which it flowed drew hearty commendations of approval from the young explorer. The White River was "one of the most beautiful and enchanting streams, and by far the most transparent, which discharge their waters into the Mississippi. To a width and depth

[26] Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, which were First Traversed by De Soto in 1541.* Philadelphia, 1853, V.

which entitle it to be classed as a river of the third magnitude in Western America, it unites a current which possesses the purity of crystal, with a strength and gentle flow, and the most imposing, diversified, and delightful scenery."

Schoolcraft descended the White River to a point occupied by "twelve or fourteen buildings of all sorts" which formed a small village "now (1853) called Batesville; being the only one which had been encountered since leaving Potosi." Thence he made his way overland to the point of his departure feeling that he had accomplished a trip of considerable peril, through a noted mountain range, into which all but one of his original party had failed to accompany him. It was with the spirit of a conqueror therefore that he returned to the familiar acquaintances of Potosi.

Nuttall's western explorations.—While Schoolcraft was descending the White River, Nuttall made his way by boat up that stream and through a connecting bayou, sometimes referred to as the "White River cut off" to Arkansas Post. Here he received a cordial reception from one of the leading settlers of the Post, an old Canadian by the name of Bougie or Bogy. The settlement consisted of thirty of forty houses and the place was a center for the trade of the Arkansas and White river valleys. As already indicated the settlement of the region did not proceed so rapidly as otherwise it probably would have done because of the uncertain titles to the land in the vicinity. The same thing interfered with the improvement of the land by settlers who were there. Most of the large grants were invalidated by Congress (1847-1848), among them the Winter's grant.[27]

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[27] Nuttall, Thomas, "A Journal of Travel into the Arkansas Territory during the year 1819, with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Philadelphia, 1821. XIII. 106-107, 112.

A few weeks were spent in and around the post, and during the last of February Nuttall again resumed his westward journey. He was told that the country to the Cadron, a distance of about three hundred miles by water, was pretty well settled, particularly along the northern shore of the river. The greatest uninhabited area was said not to exceed thirty miles in distance. By March 12 he had reached the site of the present city of Pine Bluff. On the morning of that same day he passed white men who were descending the river with cargoes of furs which they had collected among the Osage Indians. Eight days later found him in the vicinity of Little Rock. Fairly well-defined roads extended from the neighborhood of Little Rock to St. Louis in one direction and to Natchitoches in another. Continuing up the river and passing many homesteads along its banks, Nuttall came to the little settlement of Cadron about thirty-eight miles above Little Rock, on March 27. Although an attempt was made to build a town on the site and the place became the seat of justice for Pulaski County in 1820, Nuttall estimated the possibilities for development accurately when he wrote, "I greatly doubt whether a town of any consequence on the Arkansas will ever be chosen on this site." The place has entirely disappeared,[28] although at that time it was on one of the main routes of travel from St. Louis and the settlements on the White River to Hot Springs and to the Red River settlements.

From the Cadron country Nuttall continued his westward journey up the Arkansas through the Dardanelle settlement and through the Cherokee country to the post at Fort Smith. He arrived at the latter on April 24. The fort consisted of two blockhouses and lines of cabins which accommodated seventy men

[28] *Ibid.*, 156, note 133 and 157, 158.

and was located on an elevation of fifty feet at the junction of the Pottoe with the Arkansas. More than two weeks were spent in exploring the surrounding country. It was at the season when wild flowers were to be found in profusion and Nuttall fairly reveled in these numerous excursions which familiarized him with the flora of the country.

From the Arkansas to the Red and return.—On May 16 Major Bradford conducted a company of soldiers across the country to the junction of the Kiamitia and Red rivers. The government had ordered that the whites living west of Kiamitia be moved to the east of that stream, the former territory being reserved for the Osage Indians. The purpose of Major Bradford's expedition was to execute this order and Nuttall was permitted to accompany the party. Proceeding in a general southwestern direction the members of the expedition reached their destination on the Red River fifteen miles above the mouth of the Kiamitia on the twenty-fourth of May. Here Bradford spent two days carrying out his orders, and on the twenty-sixth began the return journey. Nuttall accompanied the party for a short distance but became lost when he lingered behind to collect some new and curious plants which he found scattered over the "enchanting prairies." His intense interest in his botanical pursuits and the rich fields of new varieties of flowers which he found made him almost forget his situation, "cast away as I was amidst the refuse of society." "These people," he continued in his characterization of the settlers, "as well as the generality of those who, till lately, inhabited the banks of the Arkansas, bear the worst moral character imaginable, being many of them renegades from justice, and such as have forfeited the esteem of civilized society."[29] It is only

[29] *Ibid.*, 221, 222.

fair to say, however, that Nuttall did not intend to class all the people living in that section as "renegades from justice." He spoke in the highest terms of his host and hostess and declared that he would never forget the "sincere kindness and unfeigned hospitality" which he experienced from these "poor and honest people." [80]

Along the Arkansas.—Finally on June 14 Nuttall found three men who were apparently trustworthy and who were leaving the Red River settlement for the purpose of recovering some stolen horses from the Cherokees. This afforded him the opportunity he had been seeking and he joined them. The return journey was a tedious one but the little party made good time and Nuttall reached Fort Smith on the twenty-first. He remained there until July 6. On that day he secured passage on board a boat which was leaving for a trading post situated near the mouth of the Verdigris about one hundred and thirty miles up the Arkansas River. The expedition arrived at the latter point on the fourteenth. Nuttall spent a few weeks exploring the surrounding country and he gives considerable space in his *Journal* to a description of this and of the Osage Indians who inhabited the region. He thought the "irresistible tide of western emigration" would ultimately lead to the establishment of a town near the confluence of the Verdigris, Grand, and Arkansas rivers—a prediction which has been fulfilled by the growth of Fort Gibson in that vicinity.

Nuttall's explorations completed.—The final stage of Nuttall's journey began on August 11. He left the trading post at the mouth of the Verdigris with a hunter by the name of Lee for a guide, his objective being the Cimarron River. He could not have realized the difficulties which such a trip necessarily en-

[80] *Ibid.*, 218, 221-223.

tailed at that season of the year. The streams were stagnant, the heat was intense, the water was foul, the food was poor, and the night dews were exceedingly disagreeable. Nuttall soon contracted a fever which came near proving fatal. Then, too, the Indians were a source of annoyance and danger. The guide suggested that they return to the Verdigris, but his chief refused to turn back. When they at last reached the Cimarron, Nuttall's fever had improved and an attempt was made to ascend the river, but he was compelled to abandon the scheme when he lost one of his two horses. A canoe was then built in which the guide started downstream while Nuttall rode the remaining horse. It was found, however, that the horse could not keep up with the canoe and they then decided to separate despite the greater danger from Indians which they were sure to experience alone. Nuttall arrived at the mouth of the Verdigris on September 15 physically exhausted. He remained there a week and proceeded to Fort Smith where another forced halt was made. Finally on October 16 he started down the Arkansas and arrived at New Orleans on February 18, 1820.

The wanderings of Jacob Fowler.—Among the accounts of explorations in the Trans-Mississippi West there are few more curious and interesting narratives than the *Journal* of Jacob Fowler. The capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and grammar are indeed amusingly crude, but his story is straightforward and intelligible. He was a keener and a more accurate observer than the majority of the men who have left accounts of the West.

Fowler left Fort Smith on September 6, 1821. His route was along the Arkansas River except a short cut-off by way of the Verdigris trail. He experienced no difficulty from the Indians until he came to Walnut Creek. A horse was stolen from the party there and

the Indians appeared "more unfriendly and talk Sasy and bad to us but this Is to be Exspected as the(y) Come from other vileges."[81] Fowler continued his journey up the Arkansas River to Pueblo, Colorado. A member of his party killed by a bear near the mouth of the Purgatory or Las Animas River was probably the first American to be buried in Colorado soil. Dr. Coues thinks that Fowler built "the first habitable and inhabited house" within the limits of the present city of Pueblo. From the latter place, on January 30, 1822, the party visited the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. On the preceding day Fowler had heard that the Mexican province had declared its independence and wished to open trade relations with the United States. This doubtless encouraged him to enter that country as soon as possible.

He crossed the Sangre de Cristo range between Sheep and Veta mountains on February 4 and four days later came to the pueblo of Taos. The people of the village were wretchedly poor and the company found it impossible to get supplies. The inhabitants said that their crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers during the two preceding years which made it necessary for them to transport grain for their bread a distance of more than one hundred miles. Meat was also scarce among them, so much so that they attempted to purchase some from Fowler, but he declined to sell because he had nothing but meat for his own men and not too much of that. But these conditions did not prevent the people from enjoying themselves. On the evening following Fowler's arrival the men and women of the village came to his house where a fandango was held.

Pinch of hunger.—Dissatisfied with the place and unable to secure necessary supplies Fowler left Taos

[81] Coues, Elliott (editor), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*, etc., N. Y., 1898.

on February 12, 1822, with his men. They proceeded west to the Rio Grande and ascended the river, occasionally trapping for beaver as they moved northward. Game was scarce and the men soon began to suffer from hunger from which "Taylor and Pall (a negro who accompanied the expedition) Began to Complain," the former growing "black In the face" and the latter "getting White With the Same Complaint and the(y) both thaught the Hors Shold be Killed." Jacob and Robert Fowler consented to this at last, but both decided to hunt while others of the party made ready the horse flesh. The hunters returned to camp with two deer while the men were skinning the horse. The carcass of the latter was thrown away and the party soon had "Suntious (sumptuous) feest and much Pleasntness. . . . Round the fier tho We lamented the fate of the Poor Hors." More game was killed and by the end of February the men found themselves temporarily well supplied with provisions.

Return route.—Fowler spent the spring months hunting and trapping on the upper Rio Grande. On June 1, 1822, he joined the James and McKnight expedition from Santa Fé for the return trip to the states. Crossing the mountains eastward by the Taos pass the party started for home by a different route from that over which they had come to Taos. They left the watershed of the Rio Grande for that of the Arkansas, crossing the New Mexico line into Colorado at the point where later the Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth railroad was to cross it, about longitude 103° 50′ west and latitude 37° north. Upon reaching the vicinity of the extreme western end of the Mesa de Maya in Las Animas County, Colorado, they probably followed an approximately straight line to Coolidge, Kansas, situated on the Arkansas River near the boundary line between Colorado and Kansas. They then came down the Arkansas, taking a short cut-off in the vicin-

ity of Ford, Kansas, to the neighborhood of Raymond in Rice County.

Near this place the party left the Arkansas River and started across the country toward the east. On June 21, members of James's expedition were sighted making their way down the Arkansas. Fowler and his companions passed through the northern part of Harvey and Butler counties, crossing the northern boundary of the latter into Chase County near modern Thurman. Passing the headwaters of the Verdigris they struck the Neosho about eight miles a little south of east of the present city of Emporia, Kansas. Here Fowler said was one of the best tracts of land for settlement that he had seen. Not only was there plenty of fertile land, but the supply of water and timber was ample. Thence the party moved in a general northeastern direction passing close to or through modern Lyndon in Osage County. Continuing through or passing near the present cities of Baldwin and Olathe, Kansas, the company crossed the Missouri-Kansas boundary a little south of Kansas City and came to Fort Osage on July 5, 1822. After a short rest they proceeded down the Missouri River in canoes to St. Louis. At the latter place the men separated and Fowler returned by steamboat to his home in Kentucky, arriving there on July 27 after an absence of "thirteen months and thirteen days."

Western explorations of Fonda.—Fonda's western explorations began at Natchez. Following the regular route he crossed to Natchitoches and thence to Fort Towson, in the southeastern part of the present state of Oklahoma. Here they camped near a small stream which Fonda says was called La Bontte Run,[32] and the

[32] Fort Towson is on Gates Creek (Century Atlas), a small stream which flows into the Red River near the mouth of the Kiamitia River. This was undoubtedly the stream which Fonda calls Le Bontte Run.

For a more complete account of Fonda's explorations *see* Goodwin,

emigrants utilized the time to rest and to perfect their plans. The main party determined to settle in Mexican territory but Fonda remained with a Scotchman who had taken a Choctaw squaw for a wife and kept a trading post "on the head waters of the Sabine River." Here he remained throughout the winter of 1819, and in the following summer conducted a successful business expedition to New Orleans for his employer. During the fall and winter of 1820 he clerked for the Scotchman and occasionally tried to engage in the Indian trade on his own account, but this was opposed by his employer who desired to maintain a business monopoly among the Indians of that section. Despite this opposition Fonda made a few successful fur trading "excursions" among the Shawnee and Osage Indians, but he later grew tired of the life and decided to take up his travels toward the west.

From Fort Towson to Santa Fe.—In the spring of 1823 "soon after the grass was well up" Fonda left for Santa Fé "along with two fellows who had come up from New Orleans." He rode "a mustang colt" and placed his "trappings on board an old pack-mule." They traveled west "to the source of the Red River, through the Comanche country, north to the forks of the Canadian River where we took the old Santa Fé trail, which led us over and through the southern spur of the Rocky Mountains, to Santa Fé, where we arrived without any of those thrilling adventures, or Indian fights, that form the burden of many travelers' stories."

They saw no Indians at all except a party of "Kioways" with whom Fonda tried to carry on trade.

The route.—The exact route which Fonda took from the source of the Red River to Santa Fé is difficult to determine. Of course he did not reach the forks of

Cardinal, "John H. Fonda's Explorations in the Southwest" in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, July, 1919.

the Canadian if he went to the source of the Red River and there turned north. The forks of the Canadian are almost north of Fort Towson, the point from which he probably started. He may be referring to the forks made by the union of Mustang Creek with the Canadian River in northwestern Texas. It is equally certain that he did not strike the Santa Fé trail at the point where it crossed the Canadian River. He doubtless reached the Canadian River when he turned north from the Red at the mouth of Mustang Creek as already indicated or at the mouth of Major Long's Creek. Here he probably came upon "the much frequented Indian trail crossing the creek, from the west, and following down along the east bank" [88] to which Long refers. This he probably thought was the Santa Fé trail. If he took the route thus indicated he went west along the Canadian, finally reaching San Miguel, whence he followed the Santa Fé trail to Santa Fé.

Description of Taos.—Soon after arriving in Santa Fé Fonda lost track of his traveling companions. He then went to Taos where he spent the winter of 1823 and 1824. Here he found a town in which the "houses were all one story high, and built of clay or large gray brick." The inhabitants were Spaniards, Mexicans, "Indians, a mixed breed," and a few trappers. The town was a "lively wintering place, and many were the fandangoes, frolics, and fights which came off" during the winter.

By May, 1824, Fonda had become thoroughly disgusted with Taos and its inhabitants, "for the latter were a lazy, dirty, ignorant set, and as a whole, possessed less honor than the beggarly Winnebagoes about Prairie du Chien, at the present time" (1858).

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[88] James, Edwin (compiler), *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the years 1819 and 1820, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Sec'y of War; under the command of Major Stephen H. Long*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1823, II. 94.

Leaving Taos, Fonda returned to Santa Fé where he found a company of traders who were preparing to cross the plains to Missouri. He soon became acquainted with a man by the name of Campbell who was a merchant from St. Louis. The latter engaged the explorer "to oversee the loading and unloading of his three wagons, whenever it was necessary to cross a stream, which frequently happened."

The trip from Santa Fé to St. Louis proved to be "a hard journey," and one that Fonda "never cared to repeat." The "caravan of wagons, cattle, oxen, horses, mules left Santa Fé in good condition," but many of them died before the company reached the Missouri River—the animals from thirst and exhaustion, and the men from sickness and disease. The survivors reached St. Louis in October.

Bibliographical Notes

Such general accounts of American explorations of the Trans-Mississippi as come within this period are confined almost entirely to the well-known official explorations of Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Long. Accounts of some or all of these may be found in the following: Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America,* 9 vols., New York, 1903-1904, III; Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811,* New York, 1906; Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West,* 3 vols., New York, 1902; Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West; How We Won the Land Beyond the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; Isaac Joslin Cox, *The Early Explorations of Louisiana* (1906); Cardinal Goodwin, "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* December, 1917; John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States,* 8 vols., New York, 1883-1913, III and VII; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Exploration with Especial Reference to the Expedition of Lewis and Clark,* New York, 1914.

The journals of the various expeditions afford the most satisfactory sources of information. The editions used have been cited in the footnotes. Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Printed from*

the Original Manuscripts in the Library of the American Philosophical Society and by Direction of its Committee on Historical Documents together with Manuscript Material of Lewis and Clark from other Sources, including Note-books, Letters, Maps, etc., and the Journals of Charles Floyd and Joseph Whitehouse now for the first Time Published in Full and Exactly as written. 7 vols. and an Atlas, New York, 1904-1905. Each volume is divided into two parts and each part is bound separately, making fifteen volumes including the Atlas. Other editions are listed in Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (1912), 97. Herbert E. Bolton (editor), "Papers of Zebulon M. Pike" in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1908, contains some of the papers taken from Pike in 1807 by the Spanish authorities at Chihuahua. Some valuable material on explorations may be found in Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846,* 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907. The title pages vary according to the contents of the several volumes. Volumes XXXI and XXXII are indexes.

For further reading consult Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide;* J. N. Larned, *The Literature of American History;* Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies, a Bibliography of Original Narrative of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865,* San Francisco, 1921; and the bibliography in I. J. Cox, *Early Explorations of Louisiana* (University of Cincinnati Studies, 1906). The bibliographical note on "Explorations" in Channing, *The Jeffersonian System* (1906), 279-282, gives an excellent account of the various editions of the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE ADJUSTMENT OF BOUNDARIES TO 1821

Surrender of Louisiana to the United States.—The formal surrender of Louisiana to the United States took place at two different points along the Mississippi. Before a crowd of people that filled the Cabildo, Peter Clement Laussat delivered the keys of New Orleans to William C. C. Claiborne, the agent of the United States government, and absolved the subjects of France from further allegiance to the First Consul. Claiborne then welcomed them as citizens of the United States and assured them that they would be protected in their liberty, property, and religion, and that their agriculture and commerce would be fostered and encouraged in every way possible. This was in December, 1803. Upper Louisiana was surrendered at St. Louis in a much less formal manner. Major Amos Stoddard was chosen by the French Republic as its representative, and on March 9, 1804, he received the territory from the Spanish representatives, surrendering it the next day to officials of the United States.

Public sentiment and the cession.—The transfer of Louisiana to the United States brought keen disappointment to the majority of people living in the territory. The inhabitants of New Orleans were particularly incensed at the new order of things. Not only did the official sent out by the Congress of the United States have no knowledge of their language, customs, and laws, but he lacked personal interest in the prosperity of the community. Laussat, however, who remained in the country a few months after the cession, understood that such sentiments could not last. He also

appreciated fully what the Americans had gained and what France had lost.

The Americans [he said] have given fifteen millions of dollars for Louisiana; they would have given sixty rather than not possess it. They will receive one million of dollars for duties, at the customhouse in New Orleans, during the present year, a sum exceeding the interest of their money, without taking into consideration the value of the very great quantity of vacant lands. As to the twelve years during which our vessels are to be received on the footing of national ones, they present but an illusive prospect, considering the war and the impossibility of our being able to enter into competition with their merchantmen. Besides, all will in a short time turn to the advantage of English manufactures, by the great means this place will exclusively enjoy, from its situation, to supply the Spanish colonies as far as the equator. In a few years, the country, as far as the *Rio Bravo* will be in a state of cultivation. New Orleans will then have a population of from thirty to fifty thousand souls; and the new territory will produce sugar enough for the supply of North America and a part of Europe; let us not dissimulate; in a few years the existing prejudice will be worn off, the inhabitants will gradually become Americans by the introduction of native Americans and Englishmen, a system already begun. Many of the present inhabitants will leave the country in disgust; those who have large fortunes will retire to the mother country; a great proportion will remove into the Spanish settlements; and the remaining few will be lost amidst the newcomers. Should no fortunate amelioration of political events intervene, what a magnificent Nouvelle France have we lost. The Creoles and French established here unite in favor of France, and can not be persuaded that the convention for the cession of Louisiana is anything but a political trick; they think that it will return under the dominion of France.[1]

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[1] Quoted in Martin, François Xavier, *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 322.

On March 26, 1804, sixteen days after the surrender of Upper Louisiana to the United States, Congress passed an act dividing the cession into two parts. The "Territory of Orleans" included roughly what later was to constitute the state of Louisiana, and the remainder of the purchase was called the "District of Louisiana." Such a division, however, was keenly resented by the older population. It had always been a unit, the settlers contended, and it was as a whole and not as a mutilated territory "that it was to be received into the Confederacy *as soon as possible,* according to the terms of the treaty of cession."[2]

Population in 1803.—A few people in the community did not share such opinions. They were the Americans. To them the transfer was a welcome change. It is not possible to say how many there were or what per cent of the population they composed. Indeed the exact population of the territory at the time of the cession is not known. By 1800 Upper Louisiana contained forty-nine hundred and forty-nine people, and Louisiana by 1798 had approximately twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.[3] The consul of the United States located at New Orleans compiled a rude census in 1803 from such sources as he could procure for the Department of State. According to this report the total population of the territory was 49,473.[4] To New Orleans was given a population of 8,056. "Tehoupitoulas" contained 7,444. The populations of other districts were much smaller while the districts themselves were large.

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[2] Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana, American Domination,* 2-5.

[3] Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review,* V. 197, 199, 204, 207. *See also* Mattie A. Hatcher, "The Louisiana Background of the Colonization of Texas, 1763-1803" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* January, 1921. 194.

[4] The population is given for various districts. *See* Martin, *History of Louisiana,* 300, for a copy of the report.

It should be repeated that these figures at best are only approximate, and they evidently included the West Florida country. The white settlers were few and they were confined to the banks of the Mississippi and its principal tributaries from New Orleans to St. Charles. The vast stretches of country to the west and to the north were still unoccupied. In fact they were practically unknown to the government that had just become the owner of the country. Even the boundaries of the territory acquired were undetermined. The purpose of this chapter is to trace briefly the movement of American settlers into the region and to give an account of the adjustment of the boundaries of the territory purchased.

Movement of American Settlers into Upper Louisiana.—It is a well-known fact that Americans had begun to cross the Mississippi into both the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana before the end of the eighteenth century and that in some localities they had begun to dominate the affairs of the community. Upper Louisiana had been divided into five administrative districts. St. Charles, the most northern of these and including the territory between the Missouri and the Mississippi, was settled largely by the French at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. There were a few Americans living in the district. They were not in the villages but in scattered and detached farmsteads along the Cuivre River, and the Dardenne and Perruque creeks which flowed into the Mississippi, and along La Charette and Femme Osage creeks, tributaries to the Missouri. The valley of the Dardenne drew the largest number of Americans in this district. The St. Louis district, just south of the St. Charles and including the country between the Missouri River and the Meramec, had also been occupied to some extent by Americans in 1803. They had not sought the villages which were occupied mostly by the French, but had

located on homesteads along the creeks flowing into the Missouri and Meramec rivers, and along the banks of the latter stream.

In the district of the Ste. Genevieve was located the best known of the American settlements. It was near modern Potosi and called Mine à Breton or Burton. Lead had been discovered there in 1775 and the permanent settlement probably dates from that time. It became prominent with the appearance of Moses Austin. He visited the mines of Ste. Genevieve in 1796 and received a grant of land. Two years later he returned to Virginia and brought his family. At modern Farmington and Fredericktown in the St. François valley settlements were begun about the same time. Up to 1799 the increase of population in Ste. Genevieve district was slow, but during the five years ending in 1804 the number of people grew from 1,156 to 2,870. The most prosperous communities in Upper Louisiana were to be found here.

Morgan's proposed colony.—In the last two districts, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, the Americans were in the majority. Most of the people in the former district came from Tennessee and North Carolina and many of them were of German or German-Swiss descent. It was in the New Madrid district and at New Madrid, or L'Anee à la Graise as it was first called, that Colonel George Morgan of Virginia attempted to found an American colony in 1789. Elaborate plans were drawn up for a large town here. Morgan was thoroughly familiar with conditions in the country west of the Alleghenies as far as the Mississippi, he had suffered reverses at home, and in this remote western country he thought he saw an opportunity to recover his losses by establishing a colony. He took up the matter with the Spanish ambassador at Washington, Gardoqui, who promised to support him. A grant of approximately fifteen millions of acres of

land extending along the Mississippi for three hundred miles from the mouth of the St. François River to modern Perry County, Missouri, was assured him for the undertaking. Morgan thoughtfully provided conditions which would give his settlers certain guaranties, such as the right of local self-government and exemption from nearly all taxation, and then with the permission of the Spanish minister secured, Morgan started west to advertise his project and examine his claim. With a large company of men collected *en route,* he made his way down the Ohio to its mouth, arriving at the latter place February 14, 1789, and crossed to the west side of the Mississippi. He then made a trip to St. Louis to deliver a letter to the Spanish commandant from Gardoqui and returned to begin laying out the new town which he had already planned. It was to be four miles long and two wide, with generous allowances made for both parks and streets. To each of the first six hundred settlers who came were to be offered a city lot of one-half acre and one outlying lot of five acres. Cabins were erected and magazines for provisions were built, gardens were laid out, and preparations were made for immediately putting one hundred acres into cultivation. Land sufficient for three hundred and fifty families was to be platted into farms of three hundred and twenty acres each for prospective settlers. It was expected that these liberal inducements would draw to the new colony a thousand families annually.

The plans did not materialize. The approval of Miró, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, could not be gained. Why? It may have been due to intrigues to dissolve the American Union in which Miró and the United States commander, Wilkinson, were involved, and which they felt could not be carried through successfully if Morgan's plans were permitted to materialize. Or it may have been that Miró feared that

too many Americans would be brought into Spanish territory.[5]

Results of Morgan's work.—Despite the failure of Morgan's program the work he did was a potent factor in the American settlement of Upper Louisiana. In the first place the majority of the people who came with him remained as permanent settlers. In the second, the extensive advertising which he did drew many other Americans to the country. A little later, when Spain offered exceptional inducements to prospective emigrants to come into the country, the interest of citizens of the United States was the more easily aroused because of the publicity campaign which Morgan had conducted.

Summary of settlements in Upper Louisiana 1804.—The distribution of settlements in Upper Louisiana by 1804 may be briefly summarized. They were to be found along the Mississippi from the extreme southeastern corner of the present state of Missouri to New Madrid and from the mouth of the Ohio north to Cape Girardeau. In the low lands between these points the only settled area of importance was the long, narrow ridge stretching north from New Madrid. In the town and along the river to the southward, Americans and French lived side by side; the other settlements were largely American. The strip along the river from Cape Girardeau nearly to the Meramec was settled only at the mouths of the creeks and along their courses, and in the lowlands at Ste. Genevieve and Bois Brule within the boundaries of present Perry County, Missouri. The settlements were mostly

[5] Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri; A Collection of Papers and Documents Relating to Upper Louisiana Principally within the Present Limits of Missouri during the Dominion of Spain, from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, etc. Translated from the Original Spanish into English, and Including also some Papers Concerning the supposed Grant to Col. George Morgan at the mouth of the Ohio Found in the Congressional Library*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1909, I. 275 ff. *See also* Violette, *A History of* [illegible]*ouri*, 39-51.

French except those on the northern creeks. In the rolling uplands of what are now Cape Girardeau and Perry counties there were settlements which differed very little from typical American settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. The lower Meramec was an American district and between the Meramec and the Missouri settlements were to be found wherever water and timber existed. On the Meramec and on the Missouri above St. Charles the Americans were in the majority, but at St. Louis the French dominated affairs. Over the rest of the district the two races mingled on a nearly equal basis, the French usually outnumbering the Americans in the villages. North of the Missouri the French occupied the villages of St. Charles and Portage des Sioux and the Americans settled on the creeks flowing into the Mississippi and the Missouri.

It will be rightly concluded from what has been said that the Americans were living in small groups and on detached farms, except at New Madrid, and that commerce and industry were almost entirely in the hands of the French. The French also dominated government and politics. The Americanization of Upper Louisiana had hardly begun despite the fact that the majority of the settlers were of American origin.[6] However, the population was so sparse and so widely scattered and the future immigrants were so sure to be Americans that French dominance could not be expected to last long.

Population of the Territory of Orleans.—This could not be said of the Territory of Orleans. Here the country available for settlement was more restricted and the larger population had a French element sufficiently strong to give a permanent Gallic coloring to certain phases of the life of the people. We have seen already

[6] Viles, "The Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804" in the *Missouri Historical Review*, 1910-1911. V. 187-213.

that the report of the American consul at New Orleans in 1803 gave the southern territory a population of less than 50,000. Three years later a census was taken. The final reports indicated a population of 52,998, of whom 23,574 were slaves and 3,355 were free people of color. This would leave a white population of 26,069, of whom 13,500 were natives of the United States and the remainder of native French, Spanish, English, German, and Irish extraction. These figures were reported to the Secretary of State by Claiborne and were declared to be approximately correct. Between 1806 and 1809 the number of immigrants had not been large; "it may have given us an increase of between three and four thousand free persons, two-thirds of whom are native Americans." The Governor expected a large addition to the French population within a few weeks, however. There had been a number of people recently banished from Cuba who were expected to seek an asylum in Louisiana.[7]

Internal problems.—The unsettled condition in Santo Domingo and the invasion of Spain by France were followed by a large immigration into Louisiana in 1809. They had begun to arrive in New Orleans by early summer, some with their slaves and such other property as they could bring, and others in utter destitution. They did not receive a cordial welcome from some of the inhabitants of Louisiana, but they continued to come throughout the summer. Before the first of August, 5,754 of them had landed at New Orleans. Of these 1,798 were white people, 1,977 were free people of color, and 1,979 were slaves. The admission of slaves from foreign countries was against the law, but Claiborne found ways of disregarding it.[8]

[7] Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana, American Domination,* 211 ff. The data on population is taken from this letter.

[8] See Claiborne's letter to the Mayor of New Orleans quoted in *ibid.,* 215.

Throughout the months of summer and fall they continued to come and with their arrival came problems for the governor. Many were "of doubtful character and desperate fortunes and many, probably, would become willing instruments in the hands of those unprincipled, intriguing individuals who would wish to disturb the peace and union of the American States." [9] Apparently this was particularly true of the later arrivals. The difficulties of the territorial administration, however, were not confined to maintaining a semblance of order among a people who were hostile to the officers and among whom there was a strong lawless element. The price of food had become exorbitant, house rent increased in the same proportion, and by the end of November suffering had become intense and widespread.

West Florida declares its independence.—During the following year (1810) Claiborne's responsibilities were increased by the annexation of West Florida. There were many American settlers in the district who had been citizens of various states in the Union. They had felt an increasing desire to be annexed to their country, and Madison, who succeeded Jefferson as the chief executive, was in sympathy with any move which would give the United States access to the Gulf. Indeed it had been claimed as part of the Louisiana purchase. Its position had been rendered still more difficult because it had become a retreat for fugitive slaves from Orleans and Mississippi territories, and the right of slave owners to invade the country and seize their slaves had been called in question by Spanish authorities. The fact that the territory was a retreat for outlaws and renegades from justice added to the confusion in this disputed district. Within the territory an attempted revolution had already indicated the prevalent

[9] *Ibid.*, 220.

discontent, and finally, in 1810, when the overthrow of the Bourbons had induced Spanish provinces in the West to seek independence through revolution, a movement was initiated in West Florida to establish the independence of that province. A convention was called and drew up a declaration of independence, the sophistry of which is amusing when one remembers that Americans dominated the convention:

> It is known to the world with what fidelity the people of this Territory have professed and maintained allegiance to their legitimate sovereign, while any hope remained of receiving from him protection for their property and lives. Without making any unnecessary innovation in the established principles of the Government, we had voluntarily adopted certain regulations, in concert with our First Magistrate, for the express purpose of preserving this Territory, and showing our attachment to the Government which had heretofore protected us. This compact, which was entered into with good faith on our part, will forever remain an honorable testimony of our upright intentions and inviolable fidelity to our King and parent country while so much as a shadow of legitimate authority remained to be exercised over us.[10]

Following the declaration of independence the people of West Florida elected a governor. They had scarcely begun their independent career when President Madison intervened by ordering Claiborne to take possession of the territory in the name of the United States. In December, 1810, this was accomplished. The newly elected governor consented to withdraw his claims, but Mobile and the country east of the Pearl River remained in the hands of the Spaniards until

[10] *Annals of Congress, 11th Cong., 3d Sess.*, Appendix, 1254. Governor de Lassus of West Florida, it had been learned, was secretly requesting Governor Folch of Pensacola to send an armed force to quell insurrection in West Florida. It was said that this roused the Americans and led to the convention and declaration of independence.

they were driven out in 1813 during the war between the United States and England.[11]

Admission of Orleans into Union opposed.—The Territory of Orleans was to be admitted into the Union as a state as soon as the population numbered sixty thousand. Before the census of 1810 was taken the territorial legislature addressed a memorial to Congress seeking admission on an equal footing with the original states. This document was sent to the Secretary of State at Washington by Governor Claiborne on May 18, 1809, with a recommendation that the request be refused.[12] The census of 1810 showed that the population had passed the sixty-thousand mark. In the following year a member of the House of Representatives introduced the subject by declaring that Orleans should be admitted into the Union. The discussion which followed became exceedingly bitter at times, and the opponents of the proposal were unrelenting in opposition. Said Josiah Quincy, a member of the House from Massachusetts:

> To me it appears that it would justify a revolution in this country; and that, in no great length of time, it may produce it. When I see the zeal and perseverance with which this bill has been urged along its parliamentary path, when I know the local interests and associated projects which combine to promote its success, all opposition to it seems painfully unavailing. I am almost tempted to leave, without a struggle, my country to its fate! And again, "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that, *if this bill passes,* the bonds of the Union are virtually dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to

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[11] Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications,* I. Parts 2 and 3.
[12] Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, American Domination,* 211.

prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must.[13]

He was called to order by John Poindexter of Mississippi Territory, but won his point with the House and proceeded with his speech. His main reason for opposing the admission of Orleans was that it would be unconstitutional. The Constitution had been drawn up by the people of the United States for themselves and their posterity, and "not for the people of Louisiana, nor for the people of New Orleans, or of Canada."

Becomes state of Louisiana; West Florida included.—Yet the opponents of the bill could not block its passage and on February 20, 1811, it was signed by the President. This bill authorized the people of Orleans to draw up a constitution and form a state government. A convention met at New Orleans and adopted a state constitution in the latter part of January, 1812. Orleans was then admitted into the Union by Congress as the state of Louisiana, the act to take effect on April 30, which was the anniversary of the treaty of cession. The boundaries of the new state were to be the Sabine River on the west, the thirty-third parallel of north latitude on the north as far east as the Mississippi, down the river to the Iberville, following the course of the latter through lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico. The Gulf was of course the southern boundary including all the islands within three leagues of the coast. Almost immediately that part of West Florida lying south of the thirty-first parallel and west of the Pearl River was made a part of the new state and divided into the "Florida Parishes." Claiborne was elected the first governor under the new constitution.[14]

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[13] *Annals of Congress, 11th Cong., 3d Sess.*

[14] Phelps, *Louisiana,* 247-251. *See also Brown,* Everett Somerville, *The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812,* Berkeley, 1920. Chapters X and XI.

Population of Louisiana in 1812.—Meanwhile the population within the newly formed state had been increasing and the boundaries of the occupied territory had been enlarged. The United States census map for 1810 shows a continuous line of settlement in the Territory of Orleans from the vicinity of Mississippi Sound eastward along the parallel that passes just south of New Orleans and touches the Gulf coast again in the vicinity of Vermillion Bay, thence from these extreme eastern and western points north to similar points on a parallel passing through the mouth of the Red River, the density of the population diminishing in the more remote sections west of the Mississippi. From the mouth of the Red River a line of settled area follows the course of that stream to Natchitoches. Another broader line of settlement extends up the Mississippi and along the eastern banks of the Black and Washita rivers, the line dividing into two in the vicinity of modern Winnsboro. The eastern line follows the course of the Washita to a point south of modern Monroe, and the western continues up the Mississippi to within a short distance of the northern boundary of the territory. Ten years later, eight years after the Territory of Orleans had become the state of Louisiana, the three fingers of settlement along the courses of the Red, Washita, and Mississippi rivers had lengthened and broadened. The territory had a population of 76,556; the state in 1820 had 152,923 inhabitants.

Changes in organization of Upper Louisiana.—It will be remembered that the name District of Louisiana was given to that part of the purchase lying north of the thirty-third parallel in 1804. For governmental purposes it was at first attached to the Territory of Indiana, but the people protested so vigorously against this that Congress, on July 4, 1805, changed it into the Territory of Louisiana with a governor, a secretary, and three judges of its own. When the Territory of

Orleans became the state of Louisiana seven years later, the name Territory of Louisiana was changed to Territory of Missouri. The area of the latter was reduced in 1819 by the formation of the Territory of Arkansas. With these explanations of changes in mind we may now turn our attention to the extension of American settlements in the northern territory between the years 1804 and 1820.

Increase in population 1804-1812.—The majority of the immigrants who came into the Territory of Louisiana during the early years of this period were not the ones as a rule who pushed the frontier westward. They preferred to settle in or near communities which had already been formed. This explains why the area of settlement did not increase very much although the number of settlers nearly doubled. The increase in the population of a community, however, invariably stirred the restless spirit of the genuine pioneer already on the ground. Too many neighbors and the building of roads, bridges, and fields annoyed him and deprived him of "elbow room," and often he again pushed out into the unoccupied places to seek the solitude and individual freedom which he could not have in the midst of his multiplying neighbors.[15]

Northern Part.—These were the ones who opened up a few new places before the War of 1812 and they were soon followed by the more permanent settlers. The line of settled area was carried up the Mississippi to Cuivre River in what is now Lincoln County, Missouri, and even as far north as Hannibal. But the more important movement was up the Missouri. Two families are reported to have been living on the Gasconade in 1808; two years later the captain of militia in this district had two hundred and fifty on his muster roll.[16] At Loutre Island the first settlement had been

[15] Turner, *Significance of the Frontier in American History.*
[16] Brackenridge, "Journal" in Thwaites, *Western Travels,* 22.

made in 1807 and by 1811 the population had increased considerably and several families had occupied country west of the island. Cote sans Dessein, near the mouth of the Osage River, was settled in 1808, and its inhabitants multiplied several times during the next three years. The most prominent of these extreme western settlements in 1811 was in the area known as the Boonslick country. It was a name applied to the territory in and around the present county of Howard in Missouri. The name arose from the fact that two sons of Daniel Boone made salt there at a salt spring or lick in 1807, and returned to the older settlements with an enthusiastic account of the splendid agricultural advantages which the new country afforded. The following year an attempt to establish a settlement there had to be abandoned because the country had not been acquired from the Indians at that time. By the end of 1811 more than seventy-five families had established themselves in the territory, one of the early occupants being the father of Kit Carson. In the vicinity of Fort Osage, still farther west, a lonely pioneer had opened a farm before the outbreak of the War of 1812; and even down to 1819 this continued to mark the extreme edge of western settlement.[17]

Southern part.—Farther south in the country which was to become known as Arkansas, the growth of settlement was not so rapid during the years preceding the second war for independence, but the increase of the American population was constant and regular. They chose fertile lands in the valleys of the Mississippi, the Arkansas, and the White rivers. The settlement along the lower valley of the Arkansas was somewhat impeded during the period on account of the difficulty the immigrants experienced in procuring lands. South of

[17] Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union*, 3 vols., 1908, III. 145-150.

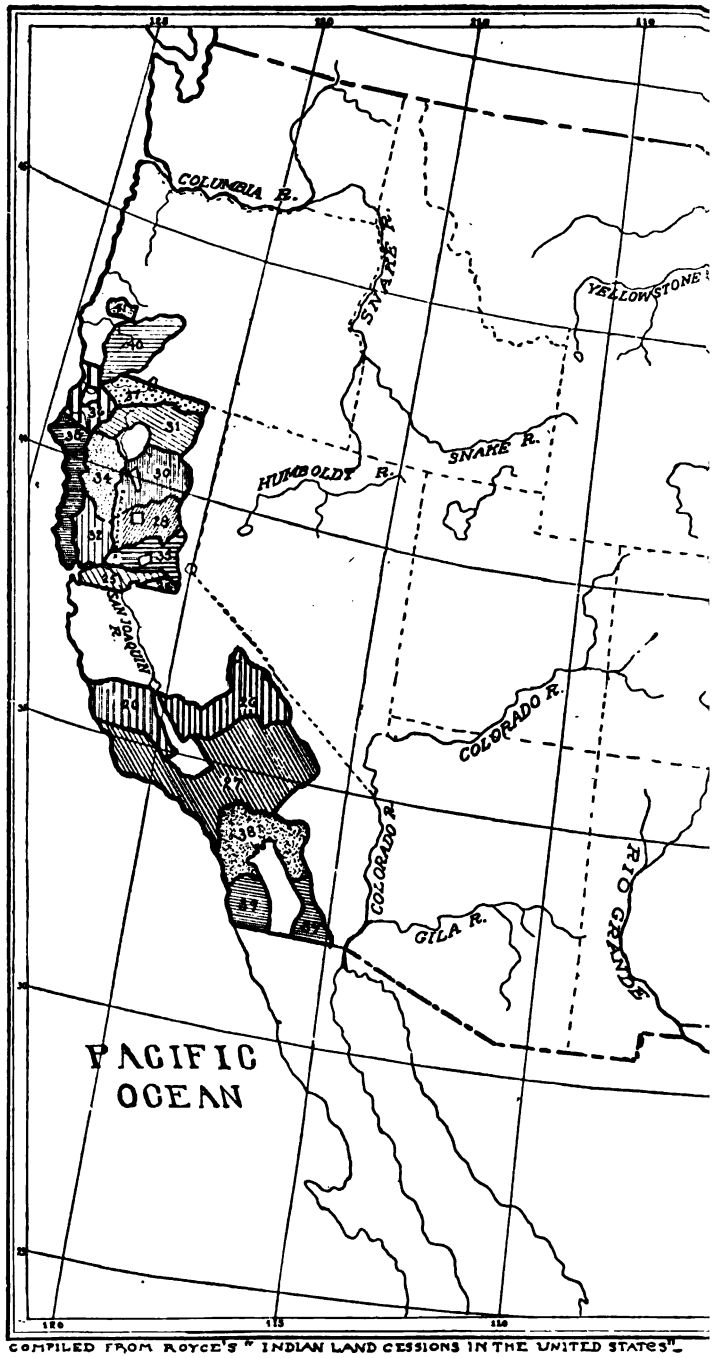
the river the land was owned by the Quapaw Indians who could not sell; north of the Arkansas the settlement was impeded somewhat by Spanish grants. The land from the Arkansas Post to Argenta was claimed by Elisha and Gabriel Winter and Joseph Stilwell. It is said that they had secured the grant in 1798 as a reward for having introduced manufacturing at New Orleans. They were willing to sell the land but the immigrants were afraid the grantors could not give legal title to the soil. It can scarcely be said, however, that the westward movement was halted in this quarter as a result of the existing status of land.[18]

Throughout this section Indian squatters who came from tribes east of the Mississippi multiplied and caused increasing annoyance to the whites.

Indian settlers.—Indians of the Southwest had crossed the Mississippi before Louisiana was purchased by the United States. This was particularly true of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. It was a movement in which Jefferson manifested considerable interest and on three different occasions during the years 1803 to 1812 an effort was made to have the Indians exchange their lands east of the Mississippi for western territory. The first instance was early in 1805. A delegation of Chickasaws from Mississippi Territory came to Washington for a conference. Jefferson, in the midst of a discussion on the benefits to be derived from agricultural pursuits, hinted delicately at removal. He informed them that the United States had recently acquired land from the French beyond the Mississippi, a great deal of which was unoccupied by red men. "But it is very far off, and we would prefer giving you lands there, or money and goods, as you like best, for such parts of your land on this side of

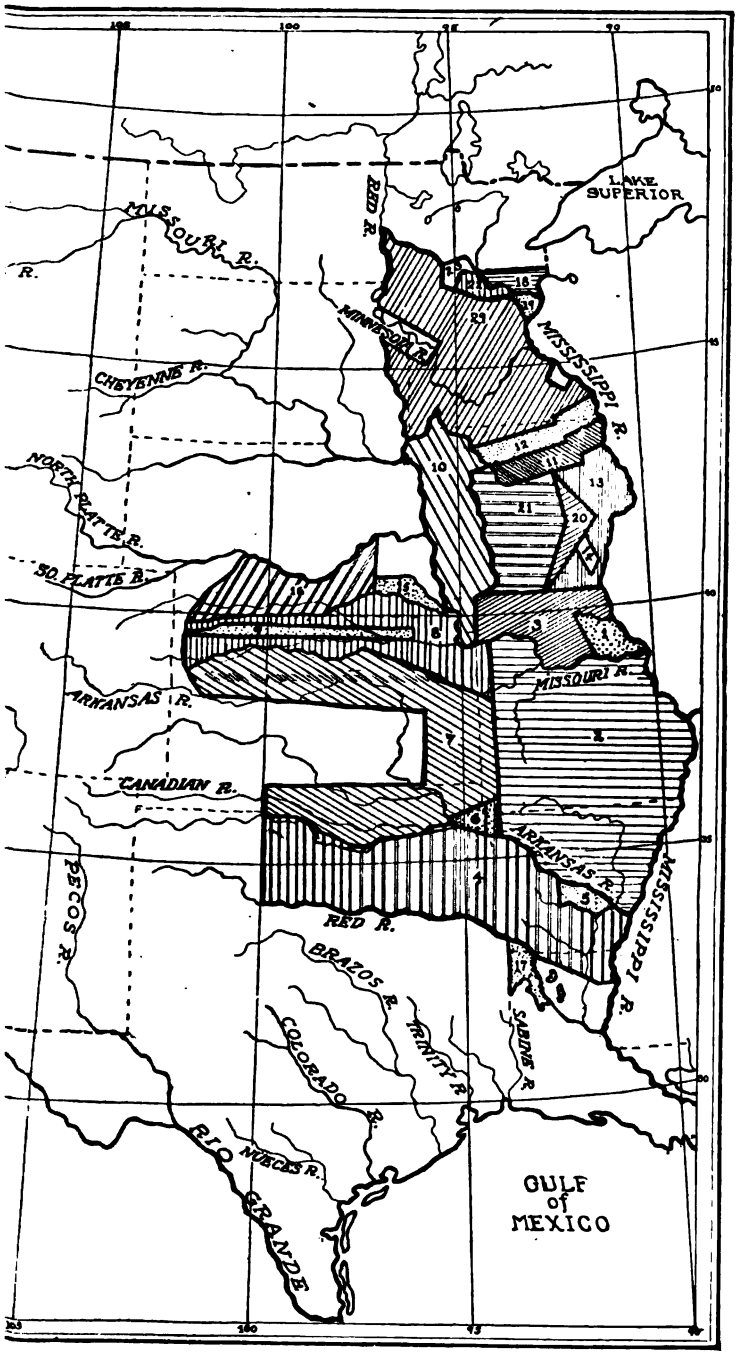
[18] Quoted in Abel, Annie H., "History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi" in American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1906, I. 252. J. H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, 27.

INDIAN LAND CESSIONS
West of the
MISSISSIPPI
1804 — 1854



24 - MAR. 19 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
25 - MAY 28 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
26 - JUNE 3. 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
27 - JUNE 10 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
28 - JULY 18 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
30 - AUG. 1 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
31 - AUG. 16 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
32 - AUG 20 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
33 - AUG. 22 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
34 - SEPT. 9 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
35 - SEPT. 18 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
36 - OCT. 6 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
37 - NOV. 4 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
38 - JAN. 3 1852 SAN LUIS REY
39 - JAN. 7 1852 DIEGUENOS
40 - SEPT. 10 1853 ROGUE
41 - SEPT. 17 1853 UMPQUA

COMPILED FROM ROYCE'S "INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES"



1- NOV. 3 1804
SAUK & FOX.
2- NOV. 10 1808
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
3- NOV. 10 1808
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
AUG. 4 1824
SAUK & FOX
4- AUG. 2 4 1818
QUAPAW
5- NOV. 15 1824
QUAPAW RESERVE
6- SEPT. 25 1818
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
7- JUNE 2 1825
GR & LITTLE OSAGE
8- JUNE 3 1825
KANSAS
9- JAN. 14 1846
KANSAS RESERVE
10- JULY. 15 1830
SAUK & FOX
11- JULY 15 1830
SAUK & FOX
12- JULY. 15 1830
SAUK & FOX
13- SEPT. 21 1832
SAUK & FOX
14- SEPT. 28 1834
RESERVE
15- SEPT. 21 1833
OTO & MISSOURI
16- OCT. 9 1833
PAWNEE
17- JULY 1 1835
CADDO
18- JULY 27 1837
CHIPPEWA
19- SEPT. 29 1837
SIOUX
20- OCT. 21. 1837
SAUK & FOX
21- OCT. 11 1842
SAUK & FOX
22- AUG. 2 1847
CHIPPEWA
23- AUG. 27 1847
CHIPPEWA
24- JULY. 23. 1851
SIOUX

the Mississippi as you are disposed to part with. Should you have anything to say on this subject now or at any future time, we shall be always ready to listen to you." In 1808 efforts were made to induce the Choctaws to remove west of the Mississippi, but these attempts failed. A little later, probably as a result of the influence of Colonel Meigs, the Cherokees expressed a desire to go and permission was secured for the migration of all those who cared to move. They were to receive land in the Trans-Mississippi West equal to the amount they surrendered in the East. With the inauguration of Madison, however, interest in Cherokee emigration lapsed. The government failed to provide the funds which had been promised and the Cherokees, thrown on their own resources, went or remained as they chose. A few of them went, but they had no definite tract assigned them west of the Mississippi at that time, and they wandered about or settled down whenever and wherever they could find room.[19]

The treaty of 1817.—On July 8, 1817, a treaty was made whereby the United States agreed to cede the Cherokees as much land west of the Mississippi as they had given up east of that stream. The tract assigned under Article 5 of the treaty was between the Arkansas and White rivers. The eastern line began at Point Remove on the upper bank of the Arkansas and ran northeastward to the White River. The western limits were not defined. In fact they could not be until the amount of land to which the Cherokees were entitled had been determined.

Removal of Indians from Arkansas Territory.—When Schoolcraft descended the White River in January, 1820, he found considerable uneasiness and discontent among the white settlers on account of this

[19] *Ibid.*, 255, 256.

treaty.[20] Homes had been built and farms inclosed within the ceded tract and the occupants of these were not sure whether they would be permitted to retain them. The constant friction between the settlers and the Indians resulted in appeals to the government and further Indian removals.[21] The Quapaws had surrendered their lands south of the Arkansas on August 4, 1824. By 1825 the Choctaws had been compelled to retire west of the Arkansas line. In that same year negotiations were begun with the Cherokees which continued for three years. In 1828 they were moved still farther west much to the delight of the settler.

Settlement of Missouri Territory 1812-1820.—The outbreak of war between the United States and England in 1812 checked temporarily the westward movement of the American people, but immediately following that event came an outburst of renewed interest in westward migration. From thirty to fifty wagons crossed the Mississippi daily at St. Louis, the majority of them coming from Tennessee and Kentucky. The Indian title to land in the Boonslick country was extinguished in 1814, and the country north and west of the Osage River was named Howard County in 1816. A year later a county seat was established at Franklin. The growth of this town was like that of many others along the frontier. Within a year after it was laid out it contained one hundred and fifty houses and a population of eight hundred or a thousand people, and the price of lots rose from fifty to six hundred dollars. The town was built on low bottom land and as a result was entirely washed away by the floods of the Missouri before 1830, but its disappearance marks the

[20] Schoolcraft, *Adventures in the Ozark Mountains*, 130.

[21] Abel, *History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*, 367-369. An excellent brief summary of Indian migrations and treaties with the Indians of the South will be found in the introductory chapter of Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (University of California Publications, 1917).

beginning of the rapid growth of Boonville which had been founded in 1819. The few people who were living in what became Cooper County had crossed the river during the war to seek protection in the forts there, but when peace was concluded they returned to the south bank of the Missouri and with new immigrants formed extensive settlements in that section. The thirty families residing on the left bank of the Missouri above Côte sans Dessein, a settlement two miles below the mouth of the Osage River, increased to eight hundred by the arrival of immigrants during the next three years. In 1817 Chariton did not exist; two years later it was a community of five hundred people. Even farther west, immigrants pushed their way into Carroll and Clay counties and opened up farms.

While the settlers along the Missouri multiplied, pioneers began to make their way up the tributaries of that stream and to seek out the more desirable places in the valleys and uplands in other parts of the territory. When Long made his expedition in 1819 settlements had been made and industries established along Gasconade and the country within the present boundaries of Maries County had been occupied. Up the White River came immigrants from the country to the south to build homes where Springfield now stands. Modern Forsyth, a little farther south, had already been occupied. In the vicinity of the present town of Van Buren in Carter County, other homes were built at about the same time. As the new settlements increased in numbers the older farms became larger and more prosperous so that by 1820 cornfields of several hundred acres might be found growing in sections which had been practically unoccupied three or four years earlier.[22]

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[22] Houck, *History of Missouri*, III. 150-160; Violette, *History of Missouri*, 74-81.

Southern part.—Meanwhile the southern part of the territory was receiving immigrants from eastern states. The settlements were made in the fertile valleys of streams in various parts of the territory. Some from Kentucky came down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the mouth of the White, and followed up that stream to Poke Bayou, later Batesville, in what became Independence County, Arkansas, while others drove herds of cattle overland to the same place as early as 1810. During the preceding year homes were built on the banks of the Washita near the present site of Arkadelphia. As early as 1812, salt was manufactured in the vicinity and by that same year steamboats were plying between Blakleytown, the early name for Arkadelphia, and New Orleans. Descendants of Daniel Boone, the children of Flanders Callaway and his wife, Gemima Boone, settled here as early as 1816. Blakleytown thus became one of the earliest settlements in that part of Arkansas Territory. The people had settled in sufficient numbers to justify the formation of Clark County in 1819 and in the same year a newspaper, the *Arkansas Weekly Gazette,* began to appear. Before 1810 pioneers had occupied land in the southeastern part of the territory and in 1818 Hempstead County was organized there. By 1820 seven hundred and thirty-two miles of post roads existed in the territory, more than five hundred and eighty-two miles of which were used for delivery of mails.[23]

Summary of Population of Missouri Territory 1820.—The United States census reports show that in 1810 what is now Missouri had a population of 19,783; the territory which became Arkansas contained 1,062.

[23] See the following articles in the Arkansas Historical Association, *Reports:* C. H. Brough, "The Industrial History of Arkansas"; L. S. Butler, "History of Clark County"; I. J. H. Shinn, "Early Arkansas Newspapers"; all in I; A. H. Carrigan, "Reminiscences of Hempstead County," II; N. B. Williams, "The Post Offices in Early Arkansas," III; Robert Neil, "Reminiscences of Independence County," III.

Ten years later the southern territory had increased to 14,255, while Missouri had passed the 65,000 mark. While the population of the northern part of the Territory of Missouri was increasing more than three hundred per cent, that of the southern part had grown over twelve hundred per cent. A large number of the immigrants came from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, many bringing their slaves with them.

Missouri seeks statehood.—Such a growth would obviously, sooner or later, affect the attitude of the people toward the existing government. It will be remembered that Upper Louisiana had been raised to a territory of the second rank in 1812, and that the name had been changed to Missouri. In April, 1816, it was made a territory of the highest order, but the population was rapidly reaching that stage when the territorial form of government would no longer satisfy the people. During the latter part of 1817 the inhabitants of Missouri began to draw up petitions to Congress praying for admission to statehood and these were placed before the national legislature early in 1818. In April of that year a bill authorizing the people of Missouri to form a state constitution was introduced, but failed to pass. In November following, the territorial legislature drafted a memorial to Congress requesting admission into the Union and at the same time another was presented from the people in what is now Arkansas requesting a division of the territory. The petitions were referred to committees and a bill to enable the people of Missouri to form a state constitution was reported. After a delay of a month it was taken up by the Committee of the Whole. It was at this time that James Tallmadge of New York proposed an amendment making the admission of Missouri subject to two conditions: the further introduction of slaves into Missouri should be forbidden, and all children born of

slave parents after the admission of the state into the Union should be free after they had attained the age of twenty-five years.

Tallmadge Amendment.—Tallmadge exercised great tact in submitting his amendment. He explained his motive carefully, hoping that if he failed to disarm opposition at least the slaveholders would oppose him with moderation. His amendment, he explained, affected only the newly acquired territory beyond the Mississippi. He knew that the subject was a delicate one and he had learned from southern gentlemen of the difficulties and dangers of having free negroes mingle with slaves. For this reason he had no desire to meddle with slavery in the slaveholding states. He would not even advocate the prohibition of slavery in the territory of Alabama because "surrounded as it was by slaveholding states, and with only imaginary lines of division, the intercourse between slaves and free blacks could not be prevented, and a servile war might be the result.[24]

Amendment denounced.—These conciliatory expressions were spoken in vain. Tallmadge had scarcely taken his seat when his proposed amendment was assailed vigorously by southern leaders. It was declared to be unconstitutional because Congress, it was said, had no right to place restrictions on any state as a condition of its admission to the Union. Furthermore, according to the terms of the treaty of purchase, Congress was pledged to form Louisiana into states and admit them into the Union on the same footing with the original states, and Missouri would not be on the same footing with the original states if forced to abolish slavery as a condition of admission. The amendment was declared to be unwise because it would reserve Missouri to free state men alone and close it to

[24] *Annals of Congress, 1818-1819*, 1203.

southern emigrants. This restriction on emigration would reduce the number of prospective land purchasers to just that extent, and this in turn would result in a fall in the price of public lands and a corresponding decrease in the amount of the public revenue. Feelings waxed hot and not infrequently invectives took the place of arguments. The delegate from Missouri, Scott, bade the supporters of the amendment to beware the "Ides of March" and the fate of Cæsar and Rome. Cobb of Georgia declared that Tallmadge and his supporters would dissolve the Union if they persisted, and looking at the former he continued, "You have kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish."[25] Livermore of New York was told by Colston of Virginia "that he was no better than Arbuthnot or Ambrister, and deserved no better fate."

These arguments and denunciations failed to intimidate the proponents of the bill. The Tallmadge amendment was accepted by the committee and passed by the House, but it was stricken out in the Senate. The House would not accept it in this form and the measure was lost.

Arkansas made Territory.—The petition from the people in the southern part of the territory, submitted at the same time as the memorial from the northern part, was followed by the introduction of a bill creating the Territory of Arkansas. This came before the Committee of the Whole on February 17, 1819. Taylor proposed an amendment for it similar to the one Tallmadge had suggested for Missouri. This also produced a sharp struggle in which Clay accused its advocates of "Negrophobia." A representative of North Carolina wanted to know whether the South was to be deprived of all territory west of the Mississippi and

[25] *Ibid., 1819-1820,* 1204.

the people of Arkansas of "the natural and constitutional right of legislating for themselves" by imposing on them a condition they would not accept. This argument is interesting as a distinct avowal of the doctrine later known as "squatter sovereignty." Apparently it was effective. Taylor made several vain efforts to have his amendment accepted, but the majority were against him. Finally he moved that slavery should not thereafter be introduced into any of the territories north of 36° and 30′ north latitude. The House was not ready for this, and Taylor consented to withdraw the amendment. The bill met no opposition in the Senate and was passed and signed by Monroe before Congress adjourned on March 4, 1819.

On December 6, 1819, the sixteenth Congress met and Clay was again elected Speaker of the House. During the interval between March and December the people of the country North and South had been taking a keener interest in the slavery question. In the former section the antislavery sentiment grew stronger and more outspoken; in the latter the defense of the institution became more vigorous and less apologetic. In both sections numerous public gatherings gave voice to emphatic opinions in unmistakable language.[26] Under such circumstances the admission of Missouri became the great question of the hour.

Missouri Compromise.—On January 6, 1820, a bill was introduced in the Senate providing for the admission of Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts, and of Missouri. The latter was to have slavery. The House had already passed a bill to admit Maine separately but they were coupled together in the Senate for the avowed purpose of compelling northern senators to vote for the admission of Missouri with slavery by

[26] For a summary of some of these *see* McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV. 576-579; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, I. 176, 177.

making the admission of Maine contingent upon that of the former. The bill was carried in the Senate on February 16 by a majority of two. On the 17th a new amendment was proposed by Thomas of Illinois forbidding the introduction of slavery into any part of the remainder of the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30′ north latitude, which was Missouri's southern boundary. In this amended form the bill passed the Senate on the same day.

Bill passes.—The House in the meantime was acrimoniously discussing a bill which proposed to admit Missouri on condition that the further introduction of slavery should be prohibited. In the midst of the contentions, on February 19, the Maine-Missouri bill with the Thomas amendment came before that body, and a few days later it voted overwhelmingly against the amendment. Then by a small majority the House passed a bill providing for the admission of Missouri with an antislavery provision. But the Senate would not recede from its position and both bodies agreed to refer the matter to a joint committee. The report of the committee contained these recommendations: (1) that the Senate should abandon the plan to pass the Maine and Missouri bills in one, and that Maine should be admitted into the Union; (2) that the House should give up the attempt to exclude slavery from Missouri; and (3) that both Houses should agree to pass the Senate bill which permitted slavery in Missouri but excluded it from the rest of the territory ceded by France to the United States north of 36° and 30′. The report of the joint committee was accepted and Missouri was permitted to form a constitution without being compelled to exclude slavery from her boundaries.

When he learned that the Missouri Compromise Bill had passed both Houses of Congress, Monroe called a meeting of his Cabinet and requested their opinion in writing on two questions. First, had Con-

gress a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a territory? Second, did the section of the Missouri bill which forbade slavery in the territory west of the Mississippi and north of the parallel 36° and 30′ apply to the territories of the United States only, or was it binding also on the states formed out of the territories? Adams, Calhoun, Crawford, and Wirt answered the first in the affirmative, but the second provoked a lively discussion. Adams believed it binding on the states as well as the territories. Calhoun, Crawford, and Wirt, on the other hand, maintained that the injunction applied only to territorial conditions. At the suggestion of Calhoun the second question was changed so that it read, "Is the eighth section of the Missouri bill consistent with the Constitution?" The two questions were answered affirmatively in writing by the secretaries a few days later, and the bill was signed.

Missouri Constitution.—When the people of Missouri learned that Congress had authorized them to draw up a state constitution, arrangements were made to call a convention for that purpose. The issue in the election of delegates to the convention, it was thought, would be whether or not the state should place any restrictions upon slavery. As they had followed the discussion in Congress over the advisability of placing restrictions on the state with regard to slavery, the people of Missouri appeared to have been unanimous in their opposition to such restriction. But without the least inconsistency they might feel justified in placing such limitations on that institution as they should choose. Public sentiment at the time the Missouri question was pending in Congress appeared to indicate that the people would be somewhat divided on the subject of state restriction. However, no delegates were elected to the convention who favored having the state place any restrictions on slavery, and in only five of the fifteen counties was there an issue made of the ques-

tion. In fact not more than a thousand votes were cast in favor of "state restrictionist delegates" out of a total of from seven to eleven thousand.[27] There can be little doubt, therefore, but that the people of Missouri were in favor of maintaining slavery.

The forty-one delegates chosen met in the Mansion House Hotel in St. Louis on June 12, 1820, and immediately organized. A little over a month was spent in framing a constitution. It was put into effect at once without submitting it to the people. This arbitrary method was followed by the convention because the people were apparently indifferent toward a referendum; because they "wanted an immediate state government without further delay;" because "the delegates possessed the confidence of the constituents;" because "the constitution was generally acceptable;" and finally because "the convention itself was undoubtedly opposed to such a course." [28]

Constitution before Congress.—The constitution which had been framed was placed before Congress in November following. Unfortunately it contained two provisions which were to stir up all the old feelings and animosities, and produce new strife in the national legislature. Had the state constitution done nothing more than establish slavery and provide for its protection, all might have been well, but it went much further. It forbade the state legislature ever to pass a law emancipating slaves without the consent of the masters, and it instructed that same body to forbid free negroes or mulattoes to enter the state on any pretext whatever. When the antislavery members of Congress read the latter provision in Missouri's constitution, they reminded proslavery members that there were states where negroes were free men and citizens.

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[27] Violette, *History of Missouri*, 116; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III. 243-248; Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*.

[28] Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*.

This clause in the state constitution was therefore a violation of that other clause in the Constitution of the United States which gave to the citizens of each state "all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states." For this reason Missouri ought not to be admitted into the Union until this palpable discrimination should be eliminated. Throughout the months that followed and amidst scenes of tense excitement the question was fought back and forth. On February 14, 1821, while the discussion was still under way the time came to count the electoral votes, Monroe having been reëlected President during the preceding autumn. Some members of the Senate said that the Missouri electoral votes should be counted while others claimed they should not. Clay persuaded the contenders to agree to a compromise according to which it was determined that if the votes of Missouri were counted Monroe would have two hundred and thirty-one votes; if not, he had two hundred and twenty-eight, and in either case he was elected President.

Missouri question settled.—Congress then turned its attention once more to the state constitution of Missouri. As the end of the session approached the excitement rose and spread and the question seemed no nearer its solution. In both Houses some efforts were made to find a basis of agreement, but energies in this direction were spent in vain. Finally, as a last resort, Clay moved the appointment of a committee to confer with a similar committee to be chosen by the Senate to determine whether or not it would be expedient to make arrangements for the admission of Missouri into the Union. This suggestion was accepted and committees were appointed by both Houses. On February 28, the report was ready. In substance the joint committee recommended that Missouri be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states providing her legislature would give a solemn pledge that the

constitution of the state should not be so construed as to authorize the passage of a law by which any citizen of any state of the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of any privileges to which he was entitled under the Constitution. The report was accepted by the Senate and then by the House, and the struggle over Missouri ended. On June 26, 1821, the Missouri legislature complied with the conditions, and on August 10 following, Monroe declared Missouri admitted into the Union.

Attempts of American Envoys to fix boundaries in 1803.—During the years from 1803 to 1821 while settlers were moving into the Trans-Mississippi West and while territorial governments were organized and states were admitted into the Union, the diplomatic agents of the national government were endeavoring to fix definite boundaries to the country purchased from France. At the time the treaty of cession was concluded in 1803, the attempt made by the American envoys to settle the question resulted in failure. Berthier's original treaty of retrocession contained the following words: "Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." To the United States these words were ambiguous, but they were embodied in the treaty of cession. At first the American commissioners insisted upon having the boundaries defined and their request was submitted to the First Consul by Marbois. Napoleon's reply was a refusal and a suggestion that it might be good policy to put an obscurity in the document if one did not already exist. The boundary which he had defined in his instructions to Victor were intentionally concealed. Livingstone sought information on the subject from Talleyrand. "What are the eastern bounds of Louisiana?" "I do not know," Talleyrand

replied. "You must take it as we received it." "But," Livingstone urged, "what did you mean to take?" "I do not know," reiterated the wily Frenchman. "Then you mean that we shall construe it our own way?" "I can give no direction. You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it."[29] The American determined that he would.

The boundaries which Napoleon intended to take.—In commenting on the transference of Louisiana from Spain to the United States through the medium of France, Professor Channing remarks that the whole transaction was "so absolutely opposed to legal and historical hypotheses that it seems quite useless to argue the matter on such grounds." Napoleon had no legal or moral right to sell Louisiana. He sold it and the United States came into possession of it simply because the Corsican had the Spanish monarchy absolutely in his power. "Whatever he meant to take possession of under the name of Louisiana, he intended to hand over to us and handed over to us. In taking Louisiana we were the accomplices of the greatest highwayman of modern history, and the goods which we received were those which he compelled his unwilling victim to disgorge."[30]

Jefferson's idea.—Within a few weeks after the news of the purchase came to Jefferson he began an investigation to determine the limits of the territory. He had a valuable collection of books on America and from these he prepared an historical memoir on the boundaries of Louisiana.[31] In this he urged that because of the explorations and settlements made by La

[29] Henry Adams, *United States*, II. 43, 44. For a criticism of the presentation of these instructions by Adams, *see* Marshall's *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841*, 5.

[30] Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 79.

[31] Thomas Jefferson, *The Limits and Bounds of Louisiana in Documents Relating to the Purchase and Exploration of Louisiana*. Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1904, 37.

Salle and Iberville, France had possession of the coast from St. Bernard Bay to Mobile, and that this, according to the principle sanctioned by international law, gave them possession of the sources of any rivers which might empty their waters into the Gulf of Mexico between these points. According to Jefferson the Spanish frontier in La Salle's time was the Panuco, but France had considered the rightful boundary to be the Rio Grande which was half way between the Panuco and St. Bernard Bay. This contention was strengthened, according to Jefferson, by the fact that the French Commissioner had stated that his instructions were to take possession of the Rio Grande.

Jefferson had started with the idea that the territory acquired was confined to the western waters of the Mississippi Valley, but as he studied the subject his conception changed, expanding until it included West Florida, Texas, and the Oregon country, "a view which was to be the basis of a large part of American diplomacy for nearly half a century."[22]

The acquisition of Louisiana by the United States did not please Spain because it removed the buffer between the United States and Mexico. From the beginning, therefore, the Spanish government showed an unfriendly attitude toward the American. At first the former attempted to prevent the latter from occupying the territory, but this plan gradually gave place to another which was intended to confine the Louisiana Purchase to as narrow bounds as possible. The movement to restrict began early in 1804 and it was not confined to diplomatic negotiations. Both nations took part in equipping expeditions to protect the border lands of the disputed territory. The difficult task which Spain set for herself was to save the Floridas, Texas, and the

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[22] Marshall, T. M., *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase*, 1819-1841, Berkeley, 1914, 13, 14.

Oregon country. In January, 1805, American representatives at Madrid opened negotiations, claiming in their first note that Louisiana extended from the Rio Grande to the Perdido—a contention which was forthwith denied by the Spanish authorities. Into the details of these early contentions—contentions which mark the beginning of the boundary question—it is unnecessary to go. The whole subject has been admirably treated elsewhere.[33]

Reopened in 1817.—In January, 1816, were begun the final negotiations which culminated in the treaty of 1819. The Americans began, as they had in 1805, by contending that Louisiana extended from the Perdido to the Rio Grande. This evoked a general denial from the Spanish as it had done on a former occasion. Negotiations were interrupted when the King decided to transfer them from Madrid to Washington. In the latter place the boundary question was again opened in January, 1817. Delay followed delay until shortly after Adams was appointed Secretary of State under Monroe's administration. During the latter part of 1817 De Onis informed the State Department that he was ready to pursue negotiations until their final termination. After some preliminary diplomatic fencing, De Onis presented a historical review of the western boundary. Spain, he said, had owned all of the Gulf region and the Californias by right of discovery and exploration, and Texas and New Mexico by right of settlement. Texas, he claimed, extended to the Mississippi, and the French when they had gone west of that river had done so with the permission or sufferance of the Spanish governors. Through right of priority, he asserted, Spain owned as far as the Missouri and the pretensions of the French concerning the size of the Crozat grant he considered ridiculous; pointing out

[33] *Ibid.*

that the French had been permitted to occupy Natchitoches, and when they had violated their trading privileges the Spanish officers had made an arrangement providing that the Arroyo Hondo should remain the dividing line until the issue was settled by the sovereigns. Since the boundary had never been determined formally a temporary one was suggested by De Onis, following the line of the Mermento and Arroyo Hondo, passing between Natchitoches and Adaes and extending across the Red toward the Missouri River. The exact boundaries were to be fixed later by a joint commission. That is, Spain was ready to yield a large part of the present state of Louisiana and lands along the western side of the Mississippi River.

Dickering.—To this Adams replied that the United States would accept the line of the Colorado from its mouth to its source and thence to the northern bounds of Louisiana, or his government would consent to leave the upper part of the boundary for future arrangement. The Spanish minister, after dryly commenting that he supposed the Colorado of Natchitoches and not that of Texas was meant, since the latter was still farther within the bounds of Spanish territory, proposed to cede the Floridas to the United States and to establish the boundary in one of the mouths of the Mississippi. If there were objections to this, he proposed "that the state of possession in 1763 form the basis, and that the western line be established between the Calcasien and the Mermento, thence the Arroyo Hondo till it crossed the Red River between Natchitoches and Adaes, thence northward to a point to be fixed by Commissioners." [24]

It was evident from that time on that Spain would cede the Floridas but that she would not cede Texas.

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[24] *Ibid.*, 54. *See* Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 7; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II. 14; *State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 450-460.

So negotiations took a different course. Adams reasserted the claims of the United States to territory as far as the Rio Grande to be sure, but these demands gradually gave way to others which sought compensation in the Oregon country. Proposals and counter proposals followed one another throughout 1817 and 1818. In reply to one of these suggestions made by De Onis Adams offered the following as a substitute.

Adams's Offer.—Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, on the Gulf of Mexico, following the course of said river to the twenty-second degree of latitude, the eastern bank and all the islands in said river to belong to the United States, and the western bank to Spain; thence, due north, to the northernmost part of the thirty-third degree of north latitude, and until it strikes the Rio Roxo, or Red River; thence, following the course of the said river, to its source, touching the chain of the Snow Mountains, in latitude thirty-seven degrees, twenty-five minutes north, longitude one hundred and six degrees fifteen minutes west, or thereabouts, as marked on Melish's map; thence to the summit of the said mountains, and following the chain of the same to the forty-first parallel of latitude; thence following the said parallel of latitude forty-one degrees, to the South Sea. The northern bank of the said Red River, and all the islands therein, to belong to the United States, and the southern bank of the same to Spain. [25]

Results at end of 1818.—To this De Onis replied that his government would accept the Sabine if the line above the Red River should run due north until it reached the Mississippi and followed along the course of that stream to its source. At this point, however, Spain broke off negotiations until satisfaction could be obtained for the invasion of Florida by Jackson. Adams then took advantage of the situation to with-

[25] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 530, 531. *See also* Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase*, 58.

draw the proposal he had made, and declared once more the right of the United States to all territory to the Rio Grande. De Onis replied by declaring that all former offers made by his government were likewise withdrawn. So the year 1818 ended without any settlement of the boundary question.

Early in 1819 negotiations were resumed and a settlement was soon agreed upon. In January of that year De Onis informed Adams that he had received instructions in regard to running the line to the Pacific, and shortly afterwards declared that the King would accept a boundary extending from the source of the Missouri westward to the Columbia and along the middle of that stream to the Pacific Ocean. Adams refused to accept this, but on February 6, 1819, submitted the following which was the basis for the final settlement:[36]

Basis for final settlement.—Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, on the Gulf of Mexico; following the course of said river to the thirty-second degree of latitude, the eastern bank and all the islands in the river to belong to the United States, and the western bank to Spain; thence due north to the northernmost point of the bend, between longitude one hundred one and one hundred two degrees; thence by the shortest line, to the southernmost point of the bend of the river Arkansas, between the same degrees of longitude one hundred one and one hundred two degrees; thence following the course of the river Arkansas, to its source, in latitude forty-one degrees north; thence following the same parallel of latitude forty-one degrees to the South Sea. The northern banks and all the islands in the said Red and Arkansas rivers, on the said boundary line, to belong to the United States, and their southern banks to Spain; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the first of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas

[36] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 617.

River should fall south or north of latitude forty-one degrees, then the line from the said source shall run due north or south, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude, and thence, as aforesaid, to the South Sea. And it is further agreed that no Spanish settlement shall be made on any part of the said Red or Arkansas rivers, nor on any of the waters flowing into the same, nor any east of the chain of the Snow Mountains, between the latitudes thirty-one and forty-one degrees inclusively; and that the navigation of said rivers shall belong exclusively to the United States forever.

The French minister, De Neuville, when Adams conferred with him in regard to the *project,* pointed out that De Onis would never accept the provisions, particularly those contained in the last sentence. Adams replied that he would abandon the disagreeable exclusions, provided the Spaniard would accept the rest of the treaty, and would "refer the matter to the President with a recommendation that if De Onis accepted the line of the forty-first degree, the United States would agree to the hundredth meridian." [87]

A counter proposal.—Three days after Adams communicated the above *project* to De Onis the latter submitted a counter proposal. In this he accepted the lower part of the line offered by Adams, but suggested that it leave the Red River at the hundredth meridian and along this degree of longitude north to the Arkansas, thence along the middle of that stream to the forty-second degree of north latitude, then west along that parallel to the source of the Multnomah, thence along the course of that river to the forty-third parallel, and west to the ocean. All the islands were to belong to the United States, but such parts of the rivers as constituted their frontiers were to be open to the free navigation of both countries.

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[87] Marshall, *Western Boundary of Louisiana,* 62.

The western boundary fixed.—Adams declared that De Onis struggled long and violently before he finally agreed to accept the hundredth meridian from the Red River to the Arkansas, and latitude forty-two from the source of the Arkansas to the South Sea. Even then "he insisted upon having the middle of all the rivers for the boundary, and not, as I proposed, the western and southern banks."[38] On this point, however, Adams refused to yield. De Onis finally gave way, and on February 22, 1819, the treaty was signed. Two days later it was unanimously approved by the Senate. According to the last article ratifications were to be exchanged within six months or sooner if possible. As finally fixed the western boundary of Louisiana was to follow the Sabine from its mouth along the western bank of the river to the thirty-second parallel; "thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River," then along that stream westward to the one hundredth meridian, which degree of longitude it followed north to the southern bank of the Arkansas; thence along the southern bank of that stream to the source of the river and north or south as the case might be to the forty-second parallel along which parallel the line continued to the Pacific Ocean.[39]

The treaty of 1819 gave the United States the Floridas; it gave to the United States Spain's claim to the Oregon country; and it fixed the western boundary of the Louisiana territory. The northern limits of that vast region had been determined during the preceding year by a treaty concluded between the United States and England. The treaty of 1818, therefore, deserves a cursory examination.

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[38] Adams's *Memoirs*, IV.

[39] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 623, Article 3. The treaty is also in *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers since July 4, 1776*. Washington, 1889, 1016-1021.

Early attempts to settle northern boundary of Louisiana.—By the treaty of 1783 the northern boundary of the United States was to be a line running due west from the extreme northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi, which at that time was supposed to rise in what is now Canada. The possibility of drawing such a line soon became doubtful, so the treaty of 1794 called for a joint survey of the Mississippi from one degree below the Falls of St. Anthony to the source or to the sources of that river, and the establishment of a new line if necessary. This survey was not made, however, and when in 1803 Rufus King concluded a convention it was provided that the shortest line from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi should constitute the boundary. This convention was not ratified, and its rejection was fortunate because the interest of the United States in the Northwest was increased considerably a few months later through the purchase of Louisiana. In 1806 when the next treaty was drawn up with Great Britain the question was considered seriously once more. England expressed a desire to adopt the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, but the American representatives, in doubt as to whether the forty-ninth parallel would touch the lake, suggested a substitute line beginning at the most northwestern point of the Lake, thence due north or due south until it touched the forty-ninth parallel, and then along that degree of latitude to the mountains. Nothing came of these proposals, however, and the question was still unsettled when the peace commissioners met at Ghent following the close of the second war for independence.

Subject discussed at Ghent.—When the subject was raised at that time both the United States and England brought forward the line which had been offered by their respective envoys in 1806, but the Brit-

ish offer was accompanied by a new condition which provided that her subjects should be permitted to cross the territories of the United States to the Mississippi and enjoy the free navigation of that river to the Gulf of Mexico. The United States would not accept this proposal and as the English representatives refused to separate the boundary question from the use of the Mississippi by British subjects, no conclusion could be reached.

Convention of 1818.—On November 19, 1817, Richard Rush embarked at Annapolis as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of St. James. His instructions bade him conclude a commercial treaty to take the place of the convention of July, 1815. He had not been in England long, however, before his instructions were modified and he was directed to ask a settlement of numerous old grievances which were becoming serious. Among these were the fishing rights of American seamen, the demand for the indemnity for slaves carried off by British officers at the end of the war, our title to the little settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River and the settlement of the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods westward. If Great Britain should agree to negotiate Albert Gallatin, the American minister in France, was to join Rush in England immediately. England consented and on August 27 Gallatin and Rush met the British commissioners, Frederick John Robinson and Henry Goulburn, and formally opened a conference which on October 20 following closed with the signing of the Convention of 1818.[40] The Convention was ratified and proclaimed on January 30, 1819. Article two of that document, the only one bearing on the subject of the boundary, was as follows:

[40] McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States*, IV. 468-474.

ARTICLE II.—It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line be drawn from the said point north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States, and those of His Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundaries of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.[41]

The Convention of 1818 with England and the "Treaty of Amity, Settlement and Limits" concluded with Spain on February 22, 1819, and ratified two years later, fixed the limits of the Louisiana Purchase.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Settlement: Material on the settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West is widely scattered and provokingly meager. Bits of information may be found in the local histories, in the body and in the editorial notes of the various editions of journals of explorers, and in the historical society publications. The most valuable of these for the period covered by this chapter are the following: Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana,* 4 vols., New York, 1866. (The first two volumes—French Domination—are bound in one. Later editions published in New Orleans, 1885 and 1903); Louis Houck, *History of Missouri, from the Earliest Explorations . . . until the Admission of the State into the Union,* 3 vols., Chicago, 1908; François-Xavier Martin, *History of Louisiana from the Earliest Period,* 2 vols., New Orleans, 1827; J. W. Monettette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1846; John Hugh Reynolds, *Makers of Arkansas* (Stories of the States series), New York, 1905; James A. Robertson

[41] *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and the other Powers since July 4, 1776,* Washington, 1889, 415-418. *See also* Richard Rush, *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London,* Philadelphia, 1833, 368-374.

(editor), *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1911 (contains contemporary accounts by Paul Alliot and others, and a bibliography); Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, New York, 1902; Eugene Morrow Violette, *A History of Missouri*, New York, 1918 (contains brief lists of good references at end of each chapter). Certain volumes in Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907 (particularly the journals of Brackenridge, Bradbury, S. H. Long, and Nuttall), contain information on the early settlement of Missouri and Arkansas. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas Which Were First Traversed by De Soto in 1541*, Philadelphia, 1853. Washington Irving, *A Tour of the Prairies*, London, 1835. The various editions of the Lewis and Clark expedition, particularly those edited by Elliott Coues and R. G. Thwaites, contain considerable information. Elliott Coues (editor), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, During the Years 1805-1806-1807*, 3 vols., New York, 1895, is valuable. Arkansas Historical Society *Publications;* Missouri Historical Society *Collections* (St. Louis, 1880-); and the *Missouri Historical Review* (Columbia, Mo., 1906), are good.

Boundaries: Thomas Maitland Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (1914), is a scholarly treatment of the subject, and contains an excellent bibliography.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE WEST

Period covered.—When Lewis and Clark were nearly home from their journey across the continent they met parties of traders who were making their way to that mountain country from which the explorers had just come. This was in 1806. Thirty-seven years later, James Bridger, a member of the fur trading fraternity, built a post on a tributary of the Green River for the convenience of emigrants, the first trading post built for this purpose west of the Mississippi. These two incidents, the return of Lewis and Clark and the construction of Fort Bridger, have been taken by a writer on the American fur trade as marking the time limits of the fur trading era in the country west of the Mississippi.

Importance of the trade.—It was during this period that the American trader and trapper "traced the streams to their sources, scaled the mountain passes, and explored a boundless expanse of territory. . . ." They were the men who first explored the routes which have since been used as the avenues of commerce and travel in the Trans-Mississippi West.

They were the pathfinders of the West, and not those later official explorers whom posterity so recognizes. No feature of western geography was ever *discovered* by government explorers after 1840. Everything was already known and had been for a decade. It is true that many features, like the Yellowstone wonderland, with which these restless rovers were familiar, were afterward forgotten

and were rediscovered in later years; but there has never been a time until very recently when the geography of the West was so thoroughly understood as it was by the trader and trapper from 1830 to 1840.[1]

St. Louis as fur trading center.—St. Louis was the center from which traders went into the remote West in search of furs and they came to St. Louis again to dispose of the season's catch. The city's location determined its importance in the fur trading industry. Situated on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Missouri it commanded the waters along whose banks lay the buffalo plains and the beaver meadows, and it was the center for all water transportation in this section. From this emporium packs were sent down the Mississippi to the fur merchants at New Orleans and thence by sea to the eastern markets, or they were forwarded over one of the more direct northern routes. In the latter case they might pass up the Ohio or by way of the Illinois and Chicago rivers to Lake Michigan, and thence either by water or across country to Detroit, from there to Black Rock near Buffalo, and then overland to New York. Sometimes Lake Michigan was reached by way of the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox rivers. In the spring and fall the wharves at St. Louis were crowded with vessels. There was the keel boat of the licensed trader with gewgaws for traffic with the Indian, there was the flat-bottom scow or Mackinaw with its load of beaver and buffalo skins, and there also was the dugout canoe of the free trapper who had paddled in from some mountain meadow or prairie stream with his season's catch of furs, robes, tallow and buffalo meat.

Effect of report of Lewis and Clark.—A favorable report made by Lewis and Clark quickened interest among the fur traders of St. Louis and im-

[1] Chittenden, *The History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West*, I. 9.

mediate preparations were made to traffic on the upper Missouri. The first important expedition was fitted out by the Spaniard, Manuel Lisa, whose experience on the Osage had given him an intimate knowledge of the Indian character and customs. With a keel boat laden with goods he left St. Louis in the spring of 1807, ascended the Missouri, and built a post at the mouth of the Bighorn. The winter spent in trading with the Indians proved a profitable one, and Lisa returned to St. Louis the following year, probably in August.

St. Louis Missouri Fur Company formed.—The reports which he brought back in regard to the resources of the upper Missouri aroused considerable general interest among St. Louis traders, and led to the formation of a company which included practically all the prominent business men of the city. The organization was generally known as the Missouri Fur Company, but it was incorporated under the name of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. It began its career in the spring of 1809 under most favorable circumstances. Included among its members were the ablest traders of the West, and its field of operation embraced the entire watershed of the Missouri above the mouth of the Platte. The territory indicated was rich in the resources of the chase and the success of the undertaking seemed assured. One obstacle was feared, the hostility of the Indians, but the company had provided a force considered sufficiently strong to repell any attacks, and it was hoped that the good will of the Indians might be gained by a liberal extension of trade among them.[2]

Disasters of the first expedition.—The first expedition of the company, numbering about one hundred and fifty men and carrying a quantity of merchandise sufficient to supply five or six posts and to equip several small outfits, left St. Louis in the spring of 1809. The

[2] "Journal of James H. Bradley" in the Montana Historical Society, *Contributions* (1896), II. 146-149.

winter was spent in the country of the Crow Indians, probably at the mouth of the Bighorn, where a profitable trading and trapping business was conducted. In the spring of 1810 a strong party set out for the headwaters of the Missouri. Arriving at the Three Forks they began at once the construction of a post on a strip of land between the Jefferson and Madison rivers about two miles above their confluence. The country was exceptionally rich in beaver, and the trappers had been sent out into the surrounding country immediately following the arrival of the party. For a while it looked as if the success of the expedition would exceed the expectations of the most sanguine members of the party. The daily catch was large and the company expected to take three hundred packs of beaver from Three Forks the first year. All of this optimism was quickly changed by the persistent and destructive attacks of the Blackfeet Indians. Men were killed, guns, ammunition, furs, and traps were stolen, and horses were driven off. After plans to win the Blackfeet had failed and further raids had resulted in the loss of additional lives it was considered advisable to abandon the post at Three Forks. Henry, who was a stockholder in the company, objected to withdrawing entirely from the country, and in the fall of 1810 moved southward across the Continental Divide and established himself on the north fork of the Snake River, a stream which has been known since that time as Henry Fork. Near the mouth of the Teton or Pierre River in southeastern Idaho, he constructed a temporary post consisting of a few log houses, which was probably the first American trading post ever built in the valley of the Columbia or west of the Continental Divide.

Reasons for failure of first organization.—Again, however, disappointment awaited the traders. Game was scarce and the winter was particularly severe, so that the spring of 1811 brought little but further dis-

couragement as a reward for all efforts. The party broke up into small groups and abandoned the undertaking. This ended the project upon which the company had relied mainly and it failed to realize the profits which had been anticipated. It had failed because of undercapitalization and poor management. Had the company agreed to admit John Jacob Astor, perhaps the only man who could have assisted them through the misfortunes of these early years and who had desired to take part in the enterprise, things might have been different.

End of Missouri Fur Company.—The St. Louis Missouri Fur Company had been formed March 9, 1809, and the articles of association provided for a term of three years. On January 24, 1812, it was reorganized and its property sold to the new company. The capital of the new organization was fixed at fifty thousand dollars, twenty-seven thousand dollars of which were taken in the funds and property of the old company. The balance was raised by subscription. Immediately after the reorganization plans were perfected for renewing operations on the upper Missouri. The expeditions sent out in 1812 were all disappointing and apparently another reorganization occurred the following year. If so, Lisa completely dominated the new company. In fact it is referred to frequently as "Manuel Lisa and Company." During the years of the war he had concentrated his establishments around Council Bluffs where he built the trading post, Fort Lisa. The War of 1812 absorbed the interest of the people during this period, and Lisa seems to have been the only active trader on the Missouri. Further reorganization took place in 1814, 1817, and 1819. After the reorganization in 1819, plans were developed again for opening trade on the upper Missouri. In the fall of 1821 Fort Benton was built at the mouth of the Bighorn on the site of the post formerly constructed there by Lisa.

This was the last post erected by the company. It continued its changing career a few years longer and passed out of existence. For approximately twenty-five years the Missouri Fur Company had existed under one name or another, and was the most important company that operated from St. Louis during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the meantime one of the world's greatest dealers in furs had initiated plans for conducting business in the Trans-Mississippi West. This was John Jacob Astor.

John Jacob Astor.—Astor was a foreigner by birth. He was born in the village of Waldorf near Heidelburg in 1763. He went to London at the age of sixteen or seventeen where he was employed with his brother in the manufacture and sale of musical instruments. A few years later he determined to come to America and in the spring of 1784 he arrived in Baltimore. His interest in the fur trade had been aroused while on shipboard and he turned his attention to it immediately. Taking with him a small stock of goods which he had brought over from London, he went to New York and exchanged them for furs. These he sold in England during the summer at a handsome profit. Meanwhile he informed himself on the prospects of the business both in America and in Europe, and upon his return to New York toward the end of 1784, he became actively engaged in the business of the fur trade. He showed an exceptional grasp of the possibilities of the industry from the beginning, and by the end of the century he had become the leading fur merchant in the United States and had amassed a fortune of half a million dollars.

Astor's early interest in Trans-Mississippi West.—The very nature of Astor's business gave him a keen interest in the Louisiana purchase and in the expedition of Lewis and Clark. The report of the latter indicated

that the new acquisition was rich in furs, and Astor began to lay plans for extending the business into the country west of the Mississippi. Unable to procure anything more than tacit encouragement from the United States government, he determined to operate alone. He secured a charter from the state of New York creating the American Fur Company in the spring of 1808. This general title apparently was chosen to include all his operations. According to his general plan a central post was to be established near the mouth of the Columbia (which evidently he considered a part of the territory of the United States) from which trade was to be carried into all parts of the interior. The post would receive its supplies from a ship sent out annually from New York. This vessel would collect the furs at the post, dispose of them in China, and return with goods for the home market. From this Pacific post Astor hoped to develop also a coastwise trade which would enable him to supply the Russians farther north. The Northwest Company would be unable to compete with him in the ocean trade because the British East India Company had a monopoly there, and he would have an advantage in overland communication because connection with St. Louis, which was to be the important station in the middle west, could be maintained more easily by way of the Missouri than could a line across the continent overland from Montreal.

Pacific Fur Company.—With these general plans in mind Astor immediately prepared to carry them out. The particular division of the American Fur Company devoted to this enterprise was called the Pacific Fur Company. In order to prevent competition Astor had invited the Northwest Company to join him in the undertaking, but this concern declined his offer and made immediate preparations to forestall him on the Columbia. Nevertheless, Astor organized his Pacific company largely with men from the British organiza-

tion. In June, 1810, the articles of the Pacific Fur Company were signed. Astor provided the funds up to four hundred thousand dollars, and agreed to bear all losses during the first five years. His associates, who were given fifty of the hundred shares of stock into which the company was divided, were to contribute their services. While the agreement was to cover a period of twenty years it might be dissolved within a period of five if found unprofitable.

Expedition by sea.—The perfected plans called for the organization of two expeditions, one to go to the mouth of the Columbia by sea and the other to cross the plains and the mountains by the route of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The ship chosen for the undertaking, the *Tonquin,* a vessel of two hundred and ninety tons, sailed from New York in September, 1810. She was accompanied for some distance by an American naval vessel to protect her against search by a British cruiser. Sailing by way of the Falkland and Hawaiian Islands, the *Tonquin* came to the Columbia during the latter part of March. After considerable delay and the loss of eight men, the little vessel anchored safely within the mouth of the Columbia. Some time was spent in choosing a site for a post. At last a selection was made on the south side of the bay, the effects brought out by the *Tonquin* were landed, a trading post constructed, and the establishment christened Astoria. Meanwhile the *Tonquin* sailed north to open trade with the natives along the coast, an expedition from which she never returned.[3]

Overland expedition.—The overland expedition was headed by W. P. Hunt. With a large party and adequate supplies Hunt left St. Louis on March 12, 1811.

[3] For accounts of the destruction of the *Tonquin* see Franchère, "Narrative" in Thwaite's *Western Travels,* VI. 288-294; Irving, *Astoria,* Chapter XI (author's revised ed.); Alexander Ross, "Oregon Settlers," Chapter IX, in Thwaites, *Western Travels,* VII.

On April 2, Lisa with a small party also left St. Louis to learn what had become of Andrew Henry and to bring down the winter's *cache* for the Missouri Fur Company. Lisa wanted the protection which Hunt's larger party might give in passing through the hostile country of the Sioux, and drove himself and his men mercilessly in an attempt to overtake Astor's expedition. Although Lisa made a record keel-boat trip up the Missouri he did not overtake Hunt until June 2, after the dangers he feared had been passed.[4] Ten days later the combined parties arrived at the Arikara villages.

Hunt had intended to ascend the Missouri River some distance farther, but information he had received from men who had joined his party *en route* induced him to change his plans. The dangers involved in attempting to pass through the country of the Blackfeet Indians were too great and he determined to make the most of the journey to the Columbia by land. This division necessitated a change in equipment. Accordingly Hunt traded some of his supplies and his boats to Lisa for horses and acquired others from the Indians. The reorganized expedition consisting of about sixty odd men and over a hundred horses started west during the early days of August.

The route.—The route lay along the northern border of the Black Hills and across the desolate wastes beyond the Bighorn Mountains. On August 30, the party arrived at the foot of this range and spent two days with a band of Crow Indians in the beautiful valleys of the foothills. Upon resuming the journey much difficulty was experienced in finding a passage through the mountains until they accepted the guidance of the Crow Indians for a distance. They came to the Wind River

[4] Brackenridge, H. M., "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri" in Thwaites, *Western Travels*, VI. Chapters I-V, gives an account of this famous race.

just above the canyon where its lower course becomes known as the Bighorn on September 9, and followed up the stream for a distance of eighty miles. On September 15 and 16 they crossed the Wind River Mountains, probably in the vicinity of Union Pass, into the upper valley of the Green River. A little more than a week was spent here laying in a supply of meat and resting the horses, and then they crossed the divide between the Green and Snake rivers, and followed the Hoback tributary of the latter to its junction with the Snake. At this point a strong desire seized members of the party to abandon the horses and continue the westward journey by water, but investigation proved that such an attempt would be unwise. On October 8, they arrived at the deserted post which had been built by Henry a few years earlier. Again there was a clamor among the men to leave the horses and trust themselves to the river, and this time Hunt made the mistake of yielding to these entreaties. Within ten days fifteen canoes were built and loaded and, having left their horses in charge of two Snake Indians, they embarked upon the rapid current of the Snake River.

The arrival at Astoria.—The delight which came from the experience of the first day was soon followed by gloomy forebodings. The true character of this treacherous mountain stream began to reveal itself, and after the loss of some goods and one life the party was compelled to abandon the canoes. The journey down the river and across the mountains was fraught with days of painful toil and intense suffering from hunger and thirst. The party had divided, one following the left bank of the stream and the other the right. On one or two occasions meager supplies of horse flesh were sent across the river from one division of the expedition to the other, but they were soon widely separated and each made its way alone, the general direction being down the Snake and Columbia rivers. One divi-

sion reached Astoria January 18, 1812, and the other, led by Hunt, arrived at the same place the fifteenth of the following month.[5]

End of the enterprise.—The post at Astoria had been completed when Hunt and his companions arrived at the mouth of the Columbia. Early in May following the second ship sent out by Astor, the *Beaver,* anchored in the river. She brought an abundant cargo, clerks, employees, and a number of Sandwich Islanders. Plans were made for opening trade with the Russians by sea and for extending the trade still farther into the interior. The success of the enterprise seemed assured when all was changed by the outbreak of war between the United States and Great Britain on June 18. News of this incident reached Astoria early in 1813. On the last day of the following November a British war vessel, the *Raccoon,* of twenty-six guns, commanded by Captain Black, appeared before Astoria. The post, however, had been sold to the Northwest Company, and the crestfallen captain could but vent his disappointment on the character of the fort which he had been sent half way round the world to capture. "Is this the fort about which I have heard so much talking?" he inquired contemptuously. "Damn me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four pounder!"

Since there was no occasion for battering it down the disgusted captain landed with a retinue of officers, took formal possession of the post, and rechristened it Fort George in honor of his king. This marked the end of the Pacific Fur Company and of Astor's operations in the Far Northwest. His plans had been well laid and had his government supported him in the enterprise

[5] Somewhat different accounts are given by Gabriel Franchère, "Narrative" in Thwaites, *Western Travels,* VI. 268-271, and Ewing, *Astoria* (author's rev. edition), Chapters XXXI-XXXVI. A brief summary of the route from the Arikara villages may be found in Chittenden, *American Fur Trade in the Far West,* I. 197-199.

there is reason to believe that the entire Pacific coast of North America would have been closed to Great Britain.[6]

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company.—During the last years of the existence of the Missouri Fur Company a new organization appeared in the western country composed of younger and more vigorous men. This was the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. According to Chittenden it came into existence through the following advertisement in the Missouri *Republican,* published in St. Louis, March 20, 1822:

> To enterprising young men—The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred young men to ascend the Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years. For particulars inquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the lead mines in the county of Washington, who will ascend with, and command, the party; or of the subscriber near St. Louis.
>
> (Signed) WILLIAM H. ASHLEY.[7]

A month and two days later licenses were recorded for both Ashley and Henry to trade in the upper Missouri country. The notice of March 20, was immediately effective and the desired number of men was enrolled. The plan already formed was to ascend to the Three Forks of the Missouri where the party would spend three years trapping all the streams in that region on both sides of the mountain, probably descending to the mouth of the Columbia during the period.

A new fur area opened.—The unfortunate experiences of the expedition that left St. Louis April 15, 1822, under the command of Andrew Henry, and of a second similar organization which followed under Ashley about a year later may be passed over. The hostility

[6] For a discussion of this *see* Chittenden, I. Chapter XIII.
[7] Quoted in *ibid.,* 262.

of the Indians prevented the company from successfully trapping the region in the immediate vicinity of the Three Forks, but farther south in the Green River valley they found a virgin field which was to afford some compensation for the losses they had experienced.

Jedediah S. Smith.—In the autumn of 1823 and during the following winter and spring members of the expedition found their way into the Green River valley and into the country around the Great Salt Lake. Here extensive explorations were made which contributed generously to the geographical knowledge of the Far West. Jedediah S. Smith was particularly prominent in the latter work. This "Christian and soldier" whose Bible and rifle "were his inseparable companions" and who never permitted the "mild teachings" of the former to diminish in any way the vigor with which he used the latter, was a pathfinder whose explorations have not been sufficiently recognized. To a greater extent than the majority of men he loved the adventure which came from exploring unknown territory. The call of the new West was in his blood and he spent the last ten years of his life visiting its valleys, following its streams, climbing its mountains, and penetrating the solitude of its desert wastes, finally meeting an untimely death at the hands of the Comanche Indians on the banks of the "thirsty Cimarron."

Explorations of 1824-1825.—Smith set out with a small party on an expedition in the spring of 1824 and crossed the mountains to the headwaters of the Snake River. The summer and autumn were spent in that vicinity during which time he came upon a party of Hudson Bay Company traders and secured their entire stock of furs. The winter was spent among the Flathead Indians, and at least one of the British fur trading posts was visited during the interval. In the autumn of 1824 Smith returned to St. Louis.

Origin of the rendezvous.—The misfortunes which had accompanied the early stages of the first expeditions did not prevent the Rocky Mountain Fur Company from experiencing a degree of success. A large quantity of beaver fur had been collected when the detached parties of trappers came together in the first of the famous rendezvous in the mountains in 1824. Henry took this to St. Louis, disposed of it, and returned to the mountains during the autumn. The expedition had not only produced a sufficient financial reward to justify further investments, but the experiences of members of the company had indicated that a change in the field of operation was advisable. The Missouri Fur Company was a formidable competitor in the upper Missouri country, and the explorations of Smith, Henry and Provost in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake resulted in the discovery of a region where beaver was plentiful. Ashley determined to concentrate his efforts in the latter place and to abandon the former. He also arranged to conduct the trade through itinerant trapping parties rather than to operate from trading posts. This new plan made it necessary to fix a place of meeting where the parties engaged in the trade could gather each year with the season's catch. In this way originated one of the most interesting features of the fur trade—the rendezvous of the mountains.

Change in the company.—In the new field and under the changed plan of operation the Rocky Mountain Fur Company enjoyed a brief period of prosperity. Ashley was the most prominent member of the concern during the early years of its history, but in 1826 he sold out to the most experienced of his assistants: Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette. The transfer of the business to Smith, Jackson, and Sublette marks the second period in the history of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Immediately after the conclusion of the transaction, Smith set out on his

famous expedition to California, and the next three years were spent by him in perilous explorations. These have been noted elsewhere.

Competitors enter the field.—Meanwhile competitors were preparing to enter the field heretofore monopolized by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Reports of the marvelous success of the organization had quickened the interest of traders in St. Louis and had aroused the American Fur Company in New York. Secret agents of the latter were sent into the new area to spy out the land, and were followed by traders who openly competed for the wealth of the country. Wyeth had also entered the field, and while his opposition had amounted to nothing, a man of his energy was always dangerous. Then, too, Captain Bonneville appeared on the scene backed by New York capital. The good old days had passed. In the future competition was to be bitter and would probably ruin the business.

Dissolution of the company.—This condition was developing when the various parties left the rendezvous at Pierre's Hole in 1832. Numerous Indian outrages instigated by various competing companies show to what conditions the fur trade had descended. There was no honor in their dealings apparently and a man's life was worth little if he changed from one company to another. This bitter rivalry among the whites completely demoralized the Indians and caused them to lose all confidence in the former. Even the friendly tribes could no longer be trusted. All these things of course decreased the profits of the trade and discouraged the stockholders of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and a plan for dissolving the partnership was worked out. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company may be said, therefore, to have ended with the annual rendezvous in the Green River valley in 1834.

The history of the organization covered only about twelve years, but they were immensely important in

the annals of western trade and in the development of the knowledge of the geography of the western country. It was this company that opened one of the richest fur regions in the West. It confined its efforts to procuring beaver fur almost entirely and secured these through its own trappers rather than by trade with the Indians. Probably a thousand packs of beaver worth approximately a half million of dollars found their way to St. Louis through the efforts of its members. The operations of its traders were carried on in the face of numerous perils and amidst severe hardships. During the term of the company's existence it lost a hundred of its employees, none of whom died a natural death, and property valued at one hundred thousand dollars.

An appreciation of its work.—The cause of geographical knowledge—concludes Chittenden—owes a great deal to this company. The whole country around the sources of the Platte, Green, Yellowstone, and Snake rivers and in the region around Great Salt Lake was opened up by them. Their adventurers gave names to the Sweetwater River, Independence Rock, Jackson Hole, and the tributaries of Green River and Great Salt Lake. They discovered this lake and also South Pass. They were the first to descend Green River by boat, and likewise the first, after Colter, to enter the Yellowstone Wonderland. They were the first to travel from Great Salt Lake southwesterly to southern California, the first to cross the Sierras and the deserts of Utah and Nevada between California and Great Salt Lake, and the first, so far as is known, to travel by land up the Pacific coast from San Francisco to the Columbia. They were indefatigable explorers and considering the fact that most of them made no records of what they did, the impress which they have left upon the geography of the West is surprisingly great.[8]

American Fur Company in St. Louis.—Meanwhile the American Fur Company, of which the Pacific Fur

[8] *Ibid.*, 306, 307.

Company was but a branch, continued to extend its business and its influence. During the winter of 1821-1822 it succeeded in having Congress abolish the factories or trading houses which the United States had established for trading with the Indians, thereby removing government competition and leaving the company a free hand to deal with private traders. Plans were then made to establish a branch at St. Louis, and in the spring of 1822 the Western Department of the American Fur Company was located in that city.

Competition with local companies.—This western branch of the American Fur Company had been established in the face of opposition from the St. Louis traders. It would, therefore, require time, work, and diplomatic management ere its hold on the Missouri trade could be made secure. Besides its fight with the solid opposition of the local traders, other strong concerns had recently established themselves at St. Louis and disputed the fur field with all competitors. The amount of business available could not support all the houses that had been established, and it was evident that there must be an elimination of some and a combination of others before the commercial struggle should end. In such a fight the American Fur Company possessed certain advantages. It had the most efficient business management in the country at that time and its resources were large. John Jacob Astor was in a position to secure the furs at a low price and to sell them in the world's best markets. He understood the business from all angles more thoroughly than any living man at that time, and since he *was* the American Fur Company the advantages of that organization are obvious.

Absorbs the Columbia Fur Company.—At first Astor placed his interest at St. Louis in the hands of David Stone and Company, or Stone, Bostwick and Company, as it was also called. At the end of three and

a half years he transferred the management of the Western Department to Bernard Pratte and Company, one of the old organizations and one which included some of the strongest traders in the business. This was in 1827. The new arrangement had scarcely been concluded when the American Fur Company found a formidable rival crossing its path. The opponent was the Columbia Fur Company, a concern about five years old which operated in the territory between the Great Lakes and the Missouri. The main field of competition in 1827, however, was in the Sioux and Omaha country. Both companies sent out expeditions from St. Louis and did business along the same line throughout the field. While the capital of the Columbia Fur Company was not large, the members of the organization were experienced and enterprising men and through their courageous efforts the company had grown too strong to be put down by the ordinary methods of competition. In fact it was estimated by members of the firm that the American Fur Company experienced an annual business injury amounting to ten thousand dollars through the competition of the Columbia Fur Company. As a result proposals were made for a union of the two companies and negotiations for this purpose were completed before the end of the summer of 1827.

Rivalry with Rocky Mountain Fur Company.—When this combination was formed the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had just received a remarkable collection of beaver skin from the Green River country. The phenomenal success of this local organization had roused the envy of its competitors and the American Fur Company determined to invade the territory from which wealth was taken so easily and in such generous amounts. Some officials of the concern wanted to enter the mountain trade immediately, but others maintained that the recent success of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was too extraordinary to be taken as an

illustration of the general possibilities of the country. It was determined, therefore, to go slowly at first. A permanent post was erected at the mouth of the Yellowstone which would afford a convenient and safe base for operations into the mountain region. This was in the fall of 1828, and this post was the first built by the American Fur Company above the Mandans. It was called Fort Floyd, but the name was changed to Fort Union before the end of 1830.

Kenneth McKenzie was selected by the American Fur Company to take charge of operations in the upper Missouri country. It was congenial work to McKenzie who had been the staunch advocate for vigorously entering the mountain trade in 1827. While he was erecting a post at the mouth of the Yellowstone he was also watching carefully the rich fields toward the south from which Ashley had acquired wealth and fame. He could not attend to the business there himself, but he perfected plans for opening trade in the fall of 1828. Étienne Provost, who had fallen out with Ashley and his men in 1826, was sent to look up the trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company with a view to bringing them to Fort Floyd. In the fall of 1828 the free trappers invited McKenzie to bring goods to a rendezvous, which they designated, for trade following the spring hunt of 1829. The request was transmitted to St. Louis and a party was organized for the purpose. It was under capable leadership and immediately opened trade in the mountains. In fact the appearance of this expedition marks the beginning of Astor's trade in the region heretofore dominated by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. It was not, however, a profitable branch of the business because the competition it engendered was too keen.

Plans to enter the Blackfeet country.—There was another field in the upper Missouri region to which McKenzie also devoted considerable energy as soon as

he felt secure in his position at the mouth of the Yellowstone. This was the country of the Blackfeet in the vicinity of the Three Forks of the Missouri. It will be remembered that the Missouri Fur Company was driven from the territory by these warlike Indians on two different occasions, and Ashley and Henry met similar fates in 1822 and 1823. No intercourse of any kind had been opened with them by American Fur Traders even as late as 1830. If they were influenced by the whites at all, they were under the dominance of the British. The country itself was known to be rich in beaver and McKenzie was not the man to watch his British rivals extract the wealth from this virgin field unchallenged.

Fortune favored him in prosecuting the interests of his company in these new quarters. An old trapper who had formerly been in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company came to Fort Union and was employed by McKenzie in the fall of 1830. Berger was familiar with the customs, habits and language of the Blackfeet, and knew many of the Indians personally. It would have been difficult for McKenzie to have procured the services of another man who possessed so completely just the qualifications needed by the American Fur Company for opening communication and trade with the Blackfeet Indians.

Indians visit Fort Union.—Berger set out almost immediately for the upper Missouri country, and came upon an Indian village on the Marias River. His companions had been greatly perturbed over the undertaking from the first, and the sight of the hostile Blackfeet caused them to want to turn back. Berger insisted that the mission be carried out and his followers resigned themselves to their fate hardly expecting to survive the undertaking. But the Indians, who had appeared hostile at first, became most friendly when they discovered the name of the leader of the expedition.

Berger induced about forty of the Blackfeet, including several chiefs, to accompany him to Fort Union. The route was a long one and it required patience and tact on the part of the traders to prevent the red men from turning back before the destination was reached, but the feat was finally accomplished.

The conference between McKenzie and the Indians, which took place at Fort Union toward the end of 1830, changed the attitude of the red men toward the American trader. A few men were sent among them to carry on trade during the winter, and the following summer a post was erected on the Missouri at the mouth of the Marias River. This was called Fort Piegan. A prosperous trade was conducted here during the winter of 1831-1832. The first ten days following the opening of the post for business, twenty-four hundred beaver skins were received. In the spring it became necessary to transport the winter's trade to Fort Union, and Fort Piegan was abandoned. When the traders returned to the mouth of the Marias in the summer of 1832 they found that Fort Piegan had been burned, and they moved about six miles farther up the Missouri and built Fort McKenzie on the north bank of the river. This post marked the permanent foothold of the American Fur Company in the Blackfeet country, and was occupied until near the close of the period.[9] Another post was built by Astor's organization at the mouth of the Bighorn in 1832 for the convenience of trade among the Crow Indians.

Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, Fort McKenzie on the Missouri near the mouth of the Marias, and Fort Cass on the Yellowstone at the mouth of

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[9] "Affairs at Fort Benton from 1831 to 1869; from Lieut. Bradley's Journal" published in the Montana Historical Society, *Contributions*, I. 84; III. 201 ff. Elliott Coues (editor) *Forty Years of Fur Trade in the Upper Missouri; The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur*, I. Chapter VII, particularly 109-116.

the Bighorn gave the American Fur Company as complete control of the upper Missouri as that organization ever had. The plans for building an establishment at Three Forks were never carried out because the development of the trade did not require that they should be.

Steamboats on the Missouri.—An incident which strengthened the influence of the American Fur Company among the Indians of the upper Missouri occurred in 1832. This was the appearance of a steamboat at Fort Union. In 1819 the first one had entered that river, and in the same year the *Western Engineer* reached Council Bluffs. However, the steamboat had been used but rarely on the Missouri before 1830, and practically not at all above the mouth of the Kansas River. McKenzie urged that it be used in the regular trade between St. Louis and Fort Union. He was opposed at first by officials in his own company, but he persisted until he won them over. The subject was presented to the central office in New York by Pierre Chouteau in great detail, and the plan was approved. A firm in Louisville, Kentucky, was given the contract to build a vessel suitable for such navigation and it was to be delivered in April, 1831. It was constructed within the time specified and was christened the *Yellowstone.*

The Yellowstone at Fort Union.—The *Yellowstone* left St. Louis on April 16, 1831, and had little or no difficulty until it passed the mouth of the Niobrara during the last days of May. Low water stopped it just above this point, and the protracted delay proved a source of great annoyance to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who was the most important passenger on board. Daily he paced up and down the high bank scanning the western horizon and longing for a rise in the river, and since that time the place has been known as Chouteau Bluffs. A few light boats were finally sent down from Fort

Tecumseh, and after these had relieved the steamer of part of her cargo she was able to proceed to the fort, arriving there on June 19. That part of the trip between Council Bluffs and Fort Tecumseh was thus traversed by a steamer for the first time. No attempt was made to go farther up the river on this voyage, but in March, 1832, the *Yellowstone* again left St. Louis for the upper Missouri and arrived at Fort Union some time in June. By July 7 it was again at St. Louis, having made an average of a hundred miles a day on the downward trip.[10]

Its significance.—The voyage of 1832 gave great satisfaction to the American Fur Company and marked the beginning of regular steamboat navigation along the Missouri. Its appearance made a lasting impression upon the Indians and was a powerful factor in fostering the respect of the upper Missouri tribes for the Americans.

> Many of the Indians who had been in the habit of trading with the Hudson Bay Company [commented the *Missouri Republican*] declared that the company could no longer compete with the Americans, and concluded thereafter to bring all their skins to the latter; and said that the British might turn out their dogs and burn their sledges, as they would no longer be useful while the *Fire Boat* walked on the waters.[11]

Relation of the fur trader to the Indian.—The most successful fur trader used every effort to cultivate the friendship and good will of the Indian. If the latter belonged to a hostile tribe it was the business of the trader to win him over and make him a friend; if his tribe was amicable the trader had to use constant tact and diplomacy to retain his good will. In his letter

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[10] Chittenden, Hiram M., *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri*, I. 136-138.

[11] Quoted in Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, I. 341.

to Clark, Manuel Lisa has outlined his own policy in dealing with the Indians, a policy which was no doubt generally used by others.

> I appear as a benefactor, and not as a pillager, of the Indians. I carried among them the seed of the large pompion, from which I have seen in their possession the fruit weighing one hundred and sixty pounds. Also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables now make a comfortable part of their subsistence, and this year I have promised to carry the plow. Besides, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak and of the old men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of these natives, and the consequent choice of their trade.[12]

Commercial trader of the Southwest.—There were many traders who did not do all that Lisa did (and it might be added that there were few if any who were as influential among the Indians as he), but all had the same aim in view. The good will and friendship of the Indian was essential to the most successful operation of the fur trade. This condition was not essential to the success of the commercial trader of the Southwest. His object was to avoid direct contact with the tribes if possible. The fur trader might prefer to operate alone,—the safety of the southwestern trade depended upon the numbers and organization of the companies engaged.

Beginning of trade with Southwest.—All attempts to open trade between St. Louis and the Southwest during the first two decades of the nineteenth century resulted in practical failure. In 1821, Spanish dominion in New Mexico came to an end, and American traders

[12] *See* "Letter from Manuel Lisa to General Clark," on the conduct of Lisa's office as Indian agent, written at St. Louis, July 1, 1817, in appendices of Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, III. 899-902.

were permitted to visit Santa Fé. William Becknell was the first to learn of the possible profits to be derived from commerce under the new régime in Mexico. Accompanied by four companions Becknell left the vicinity of Franklin in 1821 [18] for the purpose of trading with the Comanche Indians. Near the mountains he fell in with a company of Mexican rangers who easily persuaded him to bring his goods to New Mexico. Although the Americans had but a small quantity of merchandise, the demand in this new market was so great that a handsome profit was easily made.

Other early expeditions.—Becknell's favorable report upon returning to Missouri aroused considerable interest in this new mart for commerce, and others determined to take part in this profitable trade. Braxton Cooper with a party of about fifteen and four or five thousand dollars' worth of goods, left the vicinity of Franklin in the latter part of April or early in May, 1822. He made the journey in safety and the majority of the members of the expedition returned during the following autumn. Becknell organized another party and left Arrow Rock near Franklin during the latter part of May, taking with him on this expedition a larger stock of goods than he had carried formerly and three wagons. He was stopped before he reached the Arkansas by the Osage Indians who threatened to confiscate his supplies. One of the members of the Chouteau family happened to be trading with the Indians at this time and through his influence Becknell's party was permitted to continue. The Missouri expedition was apparently joined by another when it reached the Arkansas River. The journey thence across the plains to San Miguel, the first Spanish settlement,

[18] Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIX. 177. William Becknell's "Journal" in the Missouri Historical Society. *Review* for January, 1910.

situated about fifty miles from Santa Fé, occupied about twenty-two days. The return probably took place in the following October or November and required about forty-eight days.

Use of wagons.—In commenting upon the historic significance of this expedition Chittenden calls attention to the fact that Becknell had opened a new route by going directly to San Miguel by way of the Cimarron River instead of following the Arkansas to the mountains and thence to Taos, besides having been the first to use wagons in the trade. "This last achievement was four years before Ashley took his wheeled cannon to the Salt Lake valley, eight years before Smith, Jackson, and Sublette took wagons to the Wind River, and ten years before Bonneville took them to Green River." [14]

Wagons were not used extensively, however, until 1824. In fact this was an eventful year in the history of the Santa Fé trade because of the great increase in the number of those who took part in it.

A profitable expedition.—In the early spring a company of adventurers assembled in Franklin, Missouri, for the purpose of discussing the organization of an expedition to Santa Fé. It was to be much more elaborate than heretofore, and the plans called for an extensive use of wagons. As a result of this meeting an expedition was formed consisting of about eighty men, over one hundred and fifty horses and mules, twenty-five wagons, and twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars' worth of merchandise. The company left the vicinity of Franklin about the middle of May, traveled a short distance beyond the settlements, and organized for crossing the plains. They arrived at Santa Fé toward the last of July where they spent an extraordinarily successful period in trade. The majority of the party

[14] Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II. 503, 504.

returned after a short stay in Sante Fé, reaching Franklin during the last of September and bringing with them one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in gold and silver, beside ten thousand dollars in furs. The effect of the astounding success of this enterprise upon general interest in the commerce of the prairies was immediate. It marked the beginning of a trade between the United States and Santa Fé which soon extended from the latter place south into Chihuahua and west to the Pacific coast through Los Angeles.

Road marked off.—During this same year an agitation began for laying out a road and providing military escorts for Santa Fé traders. Senator Benton introduced a bill in the last session of the eighteenth Congress which provided for building a road to the borders of Mexico through the Indian country. He was able to prove its importance to members of Congress by submitting a paper from Augustus Storrs, a Santa Fé trader. This document presented the progress and returns of the trade and indicated its importance as a branch of the commerce of the country.[15] Benton secured an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars, ten of which was to be used for marking the road and twenty for securing from the Indians the right of transit across their territories. The work was begun in 1825 and at the end of about three years the road was surveyed. Beginning at Fort Osage the surveyors used mounds of earth to mark the route to the great bend of the Arkansas, thence they followed the river to Taos. Although this was safer, the traders preferred the short cut across the desert from the Arkansas, in spite of the dangers involved. This part of the route across the Cimarron desert was not defined until 1834. A caravan

[15] *Niles Register*, XXVII. 312-316. *See also* Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854), Chapter XVI; *Debates of Congress, 18 Cong., 2d Sess., 7.*

crossing the plains after a heavy rain in that year cut deep ruts in the sand, after which the wagon track was plain enough. And the route marked off from Fort Osage to the Arkansas "seems to have been of but little service to travelers, who continued to follow the trail previously made by the wagons, which is now the settled road to the region of the short 'buffalo grass.' "[16]

Dangers of the trail.—The chief danger of this route across the Cimarron desert was from nomad Indians. Lured by the ammunition and horses invariably found among the supplies of the white traders, these prairie savages hovered about the moving caravan until they found an opportunity to take such livestock and articles of merchandise as they desired, after which they disappeared into the desert from which they came. Frequently this was not accomplished until the whites had killed one or more of the Indians. Sometimes the savages were beaten off after sacrifices on both sides. Occasionally they were followed and cut down in a most barbarous manner by the whites.[17] Such wanton cruelties bred a fierce hostility between the white man and the red. In a treaty negotiated at Council Grove in 1825, the Osage and Pawnee Indians agreed not to interfere with the caravans, for which they were given eight hundred dollars' worth of goods. The Comanches, however, would make no such promise. Like a plague they infested the trail, exterminating the whites whenever the opportunity was presented. If for the moment a wagon became unprotected or if a small group of hunters left the main caravan in pursuit of buffalo, these desert outlaws would swoop down upon them with a vindictiveness that was usually most disastrous in its consequences.

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[16] Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," in Thwaites, *Western Travels*, XIX. 198.

[17] *Ibid.*, 184, 185.

Death of Smith.—It was under some such circumstances as this that Jedediah Smith, the veteran explorer and fur trader, lost his life. In the spring of 1831 he had entered the Santa Fé trade with his former partners, Jackson and Sublette, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Having been pioneers of the Rocky Mountains they concluded it would be easy enough to go where they liked. With some twenty odd wagons and about eighty men they started with their first train for Santa Fé. The beaten track to the Arkansas River was followed without difficulty or inconvenience, but from there to the Cimarron "not a single trail was to be found, save the innumerable buffalo paths, with which these plains are furrowed, and which are exceedingly perplexing to the bewildered prairie traveler." For several days the party wandered about the Cimarron desert in search of water. Smith finally determined to follow one of the "buffalo trails," hoping thereby to discover some stream or pond. After wandering many miles he came upon the Cimarron, but only a bed of dry sand greeted him. He soon scratched out a hole with his hands into which the water slowly oozed from the saturated sand. While attempting to quench his thirst he was killed by Comanche Indians.[18]

Appeals for government escort.—The losses experienced from Indian depredations together with loss of life occasionally led to appeals for government protection during the early years of the Santa Fé trade. The first proposal was for a military post on the boundary line, but the great difficulty in furnishing supplies for such an establishment, and the further fact that a garrison would be of little use except in the immediate vicinity, led to the abandonment of the idea.

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[18] *Ibid.*, 236, 237.

An escort was adopted instead. In 1829 Major Bennett Riley was ordered to accompany the spring caravan as far as the boundary line. With four companies of the sixth infantry from Fort Leavenworth he set out on June 5, and a few days later joined the caravan at Round Grove. The entire expedition then proceeded to the Arkansas and followed up that stream to the vicinity of Chouteau Island. Here the road turned off into Mexican territory and the United States troops decided to go no farther. The caravan had hardly passed from sight when it was attacked by the Indians and horsemen brought a hasty appeal to Major Riley for help. The Indians were beaten off and the troops traveled a day longer with the traders and then returned to the Arkansas where they were to remain to accompany the caravan back to Missouri. Riley waited a day longer than the time agreed upon (October 10) and had set out for home when he was overtaken by horsemen who informed him of the returning caravan. A halt was made, and the caravan appeared accompanied by Mexican troops who had escorted the American traders through the hostile Indian country south of the Arkansas.

Reasons for its abandonment.—This policy did not meet with the approval of the authorities, however, for two reasons. In the first place officials believed that large caravans could protect themselves if they observed ordinary caution, and it would be impossible to provide escorts for every small party of traders who might desire to participate in overland commerce. In the second place, the escort could go only to the boundary between the two countries and the most dangerous part of the journey was through Mexican territory beyond. As a result the experiment was not repeated often after 1829. In fact the escort under Major Riley and another commanded by Cap-

tain Wharton in 1834 constituted the only government protection afforded the Santa Fé trader until 1843. During the latter year a large escort under Captain Cook afforded protection for two large caravans as far as the Arkansas River.

Formation of the caravan.—However, the dangers of the plains and the refusal of the authorities to provide escorts did not prevent the development of a successful trade with New Mexico. The Santa Fé expedition was an annual event of primary importance to the business men of St. Louis for a period of twenty years after the important caravan of 1824. The first outfitting station was Franklin, until that prosperous little frontier village was washed into the Missouri, and then Independence became the point of departure. After the era of steamboat navigation had begun on the Missouri the more convenient facilities for docking at Westport Landing drew all the river trade to that town. Early in the spring, usually about the first of April, independent parties under their respective leaders would begin to move toward Council Grove, "a luxuriant heavily timbered bottom of the Neosho" situated a hundred and fifty miles from Independence. Here the parties combined and organized for mutual protection across the plains. The picturesque scenes which accompanied the arrival, organization, and departure of the caravans from this famous rendezvous form a part of Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies.* Gregg is preëminently the historian of the Santa Fé trade. Having perfected their plans for the trip, the caravan left Council Grove in military order. The distance to the New Mexican mart was about seven hundred miles usually took five or six weeks.

iff and profits from the trade.—The arrival of avan was the great event of the year for the s of Santa Fé. It brought in needed supplies

from the states, and the Americans were invariably the most generous patrons of the cafés and places of amusement. There were important transactions to be conducted, not only by the local merchants whose accumulated stock of furs and buffalo robes, wool, blankets, and mules was to be disposed of, but by the customs officials whose charge it was to collect the import duties. The Spanish traditions of venality and double-dealing held with the Mexican régime, and the merchants well understood that certain gratuities would secure the abatement of the prescribed tariff. The duties amounted to sixty per cent *ad valorem,* but in actual adjustment the trader usually got an abatement of one-third and the collector pocketed one third, so that not more than one third of the legal charge found its way into the public treasury. American goods sold at double the original price; but fortunate was the trader who, after customs, expenses, and incidental losses were deducted, realized a profit of forty per cent. The ordinary profits ranged from ten to twenty per cent.[19]

The authorities imposed burdens on the trade which arbitrarily reduced the proceeds therefrom. To keep the Apaches in check the governor of Chihuahua levied a *contribucion de guerra* in 1835, requiring twenty-five dollars from the Americans and five dollars from the natives. Arbitrary modifications were made in the existing taxing system with the view to throwing the whole burden of impost more and more on foreigners and naturalized citizens. In accordance with this plan the Mexican officials placed a tax of five hundred dollars on each freight wagon, but the Americans offset the effect of this somewhat by increasing the capacity of the wagon.

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[19] Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* II. 85, 86.

Overland trade between New Mexico and California.—The trade was not limited to Santa Fé. This cosmopolitan little frontier town was but the center through which commerce passed. Indeed the American traders themselves occasionally extended their traffic to Chihuahua, and ere long commercial relations were established between Santa Fé and the Pacific coast. About 1830 Ewing Young and Wolfskill appeared in Los Angeles provided with a few blankets. These were exchanged for mules which were driven to New Mexico. The profits derived from this transaction together with the size and beauty of the mules when compared with those used in the Missouri-Santa Fé trade at that time, aroused an interest among the people of New Mexico, and resulted in the establishment of a trade which was carried on by means of caravans with more or less regularity for a period of several years. The traders brought serapes from New Mexico over the northern or Green or Virgin River route, through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles where members of the expedition would separate and travel independently up and down the coast, trading their blankets not only for mules and horses, but for silks and other goods which had been imported on American vessels from China. Their trade completed, the members of the party would reassemble at Los Angeles preparatory to returning over the desert to New Mexico.[20]

It was a trade from which the Indian outlaws of the desert occasionally forced contributions. Indeed the caravans were organized to protect themselves against these marauders, and travelers frequently joined the companies in order to have greater security in crossing

[20] Warner, J. J., "Reminiscences of Early California, 1831-1846," in Historical Society of Southern California, *Annual Publications* (1906), VII. 189. See also Hittell, *History of California*, II. 155 and *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County* (Los Angeles, 1876), 18.

the desert.[21] These formidable organizations made the Indians more cautious but did not stop the raids. The Yumas like vultures hovered about the flanks of the moving columns or from the distance watched the formation of evening camps ready to pounce upon and plunder any small group that might become momentarily separated from the main body. The Paiutes in Utah adopted different means of procuring their share of the goods. Frémont has left a description of their methods. In May, 1844, while returning from his second expedition, he met a band of Paiutes who were "journeying slowly toward the Spanish trail, to levy their usual tribute upon the great California caravan. They were robbers of a higher order than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade, and tolls for passing through their country."[22]

Perhaps if there had been no other incentive to participate in the Santa Fé trade than the profits which the business afforded, some Americans engaged in it would have withdrawn. But this was not the case. The life itself appealed to the men. Gregg doubtless expressed the sentiment of many when he said that the commerce of the plains begot a passion for prairie life which he never expected to survive. The grip which it secured on these men is not difficult to understand. It afforded life in the open; it provided occasional thrills from skirmishes with the Indians; its dangers and hardships drew men together and friendships were

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[21] Such a party had joined Frémont when he came over the trail in 1844. Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of my Life, Including in the Narrative Five Journeys of Western Explorations During the Years 1842, 1843-1844, 1845-1846-1847, 1848-1849, 1853-1854*, etc., Chicago, 1887, I. 370, 371.

[22] *Ibid.*, 386. When Frémont returned from his second expedition he traveled from southern California along the Spanish trail for a distance of over four hundred miles, endeavoring to camp each night at the established camping grounds of the annual California caravan. He considered himself particularly fortunate that year in that he traveled east ahead of the caravan thereby securing grazing for his horses. *Ibid.*, 369.

formed that were intimate and lasting. These and many other incentives enticed men into the life afforded by the Southwestern trade.

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CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF TEXAS

Early American settlements in Texas.—Before the end of the eighteenth century Americans had pushed their way up the Red River and established themselves in the valleys of the streams along the Louisiana-Texas frontier. A pioneer of this vicinity claimed to have been there thirty years at the time Louisiana was purchased from France. A certain Edward Murphy received a grant of land on the Arroyo Hondo as early as 1791, and seven years later admitted to partnership Samuel Davenport, a certain Smith from New York, and William Barr of Pennsylvania. Apparently the association was formed for the purpose of ranching in connection with horse-trading which was carried on between Louisiana and Texas; and their privileges were extended in 1801 to include permission to trade with the friendly Indians living farther north. By 1803 Americans were occupying lands on Ayish Bayou west of the Sabine.[1]

Philip Nolan's expedition into Texas.—The American whose name is most intimately associated with early Texas, however, is that of the horse trader, Philip Nolan. A Texas historian states that Nolan had been engaged in trade between San Antonio and Natchez since 1785.[2] There can be little doubt that he made trading expeditions into Texas before 1800. He was intimately associated with General James Wilkinson, commander

[1] Cox, Isaac Joslin, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier" in the Texas State Historical *Quarterly*, July, 1916, X. 60-61.

[2] Yoakum, H., *History of Texas from its First Settlement in 1685 to its Annexation to the United States*, 2 vols., X, 1856, I. 111.

in chief of the United States army, and the latter, although himself a secret pensioner of Spain, was ready to encourage any enterprise that might be directed against Louisiana or Mexico. It is possible, therefore, that Nolan may have been directed by Wilkinson. Was Jefferson interested in these intrusions? "If so," Garrison concludes, "he must have used Wilkinson's agency. The best support for inferences like this lies in the fact that a report on Texas such as Nolan might have been able to make if he had returned alive would have been quite useful to either Jefferson or Wilkinson, and the relations of Wilkinson with Jefferson on the one hand and Nolan on the other were such as might easily have been used to secure it." [8]

Jefferson's correspondence with Nolan's agent.—On June 24, 1798, Jefferson wrote Nolan from Philadelphia requesting information in regard to herds of wild horses in the country west of the Mississippi. The information was sought on behalf of the Philosophical Society of that city. This letter reached New Orleans while Nolan was absent on one of his excursions into the West. It was read by Daniel Clark, Jr., an intimate friend of Nolan. In his reply dated February 12, 1799, Clark assured Jefferson that Nolan would be pleased to give any information desired.

> I will be responsible for his giving you every information he has collected, and it will require all the good opinion you may have been led to entertain of his veracity not to have your belief staggered with the accounts you will receive of the numbers and habits of the horses of that country and the people who live in that neighborhood whose customs and ideas are as different from ours as those of the hordes of Grand Tartary. . . . In the meantime I must suggest to you the necessity of keeping to yourself for the present all the information that may be forwarded to you as the

[8] Garrison, George P., *Texas*, Boston, 1903 (Commonwealth series), 112, 113.

slightest hint would point out the channel from which it flowed and might probably be attended with the most fatal consequences to a man who will at all times have it in his power to render important services to the United States, and whom Nature seems to have formed for enterprises for which the rest of mankind are incapable.[4]

The writer assured Jefferson still further that in case an accident should prevent Nolan's return, the latter's papers which had been confided to Clark and a mutual friend "now in the Spanish service" would be examined immediately and "everything" relating to the Spanish country would be forwarded to Jefferson.

On May 22, 1800, Wilkinson wrote for Nolan a letter of introduction to Jefferson.

In the bearer of this letter—Mr. P. Nolan, you will behold the Mexican traveler, a specimen of whose discoveries, I had the honor to submit to you in the winter of 1797. Mr. N——'s subsequent excursions have been more extensive and his observations more accurate. He feels pride in offering himself to your investigation, and I am persuaded you will find pleasure, in his details of a country, the soil, clime, population, improvements and productions of which are so little known to us.[5]

The Nolan expedition of 1800.—This, it will be observed, was in May, 1800. In the following October, Nolan led an expedition from Natchez. Prior to his departure the United States authorities, at the request of the Spanish officials, made an investigation, but Nolan had his passport which prevented any interference from that quarter. The Consul then wrote to the Spanish commandant at Washita to arrest the party and the Americans were met by a force of fifty men, but the

[4] The Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly* (1903-1904), VII. 309, 310.
[5] *Ibid.*, 314.

Spaniards for some reason did not attempt to stop them. Nolan led his men into Texas as far as the Brazos where he camped and gathered about three hundred head of horses. Then a month was spent in a Comanche village on the south fork of the Red River. After returning to their camp they were attacked, March 21, 1801, by about one hundred men who had been sent against them from Nacogdoches. Nolan was killed in the early part of the engagement and the others were taken prisoners after a struggle of about three hours.

Outcome of the expedition.—At the time of the engagement the expedition consisted of fourteen Americans, seven Spaniards or Mexicans, two negroes, and a creole. Less than two-thirds of the number took part in the fighting. Three of the eleven Americans engaged escaped soon after the capture and the others were tried, and in January, 1804, the judge ordered their release. The commanding officer of the Internal Provinces objected to this and the subject was referred to the king. In February, 1807, the order came from the king that one out of each five of those engaged in the fighting was to be hanged. Since ten had been reported to him this would provide for the execution of two, but one of the ten had died while the decision was pending. The Mexican officials decided that the execution of one would fulfill the requirements of the law. Ephraim Blackburn, a Quaker, was chosen by lot to satisfy the demands, was baptized a Catholic, and was hanged at Chihuahua on November 11, 1807, more than six years after the battle was fought which resulted in his capture. The remainder of the prisoners, according to the decree of the king, were to spend ten years at hard labor. In fulfillment of this sentence they were placed in remote penal settlements from which places of obscurity only one of them subsequently appears in history. This was Ellis Bean whose *Memoir* is one of the

sources of information regarding the entire incident.[6]

The Southwest and Mexican independence.—A dozen years later another American expedition entered Texas. It was led by Bernado Gutierrez, a Mexican refugee, and Augustus Magee, an ex-lieutenant of the United States army, and was the most formidable of the American invasions. In fact it assumed the aspect of a genuine filibustering undertaking. For many years hostility had been growing between Americans and Spaniards along the border between the two countries. Throughout the southwestern part of the United States men were to be found anxiously waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow at Spain. Some of these were interested especially in Texas and were willing to assist Mexico in gaining her independence. It was not difficult, therefore, to find volunteers amongst them, when the proper moment came, who were eager to participate in any move across the border. Following the uprising led by Hidalgo their opportunity came.

The Gutierrez-Magee expedition.—Gutierrez had fled from Mexico with a commission from Hidalgo as lieutenant-colonel in the insurgent army and as envoy to the United States. This was in 1811. He accomplished nothing at Washington and soon returned to Natchitoches in the Southwest. Here he procured the coöperation of Magee who resigned his position in the United States army in order that he might be free to participate. One hundred and fifty odd adventurers from the Neutral Ground (a strip of territory finally established between the Sabine and the Arroyo Hondo, and later embodied in Louisiana after the treaty of 1819) gathered at convenient rendezvous ready to participate in the invasion. Gutierrez crossed the border at the head of this band in August and drove the Spanish troops from Nacogdoches. The people of this

[6] Bean's "Memoir" is published in the appendix of Yoakum's *History of Texas*, I.

little frontier village were apparently contented with a change of masters and even the Spanish troops manifested very little opposition to the American invasion but fled precipitately to the Spanish fort at the crossing of the Trinity, or the "Spanish Bluff" as it was called by the Americans. The latter followed and again the Spanish force retreated, surrendering the whole of eastern Texas to the insurgents.

A battle and a massacre.—Meanwhile the invading force had been growing. Magee remained behind to recruit and send forward reënforcements. The invaders who had numbered about five hundred before leaving Nacogdoches had increased to approximately eight hundred by the time they reached Spanish Bluff. An organization was effected at the latter place, and Gutierrez was made commander in chief with the real leader, Magee, second in command. Major Kemper and Captains Lockett, Perry, Ross, and Gaines were under Magee. A few months later the American expedition captured La Bahia where they secured a great deal of booty and were besieged by Salcedo, the governor of Texas, for four months. Nothing was gained by the Spanish officer and the loss experienced was severe, and early in 1813 the Americans were permitted to go. During the siege Magee had died and had been succeeded by Kemper, and about the time the siege was raised several hundred additional men joined the Americans from Nacogdoches and from the friendly Indians. This enlarged expedition engaged the Spanish force in the battle of Rosillo near San Antonio in March and defeated them. Following the surrender of the city occurred an incident all too frequent in the annals of frontier warfare. Salcedo and his staff had been captured. Gutierrez stated to the army that he thought it essential for their own safety to send the Spanish governor and his companions to New Orleans to remain on parole until the war was over. A guard

was selected and with the prisoners under the command of Captain Delgado started for Matagorda Bay where they were expected to take passage on board a United States vessel. But they were destined not to go far. When they had reached a point about a mile and a half below San Antonio the prisoners were stripped and tied and their throats cut. Besides Governor Salcedo, Herrera and Cordero, both ex-governors, were among the slain. It was a dastardly as well as a cowardly act! The Americans did not participate in it, and many of them had sufficient manhood to refuse to have anything more to do with the movement in Texas.

Defeat of Americans.—The expedition did not hold together long after this. They gained one more decisive victory and their numbers increased to approximately three thousand, including about eight hundred and fifty Americans; but in July, 1813, they were completely defeated by a royalist force of about two thousand men. The defeat was decisive. Of the Americans only about ninety-three returned to Natchitoches. The defeated forces were butchered in a most heartless manner. At Spanish Bluff on the Trinity the victors captured seventy or eighty prisoners. They were taken to a timbered area at the forks of the San Antonio and La Bahia roads where a long, deep grave was dug and a log thrown across it. The prisoners were then tied and placed on the timber ten at a time where they were shot. In all parts of Texas opponents of the Spanish régime were hunted down and punished. The town of Trinidad at Spanish Bluff was completely destroyed and many of the inhabitants butchered. Perhaps San Antonio witnessed the most barbarous scenes of the victorious Spanish troops. About seven hundred of the peaceable citizens of the town were imprisoned, three hundred of whom were confined in one house during the night of August 20, and eighteen suffocated.

Others were shot from day to day without any trial. Wives, daughters, and other women who had been friendly with the insurgents were taken also, about five hundred of them, and forced to cook for the victors. A little later a band of the victorious troops moved northward toward Nacogdoches murdering, plundering, and destroying as they went. This practically completed the destruction of the feeble efforts at colonization which had been going on for a century.[7]

The expedition of James Long.—The last American filibustering expedition to enter Texas was organized in 1819. The treaty of 1819 by which the United States acquired Florida and surrendered her claim to Texas was unpopular with a good many Americans, particularly those living in the southwestern part of the United States. These people had been interested in Texas to a greater extent than most of their countrymen, but this interest had waned considerably following the devastating war of 1812 to 1813. Perhaps the Spanish treaty of 1819 was largely responsible for reawakening the enthusiasm in that section. A public meeting was held at Natchez early in 1819, and a company was formed for invading Texas. The command of these volunteers was declined by General Adair of Kentucky, and was then accepted by James Long of Natchez. After some half-hearted attempts to stop him, Long left Natchez in June with seventy-five men and marched with his force to Nacogdoches without opposition. Meanwhile his followers had increased to three hundred. Among them were Samuel Davenport, who had been a contractor in the Magee expedition, and Bernardo Gutierrez, who had been one of the leaders of that enterprise.

Long's Republic.—At Nacogdoches the American leader organized a provisional government controlled by a supreme council of which Gutierrez was a mem-

[7] Garrison, *Texas*, 114-121.

ber. The council issued a proclamation declaring Texas to be a free and independent republic. A sort of administrative system was organized with provisions, among other things, for disposing of the public lands in such a way as to attract immigrants. After this had been arranged steps were taken to occupy the country. David Long, a brother of the leader, was sent to the upper crossing of the Trinidad with merchandise to trade with the Indians. Another leader was stationed on the same river at the Cooshattie village, and trading posts were established on the Brazos River. These trading posts established, Long turned his energy in another direction. He would feel more secure in his new government if he could gain the support of Lafitte. Messengers were sent to Galveston to lay the matter before the pirate-chief, but they received no aid. "Lafitte informed them that General Long had his best wishes for his success; that he himself had been engaged for eight years in waging war against royalists of Spain; but that the fate of Mina, Perry, and others, should be a warning against an invasion by land except with a considerable force."[8] Long then started for a personal conference with Lafitte but he was no more successful than his agents had been. While he was absent the Spanish troops broke up his posts and scattered his forces. Long escaped to Louisiana. He then moved his family to Natchitoches and went to Bolivar Point. Here on the Texas coast he placed his remaining followers in a fort and waited for the renewal of operations.

The revolutionary outbreak of 1821 brought the opportunity for which Long had waited. He formed a connection with the liberal leaders of Mexico and then led his forces into the heart of Texas. La Bahia was captured in October, 1821, but this ended his territorial conquest. He was compelled to surrender with some

[8] Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I. 200.

of his followers. The fact that he had taken part in the uprising against Spain gave Long and his men a certain prestige with the victorious revolutionists, however, and they were well treated. Soon afterwards Long was shot and killed by a Mexican soldier. His men were detained in the City of Mexico for some time and finally, through the influence of the United States minister, Poinsett, were given their liberty.

It became possible to enter Texas peaceably after Mexico's successful revolt from Spain so there was no longer any reason for organizing filibustering expeditions into the country. But the raids already made had left the province in a state of desolation. Nearly all signs of civilization east of San Antonio that had survived the raids of 1813 had been swept away. The intruders were all driven out and the country was laid waste. Supplies were obtained with great difficulty even in San Antonio. Nacogdoches had been almost completely destroyed by 1821, the population that remained consisting of a few Americans who had probably drifted in from the Neutral Ground. Such was the condition of Texas at the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century. But this was the period which marks the beginning of a new era for the Southwest—an era in which the permanent American settler and not the filibuster came upon the stage to play the important rôle. It was a period which marks the beginning of a movement that resulted in the revolution of 1836, in the annexation of Texas, in the Mexican War, in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; and this chain of events was a result of the work planned and initiated by Moses Austin and his son Stephen.

Moses Austin.—Moses Austin was born in Durham, Connecticut, about 1764. While quite young he had gone into business in Philadelphia. There in 1785 he married Miss Maria Brown of Morris County, New Jersey. His firm established a branch in Richmond,

Virginia, a little later, and Austin moved there. A few years were spent here and another move was made, this time to Wythe County in southwestern Virginia, where for a time he operated lead mines. It was while here that he received reports of lead mines west of the Mississippi. He secured a passport from the Spanish minister in Washington and in 1796, after a winter journey crowded with difficulties and dangers, he visited Ste. Genevieve. He received a grant of land, brought his family from Virginia, and settled near the present town of Potosi in the state of Missouri in 1798. The pioneer settlement established here by Austin grew and prospered in spite of attacks by Indians, and five years later the cession of Louisiana brought the new colony within the limits of the United States. Austin gave his attention and his energy to his mining business and prospered as he had not done before. In 1818, however, "in consequence of the failure of the St. Louis bank together with a number of heavy losses he had sustained by being security and unfortunate shipments he had made," [9] Austin experienced financial ruin, but his courage remained unshaken.

Plans to settle colony in Texas.—By the treaty of 1819 Texas was left in the hands of Spain. This, it seemed to Austin, would give validity to Spanish land grants made within the province, and he determined to establish a colony in Texas. He discussed the matter with his son Stephen, then a young man twenty-six years old, and the latter went south to establish a farm at Long Prairie on the Red River which was to serve as a basis for colonizing operations. But the farm project did not materialize and young Austin spent the years 1819 and 1820 in Arkansas Territory where he became a circuit judge. On a grant of land which he located here, his brother-in-law, James Bryan, sub-

[9] The Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, X. 345.

sequently laid off the town of Little Rock. In the summer of 1820 the father and son met at Little Rock and it was agreed that Moses Austin should go to San Antonio to prepare the way for the proposed colony, and that Stephen should go to New Orleans to gather immigrants.

Reception by Governor of Texas.—Moses Austin crossed the deserted wilderness of eastern Texas in the fall of 1820, and arrived at San Antonio after having made a journey of more than eight hundred miles on horseback. At first it seemed as if all his trouble and patience must go for naught. The Governor had received orders from his superior officer to keep all foreigners out of Texas, particularly Americans. "At the first interview my father received a most preëmptory order to leave Texas immediately," said Stephen Austin, " . . . the governor even refused to read the papers my father presented as evidence of his having formerly been a Spanish subject in Louisiana, and repeated his order, with much asperity and some passion, to leave Texas immediately."[10] Austin was on the point of complying with this order when he met an old acquaintance of Louisiana, Baron de Bastrop, who was living in poverty at Bexar. Through the influence of this man, Austin was granted another interview with the Governor. The arguments used have not been related but shortly afterward the order for immediate departure was suspended, the colonization scheme was explained, and the Governor and *ayuntamiento* of San Antonio united in approving Austin's petition to the authorities of the Eastern Internal Provinces for the right to settle three hundred American families in Texas.

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[10] Quoted in Bryan, Guy M., "Sketches of Moses Austin and Stephen F. Austin, with an Account of their Colonization Enterprise" in *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685-1897* (D. G. Wooten, editor), 2 vols., Dallas, 1898, I. 442.

Death of Moses Austin.—This ended Moses Austin's contribution to Texas. Remaining in San Antonio would do no good, and he determined to return home to await results. The return journey in the winter was even more difficult and trying than the trip of the preceding fall had been. The hardships he had experienced by the time he reached Missouri were so severe that his health was permanently impaired, and on June 10, 1821, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, he died. A short time before his death he received word from Governor Martinez that the proposed grant of land had been authorized by a decree of the viceroy of New Spain, and he was in the midst of plans for another visit to Texas when the end came.

Stephen Fuller Austin.—Austin, who now took up his father's work, was born in Virginia on November 3, 1793. He received his early education in Connecticut and spent two years in college in Kentucky. When about eighteen years of age he returned to Missouri to help his father. He became a member of the territorial legislature of Missouri at the age of twenty, a position which he retained for six years. Following the failure of his father, as we have seen already, young Austin became interested in the proposed settlement of Texas, and left home for Arkansas to arrange there for carrying on the enterprise. While the plans were being matured he served as circuit judge of the territory, a position which he held for eighteen months, and later went to New Orleans to assemble and send forward a company of settlers. Austin had a pleasing personality, a winning smile, and a simple dignity combined with an "unconscious magnetic bearing and influence among men" which won for him almost universal praise.[11]

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[11] *Ibid.*, I. 500. Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, III. 6-10.

His entrance into Texas.—Young Austin remained in New Orleans for six months. At the end of that time he learned that a grant had been authorized and on June 18, 1821, eight days after his father's death, an event of which he was still entirely ignorant, he started for Natchitoches where he had agreed to meet him. He met two commissioners there from San Antonio who had come from the Governor to conduct the expedition into Texas. Austin remained a few days in Natchitoches and started to enter Texas with a party of a dozen men. Just before he reached the Sabine he received word of the death of his father and turned back to obtain more certain information. He found that the letters he expected had been already forwarded and immediately retraced his steps to overtake his men. Here he learned that the reports were true. Despite this he pushed on to Nacogdoches and to San Antonio. In the country between the Sabine and Nacogdoches he found very few American settlers, and the village itself was in ruins, only one church and seven houses remaining of a once prosperous village. Beyond Nacogdoches he found two families settled and these were the last between there and San Antonio. The journey of two hundred and fifty miles of wilderness took twenty-two days and was made without molestation from the Indians. On August 12, 1821, Austin rode into San Antonio, just in time to witness the rejoicing caused by the news of the independence of Mexico.

Succeeds his father as contractor.—Austin informed Governor Martinez of his father's death and asked that he be recognized as the *empresario* with the privilege of carrying out the contract. Martinez readily complied with this request. The terms under which he was permitted to colonize were exceedingly liberal. He might take any quantity of land he required and he might choose it from any location he desired without payment of any kind to the government. The official

decree of January 17, 1821, declared that it would be very expedient "to grant the permission solicited by Moses Austin that the three hundred families which he says are desirous to do so should remove and settle in the province of Texas," upon the following simple conditions:

> . . . if to the first and principal requisite of being Catholics, or agreeing to become so, before entering the Spanish territory, they also add that of accrediting their good character and habits, as is offered in said petition, and taking the necessary oath to be obedient in all things to the government, to take up arms in its defense against all kinds of enemies, and to be faithful to the King, and to observe the political constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, the most flattering hopes may be formed that the said Province will receive an important augmentation in agriculture, industry and arts. . . .[12]

Plans of the proposed settlement.—At the request of the Governor, Austin drew up a sketch of his plans. According to this document each head of a family was to have six hundred and forty acres for himself besides three hundred and twenty for his wife, one hundred and sixty for each child, and eighty for each slave. Six hundred and forty acres would be given each single man twenty-one years or over. The plan was approved by Martinez, and two days after Austin's arrival in Bexar he received a letter from the Governor authorizing him to proceed to the Colorado and select a place for his three hundred families. The site chosen was along the lower course of the Brazos and the Colorado rivers.

Plans advertised.—Austin then turned his energy to colonization. Upon his return to Louisiana in the late fall he advertised his proposals as indicated above, with the further condition that each settler would be

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[12] *Ibid.*, I. 470.

required to pay the *empresario* twelve and a half cents an acre for the land. This additional provision was for the purpose of creating a fund which was to pay the expenses of the enterprise and compensate Austin for his services. Martinez had been consulted regarding this phase of the conditions of the settlement and had said that he saw nothing improper in it providing each colonist were informed of it before he migrated, but he refused to say what the attitude of the superior authorities might be.

Hardships of the early settlers.—By December, 1821, Austin had conducted the first party of settlers to the banks of the lower Brazos and here was established the earliest Anglo-American settlement in Texas. The dangers and privations experienced by American pioneers from the days of Sir Walter Raleigh were faced by the colonists on the Brazos, except that the more tropical latitude relieved them of the prolonged rigors of a northern winter. Austin had conducted an expedition overland, but before leaving New Orleans he had arranged to send immigrants and supplies by boat. The *Lively,* chartered for the purpose, was to land at the mouth of the Colorado. In commenting on these early experiences of the colonists Austin said the *Lively* failed to serve them in any way because "those who commanded the first vessels did not find the appointed place of rendezvous, the mouth of the Colorado." [18] A cargo which reached this place in the fall of 1822 was destroyed by the Indians soon after it was landed and four of the men were killed. As a result of this loss the settlers were forced to go to the Sabine or to Bexar for seed corn. It was very scarce at the latter place. Of corn for food, the colonists had

[18] For a discussion of expedition of the *Lively* see the following articles in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly,* III: "The Adventures of the *Lively* Immigrants," 1-32, 81-107; and "What Became of the *Lively,*" 141-148.

none, and "coffee, sugar, etc., were remembered, and hoped for at some future day. There was no other dependence for subsistence but the wild game such as buffalo, bear, deer, turkeys and wild horses. . . ." The Indians around them and in the midst of them "were beggarly and insolent and were only restrained the first two years by presents, forbearance, and policy; there was not force enough to awe them." [14] In addition to these difficulties Austin soon had the unpleasant experience of finding himself in conflict with the rulers of the country.

Austin compelled to have grant confirmed by the Mexican Congress. — Up to this time the basis for Austin's procedure had been nothing more definite than a letter from Governor Martinez. Apparently he had not considered a formal grant necessary. He was very much surprised and embarrassed, therefore, when he arrived in Bexar again, in March, 1822, to be told that it would be necessary for him to have his grant confirmed by the Mexican Congress. It was useless to protest, so he left the settlement in charge of Josiah H. Bell and set out on a tedious ride of twelve hundred miles through a country which was at the time virtually without law and order. He arrived in the City of Mexico on April 22.

Perhaps no other period of Austin's experiences portrays so vividly the qualifications of the man for the task he had undertaken as the year spent in the Mexican capital. The mission which he had expected would require but a few months occupied a year. Confusion reigned in Mexico during this turbulent period and no man knew what a day would bring forth. But throughout all the trials and disappointments of the twelve months Austin proved himself equal to the demands of the changing events. When events required delay

[14] *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I. 450, 451.

he waited patiently; when circumstances demanded exertion he worked energetically. His case was referred to the Mexican Congress by the provisional regency that ruled in the period immediately following independence, and a general colonization law was under discussion in that body when it was superseded by a legislative committee—a *junta instituyente* which was chosen by the Emperor Iturbide from members of Congress. This committee passed a general colonization law which was promulgated in January, 1823.[18] Austin had expected to have provisions made for his own colony through special legislation, but other Americans were in Mexico soliciting grants similar in character to his own and the authorities determined to enact a general law.

Terms of the grant.—Very soon after the law was passed Austin obtained an imperial decree confirming his grant, and he was about to start on his return to Texas when another revolution unseated Iturbide and Austin had to resume his policy of patient waiting. Once more the subject was brought before Congress. In April that body suspended the general law, passed Austin's case to the executive head of the government, and the grant was confirmed two or three days later. The law provided that to each of three hundred families one *labor* (177 acres of land) should be given for farming and twenty-four more *labors* for stock-raising. The total amount was a *sitio* or square league. More might be given those who had many children or might

[18] A summary of the act is given by Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 139, 140. The law itself, together with other documents bearing on the subject, may be found in Joseph M. White, *A New Collection of Laws, Charters and Local Ordinances of the Government of Great Britain, France, and Spain, Relating to the Concessions of Land in their respective Colonies; together with the Laws of Mexico and Texas on the same subject*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839.

The most convenient collection of laws on the subject is H. P. N. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, Austin, 1898. Spanish collection is Dublan y Lozano, *Legislaçion Mexicana*.

deserve special consideration. The land was to be designated and laid out by the governor of Texas. A town to be founded by Austin was to be located conveniently for the colonists, who were to be Roman Catholics and of steady habits.[16] Austin was to organize the colonists as a body of national militia, to administer justice and preserve order.

The American settlements.—Austin returned to his colonists in August, 1823, and found them in a sad plight. Many of the original settlers had returned to their homes in the states and the new recruits who should have come had stopped at Nacogdoches and in other settlements between there and the Brazos. But Austin did not permit himself to become discouraged. He took up his duties courageously and ere long the settlers began to come in once more. No territorial restrictions had been placed on the colonists. They might choose their lands from any section they desired. As a result they were soon scattered over the extensive region bounded by the San Jacinto and Lavaca rivers on the east and west, by the Gulf on the south, and on the north by the San Antonio-Nacogdoches trail. The capital of the settlement and the principal center of Anglo-American interests in Texas until the revolution of 1836 was San Felipe de Austin. This town was established on the Brazos River at a point about one hundred and fifty miles east of Bexar, and is not to be confused with the present city of Austin on the Colorado which was a much later settlement.

Government of the colony.—The government of the colony was not without its difficulties. The decree of February 18, 1823, placed the responsibility for administrative justice upon Austin until a government was organized for the settlement. The supreme executive power that succeeded Iturbide confirmed this on

[16] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 141-143.

April 14. In May, 1823, while at Monterey *en route* home, Austin sought a clearer definition of his duties. The result of his inquiries as summed up by himself was a decree from his superiors placing upon him the responsibility for preserving good order and for governing the colony in all civil, judicial, and military matters, according to justice and his own best judgment. He was to keep in close communication with the governor of Texas, and be ready to furnish any information pertaining to the government of his colony which his superiors might require. Thus the local government was placed in his charge with liberal powers, but with no written laws or specific instructions to guide him.[17] When he reached home Austin found that the successor of Martinez, Governor Trespalacios, had divided the colony into two districts with an *alcalde* in each to look after the details of local administration and justice. One of these was on the Brazos and the other on the Colorado. Austin sub-divided the Brazos district and made a third in December, 1823, which he called San Felipe. Other changes were made from time to time so that by 1828 seven districts had been formed. The chief administrative responsibility in each district was assumed by an *alcalde* assisted by a constable. Austin drew up a set of "Instructions and Regulations" for the *alcaldes* which constituted a brief civil and criminal code.

Annoyance of the land problem.—The land problem received Austin's closest attention and yet brought more annoyance than any other with which he had to contend. According to the terms of his first contract he was given considerable discretion in making allotments of land to settlers. In exercising his prerogative he allotted larger tracts to some than to others and was

[17] Barker, Eugene C., "The Government of Austin's Colony, 1821-1831" in The Southwestern Historical Association *Quarterly* (January, 1918), XXI. 226.

accused of being partial and unfair as a result. He knew the difficulties and inconveniences experienced by the early settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee, "and the orderly surveys and necessary formalities and restrictions which he insisted upon to prevent such a condition in Texas seemed to some who could not understand their beneficient purpose merely irritating interference of a petty tyrant." [18] The principal trouble came from the fee of twelve and a half cents an acre which Austin exacted. His colonists abused him for this, but the expenses and responsibilities of the undertaking seem to have justified him in asking this small remuneration.

The frequent criticism which accompanied the administrative responsibilities of this small frontier community was undoubtedly irritating. It must have given Austin genuine pleasure, therefore, to call an election for an *ayuntamiento* with jurisdiction from the Lavaca to the watershed between the Trinity and the San Jacinto and from the sea to the San Antonio road to be held on the third and fourth days of February, 1828. The provisions for local government which were given in sections six and seven of the constitution drawn up after the overthrow of Iturbide had not been extended to Austin's colony. While he was in Saltillo in the fall of 1827 he urged the authorities to grant this extension, and it was in compliance with this request that his administrative superiors, on December 11, transmitted the order which permitted him to call the election for the following February.

First constitutional election in Anglo-American Texas.—What followed was the first constitutional election ever held in Anglo-American Texas. Under the presidency of the respective *alcaldes* polls were opened in the old *alcalde* districts, and a secretary and

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[18] *Ibid.*, 233. For a discu[illegible] of this *see ibid.*, 228-233.

two tellers were chosen. Single men were eligible for office at the age of twenty-five years, married men at the age of twenty-one, providing, in either case, they had resided in the municipality three years, at least one of which immediately preceded the election; provided further they could read and write and had capital or a trade which made them self-supporting. Qualifications for exercising the franchise were probably the same. The names of their respective candidates were called aloud by the voters and were recorded by the secretary. The officers elected consisted of an *alcalde* and two *regidores,* and if the district contained five hundred inhabitants a *comisario* and a *sindico procurador.* For each office separate tallies were sent to Austin after the election, he having the position in the first election which was held by the *alcalde* of the municipality thereafter. The officers of the district met at San Felipe a week after the elections, canvassed the votes, and announced the successful candidates. A certified copy of the results of the election was sent to the political chief, another was posted in a public place, and the original lists were filed in the local archives.

Work of the ayuntamiento.—A study of the minutes of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe for the next three years, Dr. Barker writes, shows it "performing the various functions of a modern city and county commission: laying off roads and supervising their construction; regulating ferries and ferriage rates; creating boards of health, boards of medical examiners, and quarantine boards; regulating weights and measures; repairing churches and public buildings; directing militia organization; holding special elections and settling election disputes; serving generally as a conservator of public morals, first warning and then punishing vagrants and drunkards, enforcing the laws against gambling and other forms of vice, and closing 'tippling shops' at ten o'clock. It assisted Austin in

keeping the colony free of undesirables, advising when to grant and when to withhold titles of land; and relieved him of no little responsibility in deciding when titles should be forfeited for non-fulfilment of the conditions of the grant. Finally, it strove earnestly, but without success, to raise funds for the establishment of an academy at San Felipe." [19]

Austin's colony was the first of several similar settlements which were brought into Mexican territory under the auspices of the government and were given liberal grants of public lands, but it differed from the others legally because it was established under a special instead of a general law. A brief summary of the general statutes under which other grants were made is therefore in order.

National colonization law of 1824.—It will be remembered that the resolution of the Mexican Congress of April 11, 1823, which authorized that Iturbide's grant to Austin should be confirmed, also provided for suspending the imperial colonization law of 1823 in all other cases. But no action was taken until August, 1824, At that time the national colonization law of 1824 was passed. This replaced the imperial act of 1823, and became the rule for regulating the subject so far as the federal authority was concerned.

The new law laid down certain general conditions, and the detailed legislation on the subject was left to the individual states. Foreigners who came to establish themselves within the territory were to be given security to their person and property, provided they conformed to the laws of the country. These provisions excluded from colonization a strip of territory ten leagues wide along the coast and twenty along the boundary of any foreign country, except by approval of the national executive; required that preference be given

[19] *Ibid.*, 249.

Mexican citizens in all distributions of lands; placed a limit on the amount of land which each individual might hold; required that no tax be imposed on foreigners for a period of four years; and that no one acquiring a title to land under the law should be permitted to retain the land if he did not reside in the republic. Two other clauses in the act seem to imply that Mexicans had already begun to distrust Americans. These ran as follows:

Art. 7. Before the year 1840, the general Congress cannot prohibit the entrance of foreigners as colonists, unless imperious circumstances should compel it to do so with respect to the individuals of some particular nation.

Art. 8. The government, without prejudice to the object of this law, shall take such precautionary measures as it may deem expedient for the security of the confederation, in respect to foreigners who may settle within it.[20]

Colonization act of Coahuila and Texas.—In compliance with the terms of the statute, Coahuila and Texas enacted a local colonization law on March 24, 1825. Under the latter enactment foreigners were invited to enter, and were guaranteed security of person and property with the right to choose and follow any calling they desired. They must take the oath to obey the federal and state constitutions, and observe the Catholic faith. Statements of their age and place of birth must be furnished, and they must present certificates from authorities of the places from whence they came that they were of good Christian character. Men who proposed to bring into the country, at their own expense, one hundred families or more, were expected to present their proposals to the state government. If these were found acceptable the state would select the

[20] Quoted in Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 146.

location for the settlement and would guarantee to all families brought in by the *empresario* the strict execution of the contract. *Empresarios* were to receive five *sitios* (22,140 acres) of grazing land, and five *labors* (886 acres) of arable land for each one hundred families brought into the state. Except in case of hostile invasion, colonists were to be exempt from all taxes and duties for a period of ten years. Details for administering the act were carefully regulated, including provisions for a small payment for allotments by settlers. At the time the law was under consideration a considerable controversy was produced over the slavery question. Baron de Bastrop, who was the representative from Texas at the time, strenuously advocated its permission. As finally enacted, article forty-six of the law said "new settlers shall subject themselves to the laws that are now, and shall be hereafter established on the subject."[21]

By the time this law was passed the success of Austin's colony had been assured, and men who had sought grants at an earlier period were eager to take advantage of the opportunity which the new law afforded. Among these the most successful and influential was Green De Witt.

De Witt grant.—De Witt was probably in Mexico as early as 1822, attempting to obtain an *empresario* similar to the one which had been granted Austin. The general law of 1824 made it unnecessary for him to petition the central government any further. The next step in carrying out his plan was to make application to the state officials at Saltillo. On April 7, 1825, he submitted a petition requesting the authority to settle four hundred families southwest of Austin's colony. A letter from Austin secured the influence of Baron de

[21] *Ibid.*, 146, 147.

Bastrop, who was a member of the state congress of Coahuila and Texas, and favorable action was taken by that body on April 15, 1825, less than a month after the passage of the state law.

Founding of Gonzales.—Apparently there was never any doubt in De Witt's mind as to the outcome of his petition. Even before he presented it he began to make preparations for the settlement of his colony. A surveyor-general, James Kerr, was appointed who turned to locating a spot upon which to found a capital. The site chosen was on a little creek, since known as Kerr's Creek, about two and one-half miles east of the junction of the San Marcos and Guadalupe rivers. Cabins were erected here in August, 1825. Kerr then drew plans for the town which he christened Gonzales in honor of Don Rafael Gonzales who was the provisional governor of Coahuila and Texas. The early settlers at Gonzales were the only Anglo-Americans west of the Colorado, and their nearest neighbors were the De Leon Mexican colonists sixty miles to the southwest. Bexar, the nearest settlement to the west, was seventy-eight miles distant. This little frontier settlement, so completely isolated as it was, could hardly expect to escape ravages by the Indians. While some of the colonists were attending a celebration on the Colorado, July 4, 1826, the Indian attack came which resulted in breaking up the settlement. No further attempt was made to occupy that section until the end of the year. In the early part of 1827 some of the original settlers returned. They coöperated with new immigrants in building blockhouses and constructing a small fort in which to take refuge in case of another Indian attack. A settlement which had been made at the mouth of the Lavaca River broke up in December, and the inhabitants sought refuge in Gonzales. Henceforth the colony grew rapidly. More than one hundred families

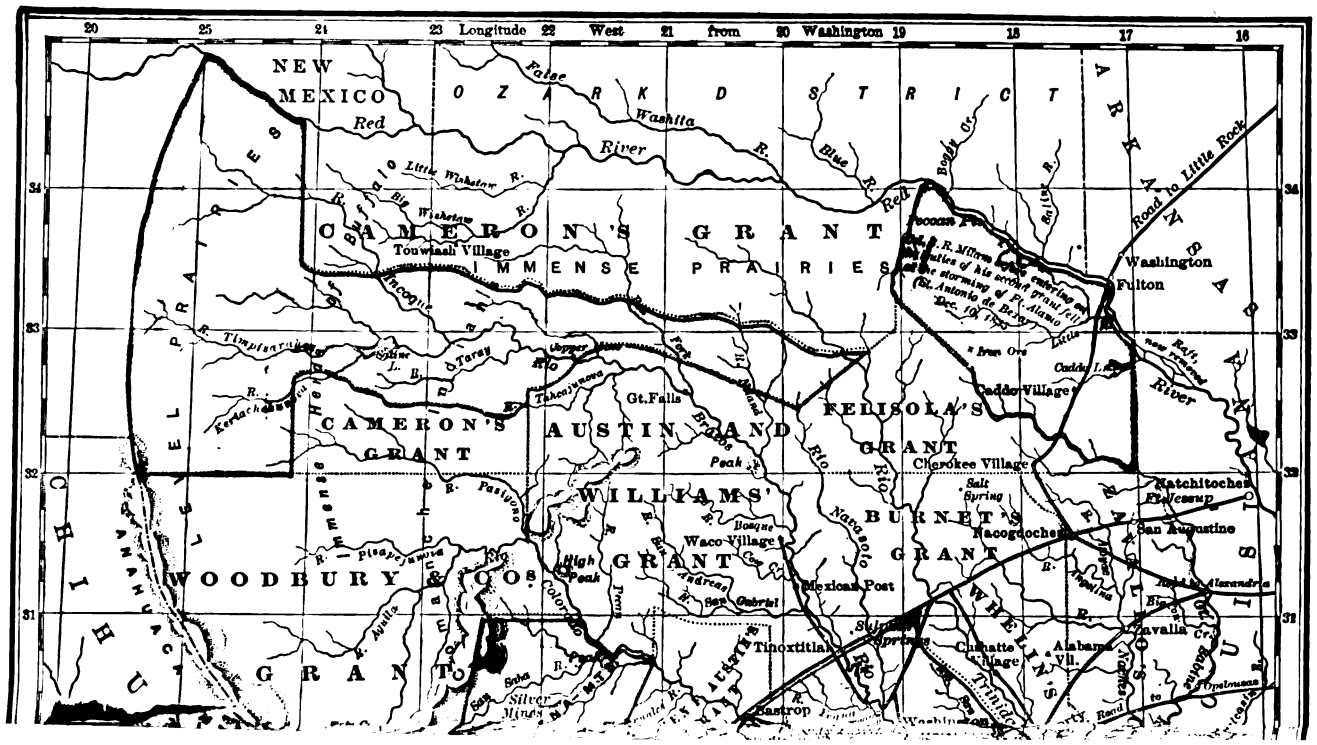
arrived during the next three years, and in 1832 the town tract, containing four square leagues, was surveyed.[22]

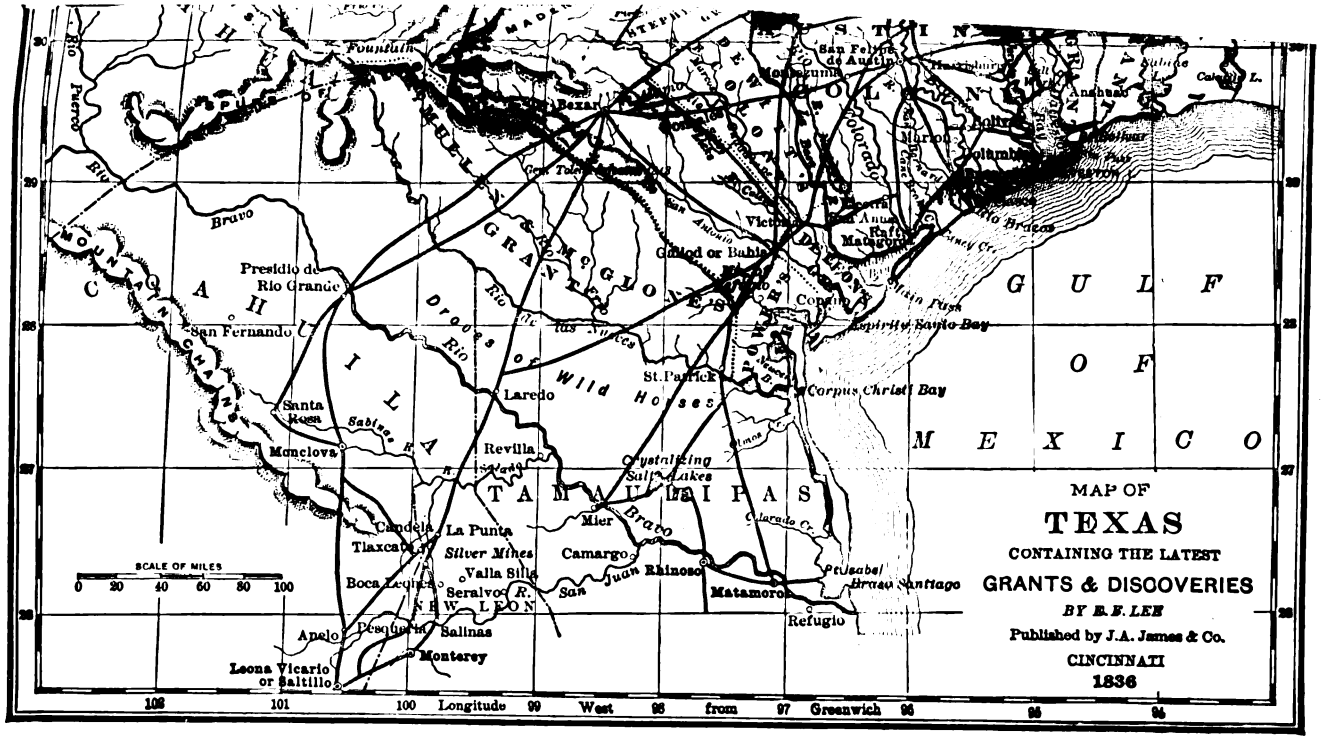
About the time De Witt secured his concession another large grant was made to a representative of a Stock Company of Nashville, Tennessee. In 1830 Robertson became interested in the enterprise, and De Witt and Robertson counties in modern Texas indicate roughly the regions in which these two *empresarios* carried on their operations. By 1832 "dozens" of grants "were secured by men who proposed to bring in many thousand families." Three additional concessions were obtained by Austin, and one more in conjunction with a partner, Samuel M. Williams. The map of Texas, from the Sabine to the Nueces, was covered with claims of *empresarios* during this period "as if it had been a gold mining region and they the prospectors. Ere long it was difficult to find room for another." [23]

Other concessions and population of Texas.—It must not be concluded, however, that crowds of immigrants came from the United States to occupy these grants. Even with the most restricted boundaries ever assigned it, Texas covers extensive territory, and it would require many thousands of people to make a showing on its surface. Altogether eight contracts were entered into by the state authorities under the colonization act of 1825, which provided for introducing twenty-nine hundred families. While these contracts were substantially carried out in so far as the number of families was concerned, there were many more which were not carried out with any degree of success. Austin's was of course the most important. De Witt's lying west of Austin's has been noted. De Leon's colony, settled by Mexicans, was adjacent to the coast,

[22] Rather, Ethel Zivley, "De Witt's Colony" in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, VIII. 101, 102.

[23] Garrison, *Texas*, 155.


Longitude West from Washington
NEW MEXICO
OZARK DISTRICT
ARKANSAS
Red River
False Washita R.
Blue R.
Big Cr.
Road to Little Rock
Little Washita R.
Big Washita R.
Touwiash Village
CAMERON'S GRANT
IMMENSE PRAIRIES
Washington
Fulton
Timpiantiquia R.
Tahoqua R.
Upper Rio Tarez
Tahoqua
Gt. Falls
Caddo Village
FELISOLA'S GRANT
CAMERON'S GRANT
AUSTIN AND WILLIAMS' GRANT
Cherokee Village
Salt Spring
Nacogdoches
BURNETT'S GRANT
Waco Village
Mexicas Post
Tinoxtitlan
Castatte Village
Alabama Vil.
Natchitoches
Fort Jesup
San Augustine
Fort Alexandria
Pavalla
Opelousas
Bastrop
Silver Mines
WOODBURY & CO'S GRANT
CHIHUAHUA
Rio Grande
Pecos R.
Nueces R.
Colorado
Trinity
Sabine R.
Red River
Rio Nacogdoches
Rio Trinity
Rio Brazos
Rio Colorado
Rio Nueces
Rio Grande
Rio Pecos
Rio Sabine
Rio Red River
Rio Trinity
Rio Nueces
Rio Colorado


MAP OF
TEXAS
CONTAINING THE LATEST
GRANTS & DISCOVERIES
BY E. E. LEE
Published by J.A. James & Co.
CINCINNATI
1836
GULF OF MEXICO
COAHUILA
TAMAULIPAS
NEW LEON
Presidio de Rio Grande
San Fernando
Santa Rosa
Monclova
Laredo
Revilla
St. Patrick
Corpus Christi Bay
Espiritu Santo Bay
Victoria
Goliad or Bahia
Bexar
Fountain
Mier
Camargo
Rhinoso
Matamoros
Refugio
Candela
La Punta
Tlaxcala
Silver Mines
Valla Silla
Boca Leonas
Seralvo
Pesquería
Salinas
Monterey
Anelo
Leona Vicario or Saltillo
Droves of Wild Horses
Crystalizing Salt Lakes
Rio Grande
Rio Bravo
Rio Puerco
Rio Nueces
Rio Braos
Rio Colorado
Rio San Juan
Sabinas R.
Mountain Chains
Main Pass
Colorado Cr.
Pt. Isabel
Braso Santiago
Anahuac
Marion
Columbia
Matagorda
Copano
San Felipe de Austin
Montezuma
Calcasieu L.
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Longitude West from Greenwich
102 101 100 99 98 97 96 95 94
30 29 28 27 26

southwest of Austin's, with Victoria as its capital. Robertson's was above the San Antonio road, northwest of Austin's; while McMullen and McGloin's Irish colony, with St. Patrick (San Patricio) for its capital, extended from the ten league coast reserve along the Nueces and Frio toward the northwest. A more important enterprise was formed in New York. This organization was known as the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. Its object was to establish settlers in Texas. The Company did not receive recognition from the government until about 1834, but in 1834 and in 1835 it settled approximately five hundred families in eastern Texas with Nocogdoches as the center.

The result of the whole *empresario* movement was to bring in many settlers besides those who came to Austin's colony. In fact there were large numbers of families as well as individuals who came unattached to any particular grant or colony. No effective attempt was made to guard the eastern frontier against unauthorized settlers. It was possible for any one desiring to do so to cross the Sabine and feel perfectly sure that inconvenient questions would not be asked. Hundreds of thousands of unoccupied acres were open to any man who cared to construct his home on them, "and many a squatter built his hut and raised corn and chickens and hogs and children without any point of law upon his side except the nine points of possession."[24] Below the old San Antonio Road, including Austin's colony and the section east of the Sabine, the country filled up rapidly. An estimate made in 1827 placed the population of Texas, exclusive of Indians, at ten thousand. In 1830 the number had increased to probably twelve or fifteen thousand.

Character of Settlers.—The people were similar in character to the early population of any of the states

[24] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 149.

in the Mississippi valley. Native Americans came from all parts of the United States, but the majority were from Kentucky and Tennessee. Ireland and Germany had considerable representation also in Texas, but the people from these countries soon fused with the native stock.

Some of the immigrants came by water while others journeyed overland. The former embarked at ports along the Atlantic while the latter came from Natchitoches in Louisiana, crossing the Sabine generally at Gaines's Ferry or coming through southwestern Arkansas. Either overland route brought them through long stretches of uninhabited country where it was necessary to make camp every night. There was no wagon road of any kind until after 1822, but there is a recorded instance of a family traveling by wagon from Illinois to Austin's colony as early as 1824,[25] and Austin's sister accompanied her husband from Missouri to San Felipe using wagons and a carriage a few years later. It did not take long to open well-marked routes into this great country of the Southwest.

An emigrant train.—A traveler who passed over one of these routes a few years before the outbreak of the Civil War has left a vivid picture of the slow-moving emigrant trains jolting along over root-projecting, rut-gouged roads.

"Before you come upon them you hear, ringing through the woods, the fierce cries and blows with which they urge on their jaded cattle. Then the stragglers appear, lean dogs or fainting negroes, ragged and spiritless," followed soon by the white covers of the wagons from the backs of which may be seen, as the traveler approaches, the faces of tired children, black and white, and "behind them further in, the old people and young mothers, whose turn it is to ride. . . . As

[25] Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, IV. 93.

you get by, the white mother and babies, and the tall, frequently ill-humored master, on horseback, or walking with his gun, urging up the black driver and his oxen. As a scout ahead, is a brother, or an intelligent slave, with the best gun, on the lookout for a deer or a turkey. . . . The masters are plainly dressed, often in homespun, keeping their eyes about them, noticing the soil, sometimes making a remark on the crops by the roadside; but, generally, dogged, surly, and silent. The women are silent, too, frequently walking to relieve the teams, and weary, haggard, mud bedraggled, forlorn, and disconsolate, yet hopeful and careful. The negroes, mud-incrusted, wrapped in old blankets or gunnybags, suffering from cold, plod on, aimless, hopeless, thoughtless, more indifferent than the ox to all about them." [26]

The slaves were coming into Texas in larger numbers when this description was written than they had formerly. In 1830 there were perhaps a thousand slaves out of a total population of twenty thousand, and for several years thereafter the number of slaves was relatively small. Many colonists had none, some had a few, and one man is said to have had a hundred.

Growing anxiety of Mexican officials.—Mexican officials watched the increase of Anglo-Americans in Texas with more or less anxiety. Although the United States had nominally surrendered all claims to Texas by the treaty of 1819, there were some leaders of public opinion there who apparently never quite gave up the idea of acquiring this part of the Southwest. Negotiations were attempted at various times, as pointed out in another chapter of this volume, with a view to securing the territory. Such efforts aroused the suspicion of Mexico. Austin was aware of Mexi-

[26] Olmstead, Frederick Law, *A Journey through Texas; or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier, with a Statistical Appendix*, New York, 1857, 55-57.

can sensitiveness in this regard, and during the early years of the immigration movement he used his influence among the settlers to prevent misunderstandings and jealousies from marring the harmonious relations existing then between the American settler and the Mexican authorities. But as the number of settlers multiplied the difficulties of this task increased accordingly, until it became impossible.

The so-called Fredonian rebellion served to remind the Mexicans of the long-standing jealousy of their people toward the Americans of the northern republic, of their reasons for doubting the United States, and of the difficulties that were developing with the rapid growth of American settlers in Texas. A proper understanding of the movement which led to the Texas revolution of 1836 requires a brief account of the Fredonian uprising and the action taken by Mexico as a result.

Fredonian uprising. — In April, 1825, Hayden Edwards obtained permission to establish a colony in Eastern Texas. His concession included Nacogdoches. This grant was not obtained from the national government as was Austin's, but from the state of Coahuila and Texas; and the powers given Edwards were by no means as extensive as were those permitted Austin. The former was to respect the titles of original owners, to use the Spanish language in official documents and to study it in the schools when they should be established, to keep undesirable characters out of the territory, and to make proper arrangements for the exercise of the Catholic faith. After one hundred families had been introduced a commissioner was to be sent by the government who should put them in possession of the land. Edwards had no authority to pass on the claims of previous settlers, but he assumed this responsibility and soon found himself in trouble. Further opposition was stirred up by levying a small fee per acre, just as Austin had done.

For various reasons a sufficient opposing force was raised against him to gain the attention of officials, and a letter to the Governor which that official deemed discourteous resulted in Edward's grant being canceled. The political authorities gave as their reason for this action improper exactions of the *empresario* from the colonists.

Apparently Edwards had been tactless in many ways. In fact Austin had written him frankly that some of his acts were not based on any authority given him under his contract.[27] But his enemies were not entirely guiltless. Edwards believed that he had been unjustly deprived of what rightfully belonged to him and he determined to fight for his claims—or at least his brother Benjamin did for him, since Hayden was in the United States at the time.

On December 16, 1826, Edwards rode into Nacogdoches at the head of fifteen men and proclaimed an independent republic. He took possession of the old stone fort and organized a government under the name of Fredonia. Although treaties were concluded with the Indians and efforts were made to stir up a general uprising among the Anglo-Americans in Texas and to procure assistance from citizens of the United States, the whole affair met with little encouragement. In fact there was considerable opposition to it among the Anglo-American settlers in Texas, particularly in Austin's colony, so much so that a considerable force from the latter joined the Mexican troops that marched against the revolutionists, and the Fredonian uprising was soon stamped out.

Significance of the uprising.—Perhaps the principal significance of the Fredonian uprising was to be found

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[27] See Austin's letter to Colonel Hayden Edwards in *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I. 510-12. A number of other letters written by Austin, Edwards, and others, together with a brief account of the Fredonian war will be found in *ibid.*, 506-534. *See also* Garrison, *Texas*, Chapter XV.

in the determination of the American settlers, with Austin at their head, to put down disorder and sustain the Mexican government It was not their regard for Mexico which actuated them, but they were a property owning and consequently conservative class, and desired to avoid trouble. Furthermore they were not seeking independence, and apparently they did not then expect or desire annexation to the United States. To them, therefore, the uprising was doubtless of little consequence.

Law of April 6, 1830.—This, however, was not the attitude taken by the Mexican authorities. They considered the uprising a sign of the times and felt that it would occur again on a larger scale unless something was done to check the Anglo-American movement into Texas. The result was that Mexico inaugurated a policy, inconspicuously and indirectly, through which she hoped to substitute Mexican for Anglo-American occupation of Texas in the future. It will be remembered that article seven of the general colonization law of 1824 provided that the general congress was not to prohibit the entrance of individuals from other nations until after 1840, "unless imperious circumstances should compel it to do so with respect to the individuals of some particular nation." The Fredonian uprising was undoubtedly a factor in bringing Mexico to the conclusion that the "imperious circumstances" had arisen which compelled her to place restrictions on "the individuals of some particular nation." As a result, on April 6, 1830, Mexico passed a law forbidding, under any pretext whatever, the entrance of foreigners along her northern border unless they were provided with passports from Mexican agents. The act provided further that citizens from adjacent foreign countries should be forbidden to settle as colonists in the frontier states and territories of Mexico;

and that the colonization contracts that had not been fulfilled and which would conflict with the provisions of the law should be suspended. The settlement of Mexicans in Texas was encouraged by the act, but no attempt was to be made to interfere with the colonists already established.

Loose interpretation of the law.—The law was interpreted very loosely. Within three months after its promulgation fifty-four families landed at Lavaca on their way to De Witt's colony. The *alcalde* reported the arrival to his superior at Bexar, and suggested that it might be advisable to let them enter. This official reported the matter to the Governor, endorsing the *alcalde's* recommendation on the ground that the families had come under a legal contract and at great expense to themselves. The fact that the contract under which they came had been annulled should be overlooked in this instance. The Governor adopted this view and permitted colonists to settle temporarily while he consulted General Teran on the subject. It may have been as a result of this consultation that Teran wrote the vice-consul of Mexico at New Orleans to refuse passports to all North Americans except those *en route* for Austin's and De Witt's colonies.[28]

Its general effect.—Therefore the law of April 6, 1830, did not interfere with the actual admission of settlers into Austin's or De Witt's colonies. Indeed it did not apply to them. They were established colonies.[29] But the law undoubtedly interfered with the Anglo-American movement into Texas by revealing the attitude Mexico had begun to assume toward that move-

[28] Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, VIII. 140, 141. *See also ibid.*, 138-144.

[29] For some reason a colony was considered established when one hundred families were settled in it. Dr. Baker suggests that perhaps this was due to the clause in the colonization law, which provided that *empresarios* were to receive no premium land until they had settled at least one hundred families.

ment, and De Witt's colony suffered with the rest. In a report made to the government by the *ayuntamiento* of Gonzales with a view to securing a renewal of De Witt's contract, the claim was made that the law of April 6 had practically put a stop to all immigration to the colony, and that many who had come and had received certificates never received titles to the land because of the operation of the law.

Colonization law of April 28, 1832.—The Mexican authorities soon found a more practical way of keeping the people from the republic of the north out of Texas. The *empresario* contracts, according to the colonization law of Coahuila and Texas, were to be valid for a period of six years only from the day on which they were issued. These contracts, in some instances, were expiring, and the greater part of the land covered by them was still unoccupied. This land would revert to Mexico, and she could redistribute it without offense to the colonists already in Texas. A new colonization law was enacted therefore, April 28, 1832, offering special protection and aid to Mexicans who should occupy vacant lands in Texas, "and en- Mexicans, or with foreigners whose entrance was not couraging any *empresario* promising to colonize with prohibited by the law of April 6, 1830."[80] Steps were taken immediately to carry out the policy enacted by the laws of 1830 and 1832 by ordering all the *alcaldes* of the department of Bexar and all the military commanders of the coast and of the frontier to prevent immigrants from entering Texas, and by encouraging Mexican colonization of Texas lands.

Growing friction between Americans and Mexicans.—Among both the Anglo-Americans in Texas and the Mexican officials relations were becoming increasingly strained as time passed. The persistent efforts of the United States to acquire Texas and what

[80] *Ibid.*, 141.

was believed by Mexican authorities to be a secret understanding between the colonists and the Indians, which made the former comparatively immune from Indian attacks, together with the Fredonian uprising, were incidents which played with growing irritation upon the official sensitiveness of Mexican rulers. To the Americans, on the other hand, it had become evident that Mexico had determined upon a policy of restriction and control utterly at variance to that under which they had been invited to enter Texas. The laws of 1830 and 1832, the military occupation of Texas under Teran for the purpose of enforcing these laws, the closing of certain Texas ports, and the attempt at the strict collection of duties gave ample proof of this policy. These were some of the things which were driving the two opposing factions to an inevitable conflict.

The American uprising of 1832.—By the summer of 1832 further self-restraint among the less conservative colonists became impossible. Vessels, loaded with goods and with armed men on board and others on shore to coöperate, began to pass in and out of the mouth of the Brazos River in open defiance of the customs officials. In May, 1832, John Davis Bradburn, a tyrannical Kentuckian whom Teran left in command of Anahuac at the head of Galveston Bay, put under martial law the ten league strip along the coast, which had been originally reserved from colonization, and a little later arrested William B. Travis and other prominent men of the colony and placed them in close confinement for alleged insubordination. The colonists rose and under the command of Frank W. Johnson marched against Anahuac. The leader of the American contingent from Brazoria, John Austin, was sent back home to get some cannon which were there and transport them by water to Anahuac. These were to

be used in capturing Bradburn's fort. The Mexican officer who had command at Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos refused to let the schooner which carried the guns pass out. It therefore became necessary to attack the post. The assault was conducted both from the river and by land. After determined resistance by about one hundred and twenty-five Mexicans, Velasco was captured by approximately one hundred Americans on June 27. Meanwhile the Mexican officials had been persuaded to remove Bradburn and to release Travis and his companions. This ended the trouble in that section temporarily.[31]

Participants in uprising side with Santa Anna in civil war.—Of course this rising against Bradburn would have to be explained to the Mexican authorities. American ingenuity was equal to the occasion. In the preceding January Santa Anna had begun a struggle against the tyrannical government headed by Bustamante, and was proclaiming himself the special champion of the constitution and laws of Mexico. The Americans probably desired the overthrow of Bustamante any way, and the circumstances rendered this support of Santa Anna easy. As a result, while they were at Turtle Bayou near Anahuac, in the midst of operations against the latter place, they expressed their attitude in the Turtle Bayou resolutions. In these they declared their approval of "the firm and manly resistance which is made by the highly talented and distinguished chieftain General Santa Anna" and pledged their "lives and fortunes in the support . . . of the distinguished leader who is now so gallantly fighting in defense of civil liberty." [32] When the Mexi-

[31] Garrison, *Texas*, 176, 177; Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 201-204.

[32] "The Disturbances at Anahuac," in the Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, XIV, 287. See also *Ibid.*, XIV, 44; Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 210.

can troops appeared to investigate the action of the Americans, the latter presented these resolutions to the leader who belonged to the Santa Anna party. These seemed to free the revolutionists from any charge of disloyalty in so far as Santa Anna was concerned. But the Americans did not stop here. In order that there might be a more complete understanding of this attitude a gathering of the *ayuntamientos* of the colony passed a series of resolutions in favor of Santa Anna, and insisted upon the preservation of the constitution and the rights of the states. In December, 1832, Bustamante abdicated and Santa Anna came into temporary control of the government.

Call and work of Convention of 1832.—On August 22, 1832, as a result of the general unsettled conditions, a convention of the people of Texas was called by the first and second *alcaldes* of the San Felipe district, and met at San Felipe on October 1. About fifty-six delegates assembled representing practically all the English-speaking districts except Goliad. Representatives from the latter place arrived after the convention had adjourned, and gave their unreserved approval to all that had been done.

Many subjects were discussed and an agreement was reached on several of them. It was determined to petition for the free introduction for three years of such articles as provisions, machinery, tools, cotton bagging, clothing, shoes and hats, powder, lead, and shot, household furniture, medicines, and books. The members of the convention disclaimed any desire for independence from Mexico in most positive terms, but earnestly petitioned for the repeal of the law of April 6, 1830, preventing Americans from entering Texas. They asked for separate statehood, for a land grant for educational purposes, for a recognition of land titles between the San Jacinto and the Sabine, and for

the establishment of new *ayuntamientos* in that section. Provision was made for the management of custom-houses which had been closed by the withdrawal of troops from Texas, until the general government could again take charge of them, but the convention was opposed to interfering with the schedule of duties. Finally the convention appointed a central committee whose duty it was to correspond with subordinate local committees for the purpose of keeping in touch with the colonial interests in general, fostering closer union among the colonists, and warning them of approaching danger. The committee was also empowered to call another general convention.[33]

Convention of 1833.—This it did very soon. The election for the new convention was held March 1, 1833, and the delegates met at San Felipe again on April 1, the day on which Santa Anna and Gomez Farias were inaugurated as President and Vice-President of Mexico. The convention was in session for thirteen days. During this period it adopted a tentative constitution for the proposed new state, a resolution condemning the African slave trade, and an address to the Mexican Congress. The last was a respectfully phrased document, clear and straightforward in tone, presenting the earnest desire of the people of Texas to be separated from Coahuila and formed into an independent state.[34]

Work of Convention rejected by Mexico.—Austin was chosen to submit the petition to the authorities in Mexico, but his mission was to be a failure. There were at least two reasons why the petition would be rejected. In the first place the federal constitution adopted October 4, 1824, five months later than the law

[33] Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I. 477-503; Brown, John H., *History of Texas, from 1685 to 1892*, 2 vols., St. Louis, 1893, I. 197-213.

[34] The constitution is in Edward, *History of Texas*, 196-205, and the "Texan Memorial" is in Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I. 469-482.

which united Coahuila and Texas, provided that a new state could be formed out of part of an existing one only by the approval of three-fourths of the vote of each house of Congress, ratified by three-fourths of the state legislature. In the second place the federal authorities of the new régime were not disposed to modify the legislation of the Bustamante government in regard to Texas. The tariff and slavery laws were retained, and no assurance was given in regard to continued freedom from military control. No consideration whatever was given to the idea of separate statehood. The points of view of the people of Texas and of Mexico were entirely different. The proposal of a separate state for Texas seemed most desirable to the people of that frontier community, but to the authorities in the capital this was not the case. It was not clear to them that Mexico would be benefited by erecting a strongly organized state inhabited almost entirely by vigorous foreigners who spoke a different language and who, by their traditions, were hostile to ideals and aspirations of the Mexican people. Therefore the Mexican officials concluded that the time had not come for organizing a separate state in Texas. However, they promised to recommend to the legislature of Coahuila and Texas the passage of several laws for the relief of the colonists. Austin was successful in only one respect. He was able to persuade Congress to repeal the provisions of the law of April 6, 1830, which forbade emigrants from the United States to enter Texas. With this concession Austin left Mexico on December 10, 1833.[85]

He had gone as far as Saltillo on his journey home when orders for his arrest came from the federal authorities, and he was brought back to Mexico and

[85] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 216-25. Cf. Garrison, *Texas*, Chapter XVI.

imprisoned. The principal reason for his arrest seems to have been an injudicious letter which he admitted he had written to the people of Bexar advising them to form a state government without waiting for Congress to act. Whatever the charges may have been, they were never pressed, and Austin was released after eight months' imprisonment. On one pretext or another he was detained in Mexico several months longer, at last arriving in Texas by way of New Orleans, September 1, 1835.

War party gains strength.—In the meantime Texas was drifting rapidly toward war with Mexico. While some changes for the better had been made, such as the establishment of new municipalities, increasing the representation allotted Texas in the state legislature, and granting permission to use English in transacting public business, these concessions made to the inhabitants of Texas were not enough to remove either the cause of complaint or the prevalent distrust of the intentions of the Mexican government. By 1835 excitement in Texas was running high. In spite of the efforts of a large majority of the Texans to prevent any hostile demonstrations, the war party developed under vigorous and determined leaders and became increasingly difficult to restrain. The feeling grew tense. Under these circumstances some show of violence was to be expected, and it soon came.

Mexican troops expelled from Anahuac.—In January, 1835, the Mexican officials had attempted to resume the collection of duties in Texas. In order to facilitate the work Captain Antonio Tenario, with a few troops, was sent to support the collector at Anahuac. He had experienced some difficulties in discharging the duties of his office when reports came of Santa Anna's usurpation in Coahuila. The people in the department of the Brazos determined to have a

general meeting at San Felipe to consider the depressing conditions. On the day before the meeting some one stopped a government courier who was leaving a conciliatory circular from General Cos to the people of Texas. No objection could be offered to this of course. But the same messenger, it was discovered, also carried private letters addressed to the commanding officer at Anahuac, one from General Cos and another from Colonel Ugartechea, pledging, at an early date, sufficient reënforcements to enable him to regulate matters in that section. The content of these letters produced great excitement among the people gathered at San Felipe, but the conservative party was in the majority and decided to do nothing. The minority determined that some action should be taken. They held a secret meeting at which resolutions were passed "recommending that, in connection with the general defense of the country against military sway, the troops of Anahuac should be disarmed and ordered to leave Texas." [86] William B. Travis was instructed to collect a force for the purpose of putting this recommendation into effect. With about thirty men from San Felipe and Harrisburg, Travis sailed across Galveston Bay on June 29, 1835. Captain Tenario evacuated the fort without waiting for an attack, and on the following morning he surrendered with his forty men. The Mexicans agreed to leave the country at once and not to serve against the people of Texas again. Travis and his party returned across the bay and reached Harrisburg in time to participate in a Fourth of July celebration.[87] The action taken by Travis was generally condemned, but events followed one another so

[86] Travis to Henry Smith, July 6, 1835, in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, II. 24.

[87] For an interesting description of this event, written by one who was present, *see* the "Reminiscences" of Mrs. Harris in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, IV. 125.

rapidly during the next few weeks that the aggressiveness of the incident was soon forgotten.

Fight between the San Felipe and the Correo.—Rumors fairly jostled one another in the minds of the people during this period. It was said that Mexican troops were being sent against the Texans, and that other evil designs were being formulated. Mexican liberals who sought refuge in the country helped to increase the agitation. Numerous meetings of the colonists were held throughout Anglo-American Texas, and the discussion which took place was ill-tempered and unrestrained.[38] In the early fall another act of violence occurred which served to bring matters to an issue. The American schooner *San Felipe*, inward bound from New Orleans, fell in with the Mexican *Correo* off the mouth of the Brazos River. The fight which followed lasted for three-quarters of an hour, and the *Correo* drew off. The American vessel then entered the river and landed her passengers, among whom was Stephen F. Austin.

Effect on Austin.—Austin was returning home after an absence of more than two years. He had left Mexico full of hope, and he carried with him messages from Santa Anna and other influential men in that country all of whom expressed warm friendship for Texas. He had "fully hoped to have found Texas at peace and in tranquillity," but found it in "commotion—all disorganized, all in anarchy, and threatened with immediate hostilities. This state of things is deeply to be lamented." [39] The sea fight had made a profound impression on him. It has been said by some of his contemporaries that he "walked the beach all night, his mind oppressed with the gravity of the situation, forecasting the troubles ahead to Texas." [40] He went to the

[38] Garrison, *Texas*, 188.
[39] Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I. 357.
[40] *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I. 500.

home of his brother-in-law, James F. Perry, about ten miles above the mouth of the Brazos, where a deputation of citizens called and invited him to a banquet to be given in his honor at Brazoria. The object seems to have been to have as many as possible assemble for the purpose of hearing Austin's views on existing conditions, and to have his advice. Public sentiment had reached the point where it would probably have been impossible for him to restrain the people much longer, while a word of encouragement was sure to produce war. In the address delivered on September 8 in which be spoke for an hour before more than a thousand people, he set forth his views, and concluded with the following words:

Austin's Address September 8, 1835.—The crisis is such as to bring it home to the judgment of every man that something must be done, and that without delay. The question will perhaps be asked, What are we to do? I have already indicated my opinion. Let all personalities or divisions or excitements, or passions, or violence be banished from among us. Let a general consultation of the people of Texas be convened as speedily as possible to be composed of the best, the most calm, and intelligent, and firm men in the country, and let them decide what representation ought to be made to the general government, and what ought to be done in the future.

With these explanatory remarks I will give a toast, "The constitutional rights and security and peace of Texas—they ought to be maintained; and jeopardized, as they now are, they demand a general consultation of the people." [41]

The people hesitated no longer. The peace party—of which Austin himself had formerly been a member—was completely demoralized. A few days later Austin was placed on the committee of vigilance and

[41] Part of the address is given in *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I. 501-505.

safety at San Felipe, and became in a way the director of the revolutionary movement. This position he continued to hold until, at his own suggestion, a central committee was formed composed of one member from each of the local committees of public safety. The appointment of this council released Austin so that he could offer his services to the army.

Outbreak of the revolution.—The consultation which Austin recommended had been proposed already for October 15 by the municipality of Columbia. Before that date hostilities had begun. The people of Gonzales had a cannon which had been given them four years earlier as a defense against the Indians. The commander of the Mexican troops at Bexar, Colonel Ugartechea, demanded that it be surrendered. The demand was refused and an attempt to take it resulted in a conflict in which the Americans were victorious. This was October 2, 1835. On the following day the federal authorities issued a decree abolishing state legislatures in Mexico and substituting therefor a department council. All state officers were made responsible to the central authorities in Mexico City.

Principles involved.—When news of what had been done reached Texas it created no surprise. Austin had said in his address on September 8 that Mexico intended to destroy the federal constitution of 1824 and establish a consolidated government by converting the states into provinces. Knowledge of what had been done simply strengthened the determination of the people to repel further aggressions. At this time the struggle was for the "constitutional principles on which the Mexican Federal Republic had been organized; and when this failed because of the complete triumph of Santa Anna in the Mexican states up to the Rio Grande, it became necessarily a struggle for independence." [42]

[42] Garrison, *Texas*, 189.

The growth toward independence was gradual. It will be remembered that a central council had been formed as a temporary head of the government. This body was directing affairs of state at the time when the consultation assembled on October 16. When the consultation adjourned on the following day to meet again November 1, members of that body recognized the *de facto* government by continuing the council. When the consultation came together again on the day appointed, the general council surrendered its authority. A committee of twelve was appointed, with John A. Wharton as chairman, to prepare a declaration of the causes which had compelled the Texans to take up arms; and a similar body headed by Henry Millard "to draw up and submit a plan or system of provisional government." [43]

There was considerable discussion over the form of declaration. Even at this time there were some who were in favor of declaring independence from Mexico. The conservatives won the day, and the declaration was for adherence to the federal constitution of 1824. The ordinance providing a provisional government, completed on November 13, was "the earliest specimen of Anglo-Saxon law ever enforced in Texas." [44] It provided for a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a council which was to be composed of one member from each municipality represented in the consultation, a judiciary, and a commander in chief. With its work completed, the consultation adjourned to meet at Washington March 1, 1836.

Declaration of Independence.—On the appointed day the consultation or convention met in the little town on the banks of the Brazos. It was a time that tried men's souls. Travis and his brave companions

[43] Quoted in Yoakum, *History of Texas*, II. 12.
[44] *Ibid.*, 13.

had dedicated themselves to a heroic destiny,[45] and even Santa Anna's followers were establishing more completely the conditions which meant death to the men of Alamo. But the members of this convention did not hesitate. The citizens of Texas had been thrown upon their own resources and upon the help of their friends in the United States. Even the most hesitating conservatives began to consider a declaration of independence as the only alternative. Austin, "whose moral stature and want of fitness for revolutionary leadership were made equally conspicuous by the crisis," had already declared himself in favor of such action.[46]

Constitution adopted for Republic of Texas.—As a result of this unmistakable sentiment, immediately following the organization on March 1, a committee was appointed to draft a declaration of independence. The committee reported on the next day and the report was accepted unanimously. In the notable words of the more famous declaration of 1776, the convention ended forever the political connection between Texas and Mexico. Two days later Sam Houston was appointed commander in chief of the army. On March 16 a constitution drawn largely from the Constitution of the United States and constitutions of some of the southwestern states was submitted by its committee to the convention. There were to be a president, a vice-president, a senate and a house of representatives, a supreme court, and such inferior courts as might be established by congress. The English common law, a bill of rights, and permission for slavery were adopted. Arrangements were made for a provisional government to control affairs in the state until such time as the work of the convention could be approved by the

[45] See William B. Travis's letter, "To the People of Texas and all Americans in the world," quoted in Garrison, *Texas*, 207.

[46] *Ibid.*, 211.

people and officers elected to assume the responsibilities provided by the constitution. On March 17 the convention adjourned.

Defeat of Santa Anna.—A month and four days later, April 21, 1836, the battle of San Jacinto was fought, in which Santa Anna was completely defeated and captured. Two months later he secured his release by signing treaties according to which he and the other Mexican generals in Texas agreed to withdraw all their troops and to endeavor to secure the independence of the country with boundaries no farther south than the Rio Grande. The agreement reached at this time proved to be the actual achievement of Texan independence. To be sure the Mexican Congress repudiated it and fully intended to reconquer the country, but she was too much disturbed by internal struggles to carry out her plans.

Growth in population.—In the meantime Texas was growing in population and wealth. In spite of the restrictions placed by the law of April 6, 1830, Mexico soon gave up her efforts to guard the frontier and even during the three and a half years that the law was in force immigrants came in large numbers. But the mere existence of the law regardless of its enforcement discouraged the best class of settlers from coming into the country. The peaceable and industrious—and there were many such who kept abreast of the westward moving frontier—would hesitate to take their families into Texas in violation of the law. "On the other hand the door was left wide open to 'adventurers, malefactors, and the dregs of the people' who had nothing to lose. The result, therefore, of passing this law and not enforcing it effectually was, as is usually the case when prohibitive laws are unsupported by an honest and efficient police, that conditions were aggravated; for while immigration from the United States was not checked, the conservative element was replaced by the

adventurous."[47] The immigration which came as a result of the strained relations and final war with Mexico resulted in introducing many desirable citizens from the United States. The Anglo-American population in 1836 has been estimated at about thirty thousand. By 1850 this number had increased to two hundred and twelve thousand.

Growth in wealth.—The increase in wealth came with the increase in population. Farmers extended the area of their land under cultivation, improved the character and type of their buildings, increased the number of their live stock and of their slaves. The cotton exported from Austin's colony alone in 1833 amounted to nearly two million pounds, and there were in operation thirty cotton gins, several water mills, and two sawmills. As long as goods could be imported from New Orleans free of duty there was no real need for manufactures. There were well-stocked stores of merchandise at San Felipe and at Brazoria in which the clothing and necessaries of life were so attractively priced that Mexicans came from as far as Monclova to do their trading. This prosperity extended to all the settlements as far as Nacogdoches.

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[47] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 232.

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CHAPTER VI

EARLY CLAIMS TO OREGON

Five different nations have laid claims to the territory included in the Pacific Northwest. These are France, Spain, Russia, England, and the United States. The claims made by the first three may be dismissed briefly, while those made by the last two require a somewhat more extended examination.

Claims of nations to Oregon country.—Such vague and shadowy pretensions as France professed were based on the voyages made by her seamen into that region during the period from 1763 to 1779, and on her possession of the Louisiana territory prior to the former date and after 1800. These claims were surrendered to the United States with Louisiana in 1803. Spain's claims were also based on explorations made by her seamen, but they too were unsatisfactory. Such as they were, however, they came into the hands of the American nation by the terms of the Florida treaty of 1819. Russia rested her contentions on the work of her daring seaman, Vitus Bering, and on the operation of Russian fur merchants who, in 1799, came together to form the Russian-American Fur Company. The charter granted to this company gave it the entire use and control of the Pacific coast of North America from Bering Strait to the fifty-fifth parallel, and it was also authorized to explore any additional territory which was not already under the control of some other nation. Under this provision the company pushed its way into remote regions and by the end of twenty years it claimed the northwest coast from Bering Strait southward beyond the mouth of the Columbia River. By 1816 the Russians had begun to extend their settlements as far southward as California.

Negotiations between United States and Russia.—This incident aroused the interest of the United States and that interest was intensified by an edict published at the command of the Emperor Alexander in 1821. In this document the Russian Czar declared that the pursuits of commerce, fishing, etc., along the whole west coast of America, north of the fifty-first parallel were reserved exclusively for the Russians and foreigners were forbidden, under heavy penalty, from approaching within a hundred miles of the coast, except when extreme necessity required them to do so. In February, 1822, the decree was forwarded to the United States through the Russian minister at Washington, Chevalier de Poletica. This brought a note of surprise from Adams, the American Secretary of State, who demanded to know on what grounds Russia claimed so much territory on the west coast of North America. The Russian minister replied that the claims were based on explorations made by the Czar's subjects. He declared that these claims extended south to the forty-ninth parallel. The reason for selecting the fifty-first degree of latitude as the southern limits of Russian possessions was the assumption that this line was midway between the mouth of the Columbia, where the United States citizens had established themselves, and the Russian settlement of Sitka. Adams maintained in his reply that citizens of the United States had navigated those seas "from the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation . . . and the right to navigate them was part of that independence, as also the right of their citizens to trade, even in arms and munitions of war, with the aboriginal natives of the northwest coast of America, who were not under the territorial jurisdiction of other nations."[1] In the charter of the Russian-Amer-

[1] Greenhow, Robert, *History of Oregon and California*, New York, 1845, 332-335. The *ukase* and the correspondence between the Russian

ican Fur Company, Adams continued, the fifty-fifth parallel had been indicated as the southern boundary of Russian claims. This had been recognized as the southern limit of Russian explorations in 1799. Since that time they had made no discoveries south of that line on the coast claimed by them. Adams therefore denied all Russian claims to territory south of the fifty-fifth parallel. Further correspondence on the subject failed to convince either party.

England, Russia, the United States, and the Monroe Doctrine.—The correspondence, together with the decree of the Russian emperor, was placed before the Congress of the United States, and in the following year (1823) the officials in Washington began negotiations directly with St. Petersburg for the purpose of settling all disputed questions regarding the Pacific Northwest. At the same time similar negotiations were under way at St. Petersburg between the governments of Russia and England. The latter also had protested against the claims and principles advanced in the *ukase* of 1821. These circumstances led the United States to feel that a joint convention of the three nations should be concluded as soon as possible. Accordingly the United States representatives in London and in St. Petersburg were directed to propose that during the next ten years the following plan of settlement be accepted by the three governments: the Russians to agree to make no settlements south of the fifty-fifth parallel; the British to confine their settlements to the territory lying between the fifty-first and the fifty-fifth degrees of latitude; while the United States would agree to keep her citizens south of the fifty-first parallel.

Both England and Russia declined to accept the proposal made by the United States. This was due to the

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and American governments regarding it may be found among the papers accompanying Monroe's message to Congress, April 17, 1822.

action taken by President Monroe.[2] In his message to Congress in December, 1823, he referred to the negotiations that had been conducted in regard to the northwest coast, and declared that "the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered subjects for colonization by any European power." England and Russia protested against this attitude expressed by the United States. The latter was not so persistent in her objections as the former, and with her the United States concluded a treaty compromise more quickly.

Treaty with Russia.—The treaty with Russia was signed at St. Petersburg on April 5, 1824. According to this document the two countries mutually agreed that their citizens should be free to navigate and fish in any part of the Pacific Ocean or to trade with the natives in those parts not occupied by citizens of the respective countries. The United States further agreed that it would not permit its citizens to establish settlements north of latitude fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, and the Russians promised to confine their colonizing activities to the north of that line, but it was understood "that during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks" of the coast north or south of the above parallel.

Summary of conditions in 1824.—The situation in 1824, then, may be summarized briefly as follows: Whatever claim France may have had to the Pacific Northwest was surrendered to the United States by the treaty of 1803. By the terms of the Florida pur-

[2] *Ibid.*, 336.

chase and the settlement of Louisiana's western boundary, Spain transferred to the American nation her claims to the Pacific territory north of its forty-second parallel. And according to the terms of the treaty of April 5, 1824, Russia surrendered to the United States her claims to the territory south of latitude fifty-four degrees and forty minutes. It remains therefore to trace the negotiations between the United States and England. In the present chapter these will be carried to 1828, leaving the diplomatic negotiations which resulted in a final division of the territory for consideration in another chapter. To do this it will be necessary to point out briefly the basis for the claims of the respective nations to the Oregon country.

Early English voyages in the Northwest.—During the period from 1577 to 1580 Sir Francis Drake made his famous voyage into the Pacific in search of Spanish treasure. Coming in by way of the Strait of Magellan he followed the Pacific coast northward, probably as far as the forty-third parallel of latitude. While landed at "a fair and good bay, within thirty-eight degrees" north latitude, he took possession of the country in the name of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, calling the region New Albion. In 1776 the Parliament of Great Britain offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds to any English officer who should discover between the Atlantic and the Pacific a sea passage north of the fifty-second parallel.[8] Captain James Cook had just returned to England from his second voyage of navigation and was induced by the English government to undertake the search for the coveted passage. He made his way into the Pacific and up the western coast of the Americas, at last dropping anchor in a large bay in latitude forty-nine degrees, thirty-three minutes north. At first he felt sure

[8] McElroy, Robert McNutt, *Winning of the Far West*, New York, 1914, 108, 109.

that the country had already been visited by Europeans, but more careful study convinced him that this was not true. He named the inlet King George's Sound in honor of his sovereign, but later discovered that it was called Nootka by the natives, a name which has persisted. It was also discovered, years later, that his first impression regarding the probable visit of Europeans to the Nootka Sound region was correct. A Spanish expedition under the command of Perez had visited the country in 1774 and had claimed the country for the Spanish king. Heceta and Cuadra had also visited the coast of that region in 1775, and had taken possession of the country in the name of Spain.[4]

No further expeditions were made by any civilized nations, according to Greenhow,[5] between Nootka Sound and Cape Mendocino during the years 1778 to 1787. In 1788, however, we find another Englishman, John Meares, casting anchor in Nootka Sound. From his headquarters established here he sent vessels to explore along the coast as far north as the sixtieth parallel and south to the forty-fifth. He had attempted to enter the mouth of the Columbia River, but only convinced himself that it could not be done. The names of Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay were applied to the promontory and to the bay as mementoes of his failure.[6] The expedition led by Meares derives its importance primarily from the seizure of his vessels by Martinez, the commander of Spanish vessels commissioned to explore the northwest coast in 1789, and from the Nootka Sound Convention of the following year.

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[4] Bancroft, *Northwest Coast,* I. 150-166 and *History of California,* I. 241 ff.

[5] *Oregon and California,* 167.

[6] Meares, John, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the N. W. Coast of America,* I. 269, 270. *See also* Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy" in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1904, 283-471.

The Nootka Convention and its interpretation by England.—The Nootka Sound Convention was the first international treaty pertaining to the northwest coast of America. It provided among other things that subjects of both England and Spain should be free to navigate and fish in the Pacific, to land and trade with the natives, and to make settlements in all unoccupied districts. Even where the subjects of either power had made settlements, if such settlements had been made since April, 1789, the subjects of the other should be permitted free access for the purpose of carrying on trade. Later, in 1826, England used the terms of the Nootka Convention as an argument against any claims the United States might have to Oregon as a result of the Spanish treaty of 1819. In other words England interpreted the agreement made with Spain in 1790 to mean that thereby both nations surrendered their rights to claim territory in the Pacific Northwest, unless there was something more tangible on which to base those claims than "vague narratives of discoveries."[7] If this view of the Nootka Convention had been generally understood in 1790, it would have been conceded readily that any claims which England or Spain made to the Pacific Northwest on the basis of the voyages of their respective seamen must be based on explorations made after that year.

England's interpretation of the Nootka Convention, therefore [one writer concludes] greatly strengthened the position of America, leaving the two nations exactly equal in so far as America had received the region from Spain by the Florida Purchase, but leaving America free to advance her claims derived from other sources, a resource which England had definitely abrogated for herself.[8]

Vancouver's explorations in the Northwest.—But this interpretation of the Nootka Convention, it must

[7] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* VI. 663.
[8] McElroy, *Winning of the Far West,* 113.

be remembered, was not made by England until 1826. Prior to that year the interest of both the United States and England in the Pacific Northwest had grown, and each believed its claim to the country north of the forty-second parallel and south of the fifty-four degrees, forty minutes north latitude, had been strengthened. The most important English expedition to find its way by sea into the Pacific Northwest was led by Captain George Vancouver in 1792. He came to negotiate with Spanish representatives at Nootka for the purpose of determining what lands and buildings were to be restored to the British claimants under the first and second articles of the convention of 1790, or what indemnity Spain might justly expect from England. He was also instructed to examine and survey the Pacific coast from the thirtieth to the sixtieth parallels of north latitude. The number and extent of settlements made by civilized nations were to be carefully noted by him, and especially was he to secure all the information possible pertaining to any water passage which might connect the Pacific on the west shores of America with the Atlantic on the east. With a view to carrying out this particular point he was to make a careful examination of the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca which was "said to be situated between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop *Washington* is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka." [9]

With these instructions Vancouver left England in January, 1791, and the spring of the following year found him exploring the northwest coast. His journal for April 27, 1792, contains the following:

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[9] These instructions will be found in the Introduction of Vancouver, George, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, etc., 3 vols., London, 1798, I. 18-21.

Noon brought us up with a very conspicuous point of land, composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea from the low land before mentioned. . . . On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem to be accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point, two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first induced to believe it to be Cape Shoalwater, but on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls Cape Disappointment; and the opening south of it, Deception Bay. This cape we found to be in latitude forty-six degrees nineteen minutes, longitude two hundred thirty-six degrees six minutes.

The sea had now changed from its natural to river-colored water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the opening to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the northwest, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to an examination of the coast, . . .[10]

Vancouver meets Gray. Comments on entrance to Columbia.—Two days later, while taking advantage of the "prevailing breeze and pleasant weather" in prosecuting his explorations northward, Vancouver sighted a vessel toward the west, which "was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort during the last eight months." It proved to be the American ship *Columbia* commanded by Captain Robert Gray, which had sailed from Boston about nineteen months earlier. Vancouver found, as he had anticipated he would, that Gray had been in command of

[10] *Ibid.*, 209, 210.

the sloop *Washington* at the time, "we are informed, she had made a very singular voyage behind Nootka." But Gray's account of his explorations in Nootka Sound differed widely from the accounts published in England. "It is not possible," Vancouver says, "to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop *Washington*. In contradiction to which, he assured the officers, that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the straits in question, in an east-southeast direction; that he found the passage five leagues wide, and that he understood from the natives, that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he acquired concerning this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had entered at." Gray also told Vancouver that he had been off the mouth of a river where he waited for nine days to enter it but the current was too strong. It was located in latitude forty-six degrees, ten minutes. And continuing Vancouver explains that this "was, probably, the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and was, apparently, inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it." If any inlet existed there it was "inaccessible to vessels of our burden, owing to the reefs and broken water, which then appeared in its neighborhood." [11]

Although Vancouver was surprised at sighting the American vessel, she was by no means a stranger to the Pacific Northwest. In fact this was her second voyage into these waters, and other vessels had preceded her.

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[11] *Ibid.*, 214, 215.

Basis for American interest in Pacific.—As soon as the independence of the United States had been recognized by England the citizens of the newly formed republic began the industry of fishing in the Pacific, and their interest in those waters was extended by the beginning of direct trade with the far East. In the summer of 1784 an American vessel, the *Empress of China,* entered the port of Canton. She had sailed from New York under the command of Daniel Parker, and had returned to that city in May, 1785.[12] Other vessels made their way across the Pacific to China, but they were handicapped in the trade because the articles which they carried to the East were so inferior in value to those brought back. As a result they were obliged to take large amounts in specie in order to obtain full cargoes on their return trips. To obviate this difficulty and to increase their profits in the trade, some Boston merchants formed an association in 1787, for the purpose of combining the fur trade carried on in the north Pacific waters with the far eastern trade.[13]

For prosecuting their plans, the association fitted out two vessels in the summer of 1787, the ship *Columbia* of two hundred and twenty tons commanded by John Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington* of ninety tons in charge of Robert Gray. Their holds were filled with blankets, knives, iron bars, copper pans, and other articles suitable for trade with the Indians of the Northwest coast. In addition to passports from Massachusetts and sea letters from the federal government, the commanders carried letters from the Spanish minister in the United States recommending them for consideration to the representatives of his country on the

[12] Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 178-181.

[13] John Ledyard had seen the possibilities of this plan, but he failed in his efforts to persuade the merchants of New York and Philadelphia to engage in it. *See* Jared Sparks, *The Life of John Ledyard, American Traveller; Comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1828, 126-137.

Pacific coast. The two vessels sailed from Boston on September 30, 1787, doubled Cape Horn in January following, and after experiencing foul weather, a separation, and some misfortune, finally came together again in Nootka Sound in the fall of 1788, approximately a year after they had left Boston. Here they remained for the winter 1788-1789. In the spring they began a prosperous trade with the natives along the coast. Toward the end of summer all the furs were placed in the hold of the *Columbia,* and with Captain Gray in command she sailed for China. The furs were exchanged for tea in the Chinese markets, and the *Columbia* returned to the United States by way of Cape of Good Hope, reaching Boston in August, 1790. She had won the distinction of being the first vessel to bear the American flag around the world.

Voyage of 1790-1792.—Almost immediately Gray was sent back to the Pacific. During the summer of 1791 he traded up and down the coast as he had done formerly. The winter was spent in Adventure Cove of Clayoquot harbor. It was in this harbor that the *Tonquin,* which brought to the Pacific the men who founded Astoria, met its gruesome fate in the summer of 1811. During the winter Gray built a small vessel, the *Adventure,* which he launched on March 22, 1792, and sent out equipped to carry on an independent trade. It was while cruising along the coast toward the south that Gray's vessel was sighted by Vancouver as already related. The entry in Boit's Log of the *Columbia* for April 28, 1792, was as follows:

This day spoke to his Britannic Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham,* commanded by Captain George Vancouver, and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery. Left April 1, 1791.

Do. Otaheita January, '92, and Sandwich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the *Discovery,* and we gave them all the information in our power. Especially as

respected the Straits of Juan de Fuca, which place they was then in search of. They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English ships.[14]

Gray soon turned about, however, and followed the coast toward the south. On May 7 he saw an inlet which appeared to be a harbor. After preliminary examinations which convinced him of its excellent facilities, he entered. Ere long his vessel was surrounded by canoes filled with Indians.

They appeared to be a savage set, and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest astonishment.[15]

On the following day this astonishment gave way to increasing resentment which culminated in an attack at midnight, but a shot from the *Columbia's* nine pounder demolished a large canoe killing most if not all of its occupants and putting the Indians to flight. The savages had been taught a wholesome lesson and thereafter apparently confined their energies for the time being to trading quantities of skins for such gaudy trinkets as the Americans had to offer. On the eleventh the *Columbia* weighed anchor and sailed out, the inlet having been named Gray's Harbor after her captain.[16]

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[14] Boit, John, "Log of the *Columbia*, 1790-1792," in the Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* (1919-1920), LIII. 244, 245. That part of the Log pertaining to the Pacific Northwest is republished, with editorial notes and comments by E. S. Meany, in the Washington State Historical Society *Quarterly*, January, 1921, 1-50.

[15] *Ibid.*, 245, 246.

[16] *Ibid.*, 247. Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 235, says it was called Bulfinch's Harbor in honor of one of the owners of the *Columbia*. This he bases on the extract from the *Columbia's* Log-Book which was made by Bulfinch in 1816, and which Greenhow gives in his work, 434-436. The *Columbia's* official log-book was destroyed, but Bulfinch claimed to have made this copy of part of volume two before its destruction. There can be no hesitancy, however, in giving preference to Boit's *Log* in this case.

It was May 12, 1792, that the *Columbia* entered the river which has since borne her name, and here she remained until the twentieth while her crew traded with the Indians, repaired the ship, and examined the channel. Captain Gray gave the river its name, and called the northern and southern points at the entrance, Cape Hancock and Point Adams respectively. The latter name is still retained on modern maps, but Cape Disappointment, the name given by Meares, is applied to the former. "This river in my opinion," Boit commented, "would be a fine place for to set up a *Factory.*"[17]

Vancouver visits the Columbia.—Gray's vessel struck a rock soon after leaving the Columbia, and he made his way northward with difficulty. At Nootka he gave an account of his discoveries to the Spanish commander, Quadra, whom he found there, together with charts of Gray's Harbor and the river he had named the Columbia. Later Vancouver received copies of these from Quadra, and on October 13, 1792, sailed south from Nootka, coming opposite Gray's harbor five days later. Thence he sent one of his vessels under the command of Lieutenant Whidley to make an examination of the harbor while with the other two he proceeded to the mouth of the Columbia. Vancouver was unable to enter the mouth of the river with his own vessel, but his lieutenant, Broughton, effected an entrance in the *Chatham* on October 20. The commander sailed south with his own vessel to San Francisco Bay, and thence to Monterey where he was joined by his subordinates in December. Here a report of their explorations and discoveries was made by Whidley and Broughton. The latter had made his way up the Columbia for a distance of a hundred miles.[18]

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[17] *Ibid.*, 248.

[18] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 235-237; 246-248.

Overland explorations to the Northwest.—In the meantime the basis for American and English claims to the Oregon country were developing from another angle. This was from claims based on overland explorations. We have seen already that the expedition led by Lewis and Clark was the fulfillment of a long cherished plan which Jefferson had had for exploring the country drained by the Columbia. It also afforded a strong basis for American claims to the Oregon country. Furthermore it stimulated an interest in the fur trade both among British and Americans. As soon as Lewis and Clark appeared on the Missouri their movements were watched by agents of the Northwest Company; and when it was known definitely that the Americans had orders to explore the Columbia an effort was made by the British Association to anticipate them. In 1805 the Northwest Company sent a party to occupy the Columbia under the leadership of Laroque, but it went no farther than the Mandan villages on the Missouri. A second expedition was sent out from Fort Chipewyan under Simon Fraser during the following year. Fraser led his party across the Rocky Mountains near the passage of the Peace River, and built a trading establishment on what is now Fraser Lake near the fifty-fourth degree of north latitude. Subsequently other posts were formed in the same country, and by 1808 the region was known as New Caledonia among the British traders. During the early part of this same year the Missouri Fur Company was founded, and in 1809 it succeeded in erecting a trading station on the Lewis River, the great southern branch of the Columbia.[19]

Astor's scheme; Astoria founded.—John Jacob Astor was among the first Americans to see the possi-

[19] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 290; Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 58; McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 97.

bilities of the development of the fur trade in the far West as a result of the report of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The scheme that developed in his fertile brain for monopolizing the fur trade of the vast territory drained by the Missouri and Columbia rivers has been discussed in the chapter on the fur trade. It is sufficient to remind the reader here that his plans called for a chain of trading posts extending across the continent from New York to the Pacific by way of the Great Lakes and the Missouri and the Columbia rivers. The Pacific Fur Company was organized and two expeditions were fitted out, one to go by sea and the other by land with a view to developing these plans. The ship *Tonquin,* a vessel of two hundred and ninety tons burden, was sent out from New York on September 6, 1810, carrying merchandise for the trade, supplies, and materials for building a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. The vessel reached the mouth of the Columbia March 22, 1811. Captain Thorn lost seven of his crew in attempting to sound the channel when the elements were turbulent, but the *Tonquin* finally crossed the bar and on the twenty-fifth was anchored safely in the river. Two months or more were occupied in selecting a site for a post and unloading the cargo. The name Astoria was given to this the first American colony planted on the Pacific,[20] and on June 5 the *Tonquin* left the Columbia for its fatal voyage to the north. Meanwhile the land party was making its way across the plains and over the mountains, dodging bands of hostile Indians and drinking deeply of the dregs of hardships and sufferings which fell in unmeasured quantities to inexperienced overland expeditions of the first half of the nineteenth century.

[20] During the summer of 1810 Captains Jonathan and Nathan Winship of Boston tried to build a commercial station near the mouth of the Columbia, but the flood had driven them away. Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska,* 63.

Chastened by adversity, Hunt and his companions arrived at Astoria in groups during the early weeks of 1812.

Americans learn of presence of Northwest Company.—During the month of May a small party from the fort ascended the river as far as the Cascades, entering the mouth of the Cowlitz on the way and visiting other inlets where the presence of Indian villages appeared to offer profitable trade. It was led by Alexander Mackay whose subsequent loss in the *Tonquin* disaster was a severe blow to the colony. In the middle of July following another expedition was preparing to ascend the river under the leadership of David Stuart. These preparations were undertaken because two strange Indians came to Astoria bearing a letter from one Northwest Company trader to another. The Indians were questioned in regard to the country up the river. Their report was favorable, but they also informed the Americans that a rival company had established itself on the Spokane River. Just as Stuart's party was about to set out a large canoe drew into the cove at Astoria bearing a British flag and David Thompson, the geographer of the Northwest Company.

Thompson was indefatigable as an explorer. He had been on the upper Columbia as early as June 30, 1807,[21] and during the succeeding three years he made a number of expeditions through the mountains discovering new routes from the headwaters of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers to the Columbia. He built Fort Kootenay on the upper Columbia before the end of the year 1807. During the next two years he erected another fort on Pend d'Oreille Lake, where Clark's Fork of the Columbia enters it, and a second in November, 1809, in the Flathead country higher up Clark's Fork. The last two were south of the forty-

[21] Davidson, *The Northwest Company*, 98; Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 67.

ninth parallel within the present boundary of the United States.

Americans enter territory claimed by Northwest Company.—Stuart delayed his departure a little over a week. On July 23, 1811, accompanied by Thompson and his party, the American leader began his voyage up the river. The two parties journeyed together as far as the Cascades, and Thompson and his men went on in advance. Stuart's party experienced difficulty with the Indians at the Long Narrows and at the junction of the Columbia and Walla Walla rivers. When they arrived at the forks of the Columbia they found a piece of paper securely fastened to a flagstaff on which was written the following proclamation:

> Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of its Territories, and that the Northwest Company of Merchants from Canada, finding the Factory for this People inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to erect a factory in this Place for the Commerce of the Country around. D. THOMPSON. . . .[22]

Stuart and his men believed that Thompson had placed it there on his way up the river in advance of the Americans, but it had been written July 9 and left by the Englishman on his way down.

Pushing on the Americans made their way up the north branch of the Columbia to the junction of the Okanogan in the vicinity of the forty-eighth parallel, and prepared for the winter's trade with the Indians. After arranging to leave the post in charge of one of the clerks, Alexander Ross, and sending four of his men back to Astoria, Stuart with the remaining three explored the country to the head of the Okanogan and

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[22] Quoted in Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 67, 68. *See also* Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, II, 171-175.

crossed the divide to Thompson's branch of the Fraser River. When he returned from his exploration in March, 1812, he found that Ross had collected "1550 beavers, besides other peltries, worth in the Canton market 2250£ sterling, and which on an average stood the concern in but 5½d. apiece, valuing the merchandise at sterling cost, or in round numbers 35£ sterling; a specimen of our trade among the Indians!" [23] Before April 29 they had increased the number of beaver skins to twenty-five hundred.

The success of this expedition was sufficient to stimulate further inland explorations, and of course others were made, [24] but the War of 1812 cut short the activities of the Pacific Fur Company. Astor, however, had succeeded in strengthening the claims of the United States to the Oregon country by the erection of fur-trading posts in that territory.

Sale of Astoria to Northwest Company.—On October 16, 1813, an agreement was made between the representatives of the Pacific Fur Company on the one hand and the Northwest Company on the other whereby the former sold its "establishments, furs, and stock in hand" to the latter, for about fifty-eight thousand dollars. While in the midst of transferring the goods to their new owners, the British sloop of war *Raccoon* under the command of Captain Black appeared at the mouth of the river. He learned, much to his dissatisfaction, of the sale made by the Americans to British subjects. Hauling down the flag of the United States he raised that of Great Britain over the establishment and changed the name to Fort George. Having "given vent to his indignation against the partners of both companies whom he loudly accused of collusion to defraud himself and his

[23] Ross, A., *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, 150.

[24] Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 68-73.

officers and crew of the reward due for their exertions, he sailed back to the South Pacific." [25]

The first article of the treaty of Ghent provides that:

> All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property.

When Captain Black took possession of Astoria he changed the character of the transfer from that of a mere sale from one company to another to that of a military conquest. This change under the provisions of that part of article one of the treaty of Ghent just quoted, caused its subsequent restoration to the United States.

In accordance with this provision, therefore, the Secretary of State, Monroe, on July 18, 1815, informed Baker, the *chargé d'affaires* of Great Britain at Washington, that it was the President's intention to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia immediately. No steps were taken to carry out the plan, however, until 1817. In September of that year Captain J. Biddle, commanding the sloop of war *Ontario,* and J. B. Prevost, were commissioned jointly to proceed in the *Ontario* to the mouth of the Columbia and "assert the claim of the United States to sovereignty of the adjacent country, in a friendly and peaceable manner, and without the employment of force." [26]

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[25] Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 304.
[26] *Ibid.,* 307.

Astoria restored.—The departure of Biddle and Prevost for the Pacific raised objections from the British minister at Washington, who denied the right of the United States to occupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. He said the place had not been captured during the late war, but that the property had been purchased from the Americans by the Northwest Company, and that the territory had been occupied in the name of the British King prior to the War of 1812, and had been considered as forming part of His Majesty's dominions. No claim for restitution could therefore be founded upon the first article of the treaty of Ghent. He also informed the British secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Castlereagh, of what the United States had done. The latter official addressed a series of objections to Rush, the American representative in London, on the subject, but the latter defended the position taken by his government. It was finally agreed that the post should be returned to the Americans, and that the question of title to the territory should be considered in the negotiations on various subjects which would begin at an early date. Agents of the Northwest Company and the commander of the British fleet in the Pacific were instructed accordingly to turn over to the Americans the post at the mouth of the Columbia. On August 9, 1818, Captain Biddle took temporary possession of the country in the name of the United States. Prevost had disembarked in Chili for a while and was brought to the Columbia in the British frigate *Blossom,* arriving there early in October. The British officers then made a permanent surrender of Fort George, the name which had been given Astoria by them, and Prevost accepted the post in the name of his country. Formalities were completed by lowering the British flag and hoisting that of the United States in its place, after which a salute was fired by the *Blossom.* Fort George was rechristened Astoria.

The treaty of Ghent left many questions unsettled between the United States and Great Britain. They came up for consideration at a conference held in London by the representatives of the American and British governments in 1818. Among the important issues to receive attention were the settlement of the boundary west of the Lake of the Woods and the conclusion of an agreement in regard to the claims of the two nations to Oregon. The first of these questions it will be remembered dates back to the ambiguous phrasing in the treaty of 1783. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 with an unspecified northern boundary increased the need for an adjustment in that section. Rush and Gallatin, the American representatives, proposed that the boundary between the territories of the United States and Canada be drawn by extending a line from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods, north or south as the case might require, to the forty-ninth parallel, and along that parallel to the Pacific. The British commissioners, Goulburn and Robinson, after failing in their efforts to have the navigation of the Mississippi opened to British subjects, finally agreed to accept the line proposed by the Americans as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and an article to that effect was included in the Convention of 1818.

Convention of 1818.—The commissioners then took up the claims of the respective nations to the country west of the mountains. While the Americans did not maintain that the United States "had a perfect right to that country," they did insist that the claims of their government were at least as good as those of Great Britain. The Columbia, they said, had been discovered by Americans, it had been explored first by Americans from its source to its mouth, and the earliest establishments along its course had been erected by citizens of the United States. But this point of view was not accepted by the British commissioners. They main-

tained that earlier voyages, "principally that of Captain Cook, gave to Great Britain the rights derived from discovery; and they alluded to purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, which they alleged to have been made prior to the American Revolution." No formal proposition for a boundary was made by them, but they "intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted; and that they would not agree to any that did not give them the harbor at the mouth of the river, in common with the United States." [27]

Under the circumstances, then, it was obviously impossible for the American and British representatives to agree upon a definite settlement of the question. It was finally determined, therefore, that all territories and their waters claimed by either nation west of the mountains, should be open to the subjects of both for a period of ten years. It was understood, however, that claims made by their respective governments or by any other nation were to remain unaffected by this argument. The Convention with these provisions included in it was signed by the representatives of the two governments on October 20, 1818, and ratified by both nations soon after.[28]

Decline of American interest in the Northwest.—To people living during the period following the conclusion of the Convention of 1818, it doubtless seemed as if the entire Northwest were destined to become a part of the British possessions. The jurisdiction of the courts of upper Canada had been extended to the territories of that section. The Hudson Bay Company had absorbed its greatest rival, the Northwest Company, and had received exclusive privileges of trading in all that region drained by the Columbia. Large sums of money were spent by it in its efforts to

[27] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 381.
[28] *Ibid.*, 406.

found settlements along the river and to extend its influence over the Indians of the surrounding country. And indeed these efforts were not all in vain. The United States was forced to renounce all ideas of renewing its establishments in that part of America, and even to withdraw its vessels from the coast.

Indeed, for more than ten years after the capture of Astoria by the British, scarcely a single American citizen was to be seen in those countries. Trading expeditions were subsequently made from Missouri to the headwaters of the Platte and the Colorado, within the limits of California, and one or two hundred hunters and trappers, from the United States were generally roving through that region; but the Americans had no settlements of any kind, and their government exercised no jurisdiction whatsoever west of the Rocky Mountains.[29]

And yet the United States lost nothing by this agreement. Great Britain had acknowledged the justice of the pretensions of the American government, and the latter could afford to wait. Time was on her side.

In his last annual message to Congress in December, 1824, President Monroe recommended the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia or at some other place within the acknowledged limits of the United States. The purpose of such a post was to afford protection to Americans engaged in commerce and fishing in the Pacific, to conciliate the Indians of the Northwest, and to promote intercourse between those territories and the settled parts of the United States. During the following year the same measure was recommended by Adams at the beginning of the session of the new Congress. In compliance with these recommendations a bill was brought forward in the Lower House, but it was tabled.

In the meantime the period of ten years provided

[29] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 344, 345.

in the treaty of 1818 was drawing to a close. The United States was anxious to conclude a definite settlement before the end of the period, and Great Britain manifested a willingness to reach a settlement. Negotiations were opened in London in 1826. The forty-ninth parallel was again offered by the American representative, but the British refused it. It was soon evident that the time for an amicable adjustment had not come. The British ministers then proposed a renewal of the Convention of 1818 for a period of fifteen years from the date of the expiration of that Convention, but with the understanding that during the period neither nation would exercise the right of exclusive sovereignty or dominion over that region.[30] The proposal was immediately rejected by Gallatin.

Renewed attempts to settle claims to Northwest.—At no time previously had the claims of the two nations to the Oregon country been discussed so thoroughly. The representatives of both exerted themselves in assembling arguments on behalf of the claims of their respective countries and in trying to refute those presented by their opponents. The existing agreement ended October 20, 1828. To conclude a definite settlement before that time was impossible apparently. Even an attempt to renew the existing agreement was not without its difficulties. The American representatives absolutely refused to agree to any declaration or explanation regarding the terms under which the territory under dispute should remain open to the people of the two nations. The British representatives were equally determined to refuse all proposals to renew the Convention for a specified period of time without such declarations or explanations. A compromise was reached finally on August 6, 1827. The third article of the Convention of 1818, opening all the territory

[30] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* VI. 662.

claimed by Great Britain or by the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, to citizens or subjects of both nations, was "indefinitely extended and continued in force." Either party, however, could "at any time after October 20, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party," annul the Convention.[81]

With the renewal of the Convention of 1818, Oregon diplomacy rested while American interests in the country grew stronger.

Bibliographical Notes

The journals of the more important explorers are cited in the footnotes. Valuable secondary authorities are Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, 2 vols., San Francisco, 1884 (Vols. XXVII and XXVIII of *The Works of*); Robert Greenhow, *A History of Oregon and California, and the other Territories on the Northwest Coast of North America; Accompanied by a Geographical View and Map of those Countries, and a Number of Documents as Proofs and Illustrations of the History*, Philadelphia, 1845; Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Winning of the Far West; A History of the Regaining of Texas, of the Mexican War, and the Oregon Question; and of the Successive Additions to the Territory of the United States, within the Continent of America, 1829-1867*, New York, 1914; McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*, 8 vols., New York, 1883-1913; William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy" in the American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1904; Joseph Schafer, *The Pacific Slope and Alaska* (Vol. X of Guy Carleton Lee, *The History of North America*), Philadelphia, 1904; also Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, New York, 1918; and H. Morse Stephens, "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific," in Stephens and Bolton (editors), *The Pacific Ocean in History*, New York, 1917.

Further material may be found in bibliographies already cited, and in Charles W. Smith, *Pacific Northwest Americana*.

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[81] *Ibid.*, 688, 689. The protocols of the various conferences may be found between 655-696.

CHAPTER VII

LATER EXPLORATIONS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Nearly all of the early American explorations made west of the Mississippi were confined to the country west of the Rocky Mountains. The exception is the Lewis and Clark expedition already noted. The majority of the explorers to be considered here extended their operations across the plains and the mountains to the Pacific. But there are exceptions in the latter case in the former, and among them is Major Long's expedition to the St. Peter's River.

Plans for new explorations in the Northwest.—Calhoun was unable to develop his plans for western explorations in their entirety in 1819 because of the opposition of Congress. Out of the elaborate preparations made at that time came the comparatively insignificant expedition to the Rocky Mountains of 1819 to 1820 headed by Major Stephen H. Long. His success on this occasion pointed him out as a competent leader for further western explorations. This time the field chosen for investigation was the country bounded by the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and the forty-ninth parallel of latitude.

Major Long's instruction.—Long's instructions were dated April 25, 1823. The object of his expedition was to make a general survey of the country with topographical description of the same, to determine the latitude and longitude of the more important places, to examine and describe the animal, vegetable, and mineral life, and to inquire into the character and customs of the Indian tribes of the country. He was referred also to the instructions which had been issued in connection with the expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819 to 1820.

Officials of the expedition.—The company that left Philadelphia on April 30, 1823, contained a zoölogist, mineralogist and geologist, a landscape painter and designer, besides Major Long of the topographical engineers, the commander of the expedition. Two of these men, William H. Keating and Thomas Say, the mineralogist and geologist, and the zoölogist respectively, were to serve in the capacity of journalist also. Dr. Edwin James, who had been with Major Long on his Rocky Mountain expedition, was to have joined the company but he remained in Pittsburg until it was too late to overtake the party.

To the mouth of the Minnesota.—They traveled by way of Fort Wayne and Chicago to Prairie du Chien, where their number was increased by the addition of a corporal and nine soldiers under the command of a lieutenant. The enlarged party divided before ascending the Mississippi, three or four following the course of the stream overland while the main division ascended in a boat. At Fort Snelling a brief stop was made while plans were perfected for ascending the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River. Additional reënforcements received here brought the total number of the party up to thirty-three.

Arrival at Pembina.—Again the company divided, some going by land for the purpose of exploring the country in the vicinity of the river while the main party ascended the stream in four canoes, the plan being to unite in camp each night. At Lake Traverse they were welcomed by a salute from the fort of the Columbia Fur Company. While in this vicinity Long made the first accurate exploration of the sources of the St. Peter's River. On July 26 the expedition left the fort and proceeded north over the "usual route" along the east bank of the Red River, accompanied by a member of the firm of the Columbia Fur Company who served in the capacity of guide, and arrived opposite the Pem-

bina settlement on August 5. They were ferried across the river where they remained four days.[1]

Lord Selkirk's colony.—Pembina owed its origin to the efforts of Lord Selkirk to establish a settlement in America. The area of the territory acquired for the purpose was said to consist of 110,000 square miles situated on the Red and Assiniboine rivers. About seventy colonists arrived in 1812. Governor Macdonell selected Point Douglas as the future center of the colony and the settlement was to be at what is now Kildonan, but on account of the lack of food the settlers were taken sixty miles south to Pembina. By November, 1812, a post had been built which afforded shelter, and the new location had the further advantage of being near the buffalo herds. Two hundred and seventy colonists had arrived by 1815. One hundred and forty of these had been led away by the Northwest Company in 1814, leaving one hundred and thirty people in the settlement. The journalist of Long's expedition estimated the population in 1823 at about three hundred and fifty, and the number of horses in the village at sixty.[2]

Character of the settlement.—The people depended largely upon hunting for a living. There were very few farmers in the community. The listless, indolent, cunning half-breeds made up most of the male population, and the rest were Swiss and Scotch settlers. The Swiss were nearly all old soldiers who were unfit for agricultural pursuits. The best element in the popula-

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[1] Keating, William H., *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc., Performed in the Year 1823, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Stephen H. Long, U. S. T. E.*, 2 vols., London, 1825.

[2] *Ibid.*, II. 32-43. *See* Bryce, George, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson Bay Company*, London, 207-214, for a brief account of Selkirk's colony. A more complete account is in Chester Martin, "Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada," in *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, Vol. VII, Oxford, 1916.

tion was the Scotch. These people had brought with them their steady habits and indefatigable perseverance. Small fields of wheat, maize, barley, potatoes, turnips, and tobacco were cultivated, and a "few of the more respectable inhabitants keep cows and attend to agriculture, but we saw neither a plough nor a yoke of oxen in use in the whole of the upper settlement." [8]

Such was the estimate of the Pembina settlement as recorded by the official journalist of Long's Red River expedition in the summer of 1823.

Determining northern boundary of United States.—The company's principal object in visiting this section was to locate the forty-ninth degree of latitude. Three different observations were taken before it was determined. An oak post was fixed on the line bearing the letters G. B. on the north side and U. S. on the south, and at noon on August 8 a flag was raised, a salute fired, and a proclamation made by Major Long taking possession of all territory on the Red River above that point. The Pembina settlers who had assembled to witness these formalities appeared to be well pleased when they learned that they were wholly within the territory of the United States, and particularly elated with the thought that all the buffalo would be on their side of the international boundary line.

Problem of selecting return route.—According to his instructions Major Long's route lay along the forty-ninth parallel to Lake Superior, but he was informed at Pembina that such an undertaking would be impracticable. The entire country was covered with small lagoons and marshes toward the east and northeast. The most feasible thing to do, therefore, seemed to be to follow the principal streams in bark canoes. Of the several routes suggested, that by way of Lake Winnipeg appeared to be the best. It had been used

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[8] *Ibid.*, II. 41, 42.

formerly by the partners and clerks of the Northwest Company and was still traveled occasionally by Hudson Bay Company employees. The selection of this new method of travel made it unnecessary if not burdensome to keep the horses any longer, and they were traded to settlers of Pembina for supplies and services.

Major Long left Pembina for Fort Douglas on August 9 and arrived at the latter place on the eleventh. He was followed by the members of his expedition on the tenth. A neat, prosperous, little village of six hundred souls living in the midst of constantly improving agricultural conditions was what the Americans found at Fort Douglas. The Scotch and Swiss settlers constituted the best element in the community.

The return.—The final stages of the journey were down Red River to Lake Winnipeg and from there a general easterly course brought them to the northern shore of Lake Superior. The remainder of the journey was through Lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie to Niagara Falls, and thence to Rochester and Philadelphia where they arrived on October 26, 1823. When the party had reached the northern shore of Lake Superior the soldiers who had joined the expedition returned to their posts in the Northwest and only the officers who had gone out from Philadelphia in the first place returned to that city.

Two years later another official expedition was organized for a somewhat different mission into the West. Following the War of 1812 the fur traders in the upper Missouri country had experienced increasing hostility from the Indians. In 1823 Colonel Leavenworth had conducted an unsatisfactory campaign against the Arikaras, and Congress passed an act authorizing the formation of treaties with the tribes in that section. President Monroe appointed General Henry Atkinson of the army and Major Benjamin O'Fallou, Indian agent, as commissioners to conclude these treaties.

Atkinson's expedition up the Missouri, 1825.—The commissioners accompanied by four hundred and seventy-six men left Council Bluffs about the middle of May, 1825. Forty members of the expedition were mounted and went by land, keeping at all times, however, within reach of the boats which bore the main party. This formidable organization had little difficulty in inspiring the various tribes with peaceful inclinations. Military displays were held frequently and were invariably preceded or followed by the conclusion of treaties and the distribution of presents. The Otoes, the Tetons, the Yanktons, the Sioux, the Ogallalahs, the Cheyennes, the Arikaras, the Hunkpapas, the Crows, and a few others signed treaties, but the Assiniboines and the hostile Blackfeet could not be found. While encamped a short distance above the mouth of the Yellowstone the expedition was joined by Ashley and his twenty-four companions who had descended the latter stream *en route* from Great Salt Lake valley to St. Louis with a hundred packs of beaver skins. General Atkinson offered him transportation and the two parties descended the Missouri together, arriving at Council Bluffs on September 19. A few days were spent here concluding additional treaties, and General Atkinson with a few companions continued to St. Louis, arriving there toward the end of October after an absence of just seven months.[4]

This expedition had been successful. Atkinson had not only concluded treaties with the Indians but he had collected information regarding the country. It had been the intention of the government, as pointed out elsewhere in this volume, to establish military posts in the Trans-Mississippi West, but Atkinson said he found no evidence of British intrigues among the Indians in that section and the scheme was abandoned.

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[4] Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II. 608-617.

Explorations of Captain Bonneville.—The explorations of Captain Bonneville owe their prominence almost entirely to the facile pen of Washington Irving.[5] The expedition was organized at Fort Osage and started from this point on May 1, 1832. The usual route was followed up the Platte and Sweetwater and through the South Pass to Green River. The next three years were spent in profitless fur trading enterprises among the Indians. During this time the country between Green River and Fort Walla Walla was traversed, some of it several times. In the summer of 1833 Bonneville organized a branch expedition under the command of I. R. Walker. It was probably intended from the beginning as a trapping party which was to go to California.[6]

Walker left the Green River on July 24, 1833, with forty men. The company went first to the valley of the Great Salt Lake where they stopped long enough to lay in a supply of buffalo meat. They then followed a western course through the Salt Lake desert to the Humboldt River, arriving at the sink in October. Thence they crossed the Sierras by an unknown route. The winter was spent in a round of pleasure and when spring came several of the party decided to remain in California. The others returned by way of the San Joaquin valley and crossed the mountains through Walker's Pass—so called in honor of its discovery by the leader of the expedition at this time—and rejoined their companions on Bear River June 1, 1834. Walker had led the second trapping expedition over the mountains into California from the East.

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[5] Irving, Washington, *The Rocky Mountains, or, Some Incidents and Adventures in the Far West; digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville of the Army of the United States, and illustrated from various other sources.*

[6] Irving in the work just cited says the purpose was to make a thorough exploration of the Great Salt Lake country, but Chittenden in his chapter on Bonneville in *The American Fur Trade*, I. gives another view.

Explorations in upper Mississippi.—In the summer of the same year that Bonneville began his explorations (1832), Lieutenant James Allen of the United States army, accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian agent at Mackinac and former explorer of the White River, went from Lake Superior by way of the St. Louis River to the headwaters of the Mississippi. Having made "the first topographical and hydrographical delineation of the source of the Mississippi,"[7] they returned by way of the St. Croix and Bois Brule. Other explorations were made through this region between 1836 and 1840. The most important were conducted by the distinguished French astronomer and geographer, J. N. Nicollet. During the years 1836 to 1837 Nicollet was occupied privately in this work, but in 1838 he was employed by the United States government. He discovered the true source of the Mississippi and made other valuable contributions to American geography. Associated with him from 1836 to 1840 was a young lieutenant by the name of John C. Frémont.

Events leading to Frémont's first expedition.—Soon after Nicollet returned to Washington plans began to develop for sending him forth on another mission of a different character from the one in which he had been engaged. This was nothing less than heading an expedition whose function should be to open a way through the mountains which would facilitate emigration into Oregon. It was to be " 'auxiliary and in aid to the emigration to the Lower Columbia;' it was to indicate and describe the line of travel, and the best positions for military posts; and to describe, and fix in position, the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, at which this initial expedition was to terminate."[8] At

[7] Quoted in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Explorations*, New York, 1914, 218.

[8] Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of My Life, Including in the Narra-*

that time Frémont expected to be an assistant, but Nicollet's health rendered him unfit to take the responsibilities of such an expedition and the young lieutenant was selected for the task. This decision was reached at the very end of 1841.

Organizing the party.—During the early months of 1842 Frémont made careful preparations for his western explorations. He left Washington on May 2 and went direct to St. Louis. Some time was spent in gathering suitable men and the necessary equipment for his undertaking, but his task was lightened by the willing coöperation of the people of this frontier metropolis. Twenty-one men were gathered together, principally Creole and Canadian *voyageurs* who had learned prairie life while in the employment of fur companies. Charles Preuss was topographical assistant; Maxwell was hunter; and the famous Kit Carson was chosen as guide. There were two others who joined the party largely for pleasure. These were Randolph Benton, the twelve-year-old brother-in-law of Frémont, and young Henry Brant.

Frémont traveled by boat from St. Louis to the mouth of the Kansas, "where a few houses were the nucleus of a future town, but then called 'Chouteau's' or Kansas Landing," thence by land ten miles up the Kansas River to Cyprian Chouteau's trading post. Twenty days were spent in completing preparations for the trip, and on June 10, 1842, the little company, judiciously equipped, started on its western mission.

Country explored.—The route lay along the valleys of the Big Blue and the Platte rivers. On the morning of July 9 the company caught the first faint glimpse of the Rocky Mountains, about sixty miles away, and during the early part of August they went through the South Pass. On August 15, Frémont with a few com-

tive Five Journeys of Western Exploration during the Years, 1842, 1843-1844, 1845-1846-1847, 1848-1849, 1853-1854, etc., New York, 1887, 69, 71.

panions ascended the peak which bears his name, and "unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never flag waved before." Observations were taken as complete as their equipment permitted, and they began the descent, feeling that they "had accomplished an object of laudable ambition, and beyond the strict order of our instructions. We had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains,[9] and looked down upon the snow a thousand feet below, and, standing where never human foot had stood before, felt the exultation of first explorers." The return journey was along the Platte. On October 10, just four months following their departure from Cyprian Chouteau's, they stopped at the mouth of the Kansas to take some observations and sixteen days later arrived in St. Louis. Frémont proceeded by boat to Washington, reaching that city on October 29. The winter was spent in preparing a complete report of his first expedition and making plans for the second.

Object of the second expedition.—The object of the second expedition was to examine the broad region south of the Columbia River lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. This combined with the first expedition was intended to give a "connected survey of the interior and western half of the continent."

Expedition and attempts to delay it.—A party of thirty-nine men was organized for carrying out these further explorations, and in May, 1843, the journey westward was begun. Frémont tells us in his *Memoirs* that his departure was hastened by a letter from Mrs. Frémont urging him "to set out upon the journey forthwith and make Bent's Fort" the temporary halting place. She had been directed to open his mail and to use her own discretion in regard to forwarding any of it. There came an official order from Colonel Abert,

[9] *Ibid.*, 151. Of course he had not. Frémont's Peak is less than fourteen thousand feet in height.

the head of Frémont's corps in Washington, ordering him to return and explain why he had taken a howitzer with him in addition to ordinary arms, particularly since his was a scientific and not a military expedition. Mrs. Frémont felt that the order was based on a flimsy pretext and that obedience to it would break up the expedition. She did not hesitate, therefore, to suppress it and to send a letter urging her husband to separate himself immediately from all avenues of communication with the settlements. He obeyed, and received explanations upon his return.

Frémont had already determined to vary the route to the Rocky Mountains from that traveled in the previous year. Instead of following up the valley of the Platte River in the vicinity of the forty-second parallel of latitude as formerly, he planned to follow up the "Valley of the Kansas River and to the head of the Arkansas, and to some pass in the mountains, if any could be found, at the source of that river." [10]

Along the Kansas River. — This was the route planned; the route traveled was somewhat different. The south bank of the Kansas River was followed to the point where its main stream is formed by the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers. Crossing the former the party passed through the country between the Republican and Solomon rivers. On the afternoon of June 30 they found themselves overlooking a broad and misty valley. At about ten miles distant and one thousand feet below them the south fork of the Platte was rolling magnificently along, swollen with the waters of the melting snows. It was in strong and refreshing contrast to the parched country from which they had just issued, and "when at night the broad expanse of water grew indistinct, it almost seemed that we had pitched our tents on the shore of the sea."

[10] *Ibid.*, 170.

Explorations in Colorado.—On July 4 the expedition came to St. Vrain's Fort, a Hudson Bay Company post north of the present city of Denver. Thence they journeyed up the Platte a short distance and turned east and south, descending part way, the *Fontaine-qui-bouit* or Boiling Spring River to its mouth. They were about seventy miles above Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. As a result of these explorations in the vicinity of Colorado Springs one of the two principal branches of the upper Arkansas was surveyed to its head, and the survey of the South Fork of the Platte was entirely completed. Frémont then led his men once more to St. Vrain's Fort where he found Fitzpatrick with a part of the expedition that had been left in his charge. The company had been divided while ascending the Republican River, and Frémont had led his men more rapidly across the plains while Fitzpatrick had brought the wagons and supplies more leisurely to St. Vrain's Fort, within the vicinity of the present city of Boulder, Colorado.

In vicinity of Great Salt Lake.—Before resuming explorations the party was again divided. Fitzpatrick with one division was directed to cross the plains to the mouth of the Laramie River and follow the regular emigrant route to Fort Hall, there to await the arrival of Frémont with the other division. Meanwhile Frémont with his smaller group of thirteen men ascended the Cache-a-la-Poudre River. It was July 26 when the two divisions resumed the march. Frémont's course was west to the Green River and up that stream to the vicinity of the forty-second parallel where he crossed to Bear River. This part of the journey was over a well-marked road on which they passed parties of emigrants. Some explorations were made of the Great Salt Lake and of the country north of it, and frequent observations were taken to determine longitude and latitude. About the middle of September Frémont came

upon Fitzpatrick and the two parties were united in the vicinity of the appointed rendezvous. It was a fortunate meeting for Frémont because he had been short of provisions for several days.

At Fort Vancouver.—The expedition made its way laboriously through a long ravine which led to a pass in the dividing ridge between the waters of Bear and Snake rivers, and on September 18 came out on the plains of the Columbia "in sight of the famous 'Three Buttes,' a well-known landmark in the country." The snow had begun to fall by the twentieth, and Frémont determined to reduce the size of his party by sending some of the men back to the settlements. Having procured oxen at Fort Hall the expedition made its way down the Snake and Columbia to the Dalles. Camp was established and with a few companions he went by water to Fort Vancouver. Kit Carson remained at the Dalles with the main division refitting and making pack saddles in preparation for the return trip. When Frémont reached the rapids he began to see camps of emigrants along the shore and at the lower end of the rapids "many tents of emigrants" were pitched. At Fort Vancouver the intrepid leader found a ready welcome from Dr. McLoughlin who was in command, and was immediately supplied with provisions necessary to support the Americans on their return.

At Sutter's Fort.—It was November 25, 1843, when the company began the return journey. They traveled south by way of Klamath Lake, Pyramid Lake, and Carson River, and crossed the Sierras north of Tahoe. The last stages of this remarkable trip were made in the midst of intense suffering from cold and hunger, and indefatigable patience and perseverance on the part of both men and beasts. The snow was too soft to support the animals and yet with sufficient crust on the surface to cut their legs when they struggled to extricate them-

selves after sinking into it. To get them over the mountains appeared impossible. Fitzpatrick asked Frémont what should be done. He was instructed to make "mauls and shovels, turn in all the strength of his party to open and beat a road through the snow, strengthening it with branches and boughs of pines." Frémont himself joined in the work and the road was completed. On March 8, 1844, the party reached Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River.

With an ample stock of provisions and an increased supply of animals the company left the fort on March 24, explored the San Joaquin valley and crossed the mountains through a gap. When as recorded in his *Memoirs,* he came to the crest of the mountains which were to separate him from the San Joaquin valley, Frémont drew certain conclusions from the explorations and observations of the preceding few months.

Frémont's estimate of what had been accomplished. —"We here left the waters of the Bay of San Francisco, and though forced upon them contrary to my intentions, I cannot regret the necessity which occasioned the deviation. It made me well acquainted with the great range of the Sierra Nevada of the Alta California, and showed that this broad and elevated snowy ridge was a continuation of the Cascade Range of Oregon, between which and the ocean there is still another and a lower range, parallel to the former and to the coast, and which may be called the Coast Range. It also made me well acquainted with the basin of the San Francisco Bay, and with the two fine rivers and their valleys (the Sacramento and San Joaquin) which are tributary to that bay; and cleared up some points in geography on which error had long prevailed.

It had been constantly represented, as I have already stated, that the Bay of San Francisco opened far into the interior, by some river coming down from the base of the

Rocky Mountains, and upon which supposed stream the name of Rio Buenaventura had been bestowed. Our observations of the Sierra Nevada, in the long distance from the head of the Sacramento to the head of the San Joaquin, and of the valley below it, which collects all the waters of the San Francisco Bay, show that this neither is nor can be the case. No river from the interior does, or can, cross the Sierra Nevada—itself more lofty than the Rocky Mountains; and as to the Buenaventura, the mouth of which seen on the coast gave the idea and the name of the reputed great river, it is, in fact, a small stream of no consequence, not only below the Sierra Nevada, but actually below the Coast Range—taking its rise within half a degree of the ocean, running parallel to it for about two degrees, and then falling into the Pacific near Monterey. There is no opening from the Bay of San Francisco into the interior of the continent. The two rivers which flow into it are comparatively short, and not perpendicular to the coast, but lateral to it, and having their heads toward Oregon and Southern California. They open lines of communication north and south, and not eastwardly; and thus this want of interior communication from the San Francisco Bay, now fully ascertained, gives great additional value to the Columbia, which stands alone as the only great river on the Pacific slope of our continent which leads from the ocean to the Rocky Mountains, and opens a line of communication from the sea to the Valley of the Mississippi.[11]

Homeward bound.—Frémont had continued south through the mountains to the Mohave Desert, the western border of which he apparently followed until within about a day's ride of Los Angeles. The route then turned east and the party soon came upon the trail used annually by the Santa Fé caravans. This they followed for four hundred and forty miles stopping at night on the established camping places along the route. In Utah where the trail passes through the Wasatch Mountains and turns off toward Santa Fé, the company

[11] *Ibid.*, 363, 364.

left it. They kept a northerly course and crossed the Sevier River to Utah Lake, arriving at the latter place toward the end of May, 1844. Thence the route was east across the mountains to the Platte. Further explorations were made in Colorado which brought the company to the Arkansas River, down which they traveled to Bent's Fort, arriving there June 30. A few members of the company remained at the fort, and on July 5 the others resumed the journey. The Arkansas River was followed a short distance and then the party turned north of east across the prairies. The last of July they were in camp again at the "little town of Kansas on the banks of the Missouri River," and on August 6 the expedition disbanded in St. Louis. It had occupied a period of fourteen months and had fully accomplished its object as outlined at the beginning.

Third expedition.—The third expedition left the frontier in the summer of 1845 and proceeded directly over the plains to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, arriving August 2. A branch expedition was organized and sent out to explore the Canadian River from its source to its mouth, and the main company continued westward to Walker's Lake. The party had divided before crossing the desert and had agreed to meet at this lake in the southwestern part of the present state of Nevada. Frémont decided again to make two divisions. The main body under Kern with Walker as a guide was to move south around the mountains into California, and Frémont with a few followers crossed the Sierras at Truckee, arriving at Sutter's Fort on December 10, 1845. Having procured supplies Frémont moved south up the San Joaquin valley to meet the main division at the appointed rendezvous—"a little lake in the valley of a river called the Lake Fork of the Tulare Lake." Walker understood this to mean the Kern River Forks and Frémont those of King's River. As a result the two parties were separated until the middle of Febru-

ary, 1846, when they met about twelve miles south of San Jose. The united expedition started for the coast by way of Los Gatos and the Santa Cruz Mountains, but while camping in the Salinas valley at Hartnell's *rancho* Frémont received an order from Prefect Castro ordering him to retire beyond the boundaries of the department. Instead of complying with the order Frémont withdrew to Gavilan Peak, fortified himself and raised the American flag. It was one of those rash acts which occasionally flare up in the life of this heroic explorer and adventurer. After having been threatened by two hundred Mexican troops under the command of Castro and warned by Larkin, the American consul, Frémont withdrew to Sutter's Fort and then to the northern boundary of California.

Despatches from Washington—On May 8 while on the northern end of Klamath Lake, Frémont was overtaken by messengers who informed him that an officer of the United States government was following him with communications from Washington. Turning south he hastened forward with ten of his best men and met Lieutenant Gillespie of the marine corps from whom he obtained several despatches. In addition to these, Frémont says in his *Memoirs,* Gillespie brought a verbal message from the Secretary of State acquainting him with the change in his mission as a result of the strained relations with Mexico. He was to learn the attitude of the California people, "to conciliate their feelings in favor of the United States; and to find out, with a view to counteracting, the designs of the British Government upon that Country." He was no longer an explorer but "an officer of the American Army with further authoritative knowledge that the Government intended to take California." Until late into the night he sat by the camp fire thinking over the new situation. From what he actually read in the written communications, from what he considered had been

implied, and from his conversation with Gillespie, his conclusions were drawn. "In substance, their effect was: The time has come. England must not get a foothold. We must be first. Act; discreetly, but positively."

Change in character of third expedition.—During the night Frémont lost three of his men from an Indian attack and delayed his movements until satisfactory punishment had been inflicted upon his assailants. He then continued south through northern California, finally establishing a camp at the junction of the Bear and Feather rivers. While here he became involved in the incidents which led to the establishment of the Bear Flag republic. Truly he was no longer an explorer as far as the third expedition was concerned, and his experiences of the next few months may be omitted here. The student of Frémont's expeditions experiences disappointment upon coming in contact with the military and political life of this intrepid explorer of the West's vast spaces.

Fourth expedition.—Frémont's fourth expedition was not an official one. At his own expense he collected a company of thirty-three men and in October, 1848, crossed the plains to seek a practicable route to the Pacific through the valley of the Rio Grande. The incredible hardships experienced from cold and hunger while crossing the mountains deprived him of all his animals and a third of his men. Finding his way to Santa Fé he recruited a fresh party and pushed through to the Sacramento valley in California. Here he built a home "and for a long term of years the 'Pathfinder' was one of the most active and distinguished residents of the Pacific Coast." [12]

Later explorations.—During the years 1849 to 1850 Captain Howard Stanbury of the corps of topographi-

[12] Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Explorations*, 242.

cal engineers led an exploring expedition across the plains by way of the Platte River to the basin of the Great Salt Lake. His report[13] is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the country and is a source of information on the early settlement of the Mormons in that section. He returned through Bridger Pass, a depression lying between the Park Mountains and the South Pass.

Another explorer of this period was Captain Randolph B. Marcy. Four different expeditions were made by him between the years 1849 and 1852. In the first and most important of these he claims to have opened a wagon road from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to New Mexico. The route followed pretty close to the southern bank of the Canadian River, probably connecting with a well-traveled route through the opening in the mountains to Santa Fé. The return was south along the Rio Grande to Donna Anna, about a half a degree north of El Paso, thence east, crossing the Pecos River near the thirty-second parallel. From here the route ran north of east in almost a straight line to Preston on the Red River and then to Fort Smith. These routes were used by California immigrants in 1849 to 1850. Nearly if not all of Marcy's later explorations were made within the limits of the present states of Oklahoma and Texas.[14]

These constituted the most important explorations for the period under consideration and resulted in the

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[13] Stanbury, Howard, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, etc.*, Philadelphia, 1855.

[14] Marcy, Randolph B., *The Prairie Traveler;* and from a "Map of the Country between the Frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico Embracing the Section Explored in 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1852 by Capt. R. B. Marcy, 5th U. S. Infy. under Orders from the War Department, also a Continuation of the Emigrant Road from Fort Smith and Fulton Down the Valley of the Gila," Aackerman, N. Y.

In connection with the routes given by Marcy see Peters, Mary Eleanor, "Texas Trails" in The Mississippi Valley Historical Association *Proceedings, 1913-1914*, 55, 56.

accumulation of considerable general scientific knowledge of the country west of the Mississippi.

Bibliographical Notes

There is no satisfactory work on the material of this chapter. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Explorations,* New York, 1914, contains a fairly good general account of some of the explorations treated. References for the various expeditions are given in the footnotes. House Doc. No. 41, 30 Cong., 1st Sess., contains reports made by W. H. Emory, J. J. Abert, P. St. George Cooke and A. R. Johnston.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS OF IOWA AND MINNESOTA[1]

Gradual partition of eastern part of Louisiana purchase.—The United States government began dividing the territory of Louisiana into political units on March 26, 1804, when that part of the cession south of the thirty-third parallel was set off as Orleans Territory. At the same time all north of that parallel was formed into the District of Louisiana, and for administrative purposes was attached to Indiana Territory. On March 3, 1805, the District of Louisiana was organized as the Territory of Louisiana. In April, 1812, the Territory of Orleans was admitted into the Union as the state of Louisiana, and a little later in the same year the Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri. This organization remained undisturbed for a period of over six years. Then the people living in part of Missouri Territory applied for admission into the Union as a state. While Congress still discussed the application the Territory of Missouri was reduced by the organization of Arkansas Territory in 1819. In 1821 Missouri was admitted as a state, territorial organization lapsed, and that portion of the territory not included within the newly formed state became public domain without governmental organization of any sort. In 1834 the region north of Missouri and east of the Missouri River was annexed to Michigan Territory. Two years later the Territory of Wisconsin was organized including the region east of the Missouri

[1] The material for this chapter is taken largely from two articles written by the author for the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in January and July, 1919.

just noted. In 1838 and in 1849 respectively were formed the Territories of Iowa and Minnesota.

Such in brief were the legislative steps from which emerged the various political units along the eastern border of the Louisiana Territory. The enactments which produced these changes in territorial organization were due to the westward moving population along the Mississippi. It is the purpose here to give a brief account of that movement into what became the states of Iowa and Minnesota.

First white settlement in Iowa; Dubuque's grant. —The best known among the early French residents of the Territory of Iowa and perhaps the first white man to settle within the present boundaries of the state was the French-Canadian, Julien Dubuque. He won favor with the chief of the Fox Indians, and in September, 1788, received from this friendly leader a claim to about one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land extending along the western bank of the Mississippi and including the site where the present city of Dubuque is located. This is said to have been the "first conveyance of Iowa soil to the whites, by the Indians."[2] Dubuque's title was later confirmed by the Governor of Louisiana Territory, Carondelet. In 1805 he and August Chouteau, to whom he had given some of the land for the purpose of canceling a debt, filed a claim with the United States for a title. The land for which this petition was made extended along the west bank of the Mississippi for a distance of twenty-one miles and was nine miles wide. The claim remained unsettled for nearly half a century. The courts finally decided, long after Dubuque and Chouteau were in their graves, that the original grant made by the Indians in 1788 and the subsequent confirmation of that grant

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[2] Negus, "The Early History of Iowa" in *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), V. 877. See also Gue, *History of Iowa*, I. Chapter X.

made by the Spanish Governor Carondelet in 1796 were both in the nature of permits or leases to mine lead on the lands described.

Dubuque had already examined the country included in the cession and had concluded that lead mining could be profitably conducted. The actual work in the mines was done by Indian women and by old men of the Fox tribe whom Dubuque employed for the purpose, but he brought ten Canadians from Prairie du Chien to assist him in superintending and directing operations.

Early agriculture.—But Dubuque did not confine himself to mining. Farms were cleared and fenced, houses were erected and a mill opened. A smelting furnace was constructed on a point now known as Dubuque Bluff. He opened a store and exchanged goods with the Indians for furs. Twice each year his boats went to St. Louis loaded with ore, furs, and hides, and returned with goods, supplies, and money. These semiannual trips became important events at St. Louis, and he was recognized as one of the largest traders in the upper Mississippi valley. For twenty-two years, until his death in 1810, Dubuque and his Canadian countrymen lived among the Indians, worked the mines and carried on trade, and his headquarters became widely known as the "Mines of Spain."

Other settlements in eighteenth century.—Two other settlements had been made within the present boundaries of the state during the period in which Dubuque was operating in the vicinity of the place which still bears his name. One of these was within the present limits of Clayton County, and was known as the Giard Tract. Basil Giard, a French-American, had received more than five thousand acres of land here in 1795 from the lieutenant-governor of Louisiana. The grant was later confirmed by the United States after that country acquired Louisiana, and the patent issued to Giard was said to have been the first legal title

[8] For a brief summary of lead mining in this region see Thwaites, *Early Lead-Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin* in the American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1893, 191-196.

The grant was later confirmed by the United States after that country acquired Louisiana, and the patent issued to Giard was said to have been the first legal title

to land obtained by a white man within the boundaries of the state of Iowa. Another settlement was made during this early period by Louis Honore Tesson, a French-Canadian, in 1799. Having received permission from the lieutenant-governor of Louisiana, he built a trading post in Lee County where the town of Montrose now stands. Here he planted an orchard and raised corn, potatoes, and other products for several years. His heirs received a confirmation of the grant from the United States in 1839.

Lead mining and squatter settlements.—After Dubuque's death the Indians expelled the whites and took possession of the mines, evidently working them at intervals during the next twenty years. In the latter part of the third decade of the nineteenth century the lead mines in northern Illinois and in southwestern Wisconsin attracted settlers by the thousands.[8] Among these enthusiasts was a New Englander by the name of James L. Langworthy. Having explored the old "Mines of Spain" he brought a company of operators to the west bank of the Mississippi in 1830, and again the white men began to smelt lead ore in the land once claimed by Dubuque. The new mining camp soon attracted settlers from the east bank of the Mississippi. The settlement of these squatters west of the river was in violation of the treaty compacts between the United States and the Indian tribes, and the government was soon requested to remove the intruders. Accordingly troops were sent over in 1831, the settlers were driven back to the east bank of the river, and a detachment was left at the mines to protect the Indians against further intrusion.

Settlements in the Black Hawk purchase.—In 1832 the Black Hawk purchase was concluded. By this the

[8] For a brief summary of lead mining in this region see Thwaites, *Early Lead-Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin* in the American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1893, 191-196.

United States secured from the Indians the cession of a strip of territory about fifty miles wide extending along the western bank of the Mississippi from the northern boundary of Missouri to the vicinity of a parallel running through Prairie du Chien. The acquisition of this territory marks the real beginning of white settlements in Iowa. Not until several years later, however, when land sales were held, were the occupants able to procure actual title to the soil, but the mere absence of a title was not enough to check the advance of the frontiersmen. They came in large numbers, selecting the most advantageous sites along the rivers which flowed into the Mississippi. Burlington, Sandusky, and Fort Madison were occupied by white settlers during 1833. Into the Indian village of "Puck-e-she-tuk" whites had come as early as 1830. A school had been established there by 1833, possibly three years earlier. In 1835 the name was changed to Keokuk.[4] The strip included in the purchase had been divided into two counties. The territory north of the Iowa River was organized as Dubuque County, while the part of the purchase south of that stream was known as Des Moines County.

A furrow as a guide.—By the spring of 1836 the frontier had been extended to Round Prairie in Jefferson County. During that same year pioneers were exploring the valley of the Iowa River, selecting claims and building cabins. During the following year they brought their families and induced others to migrate with them from Indiana into this remote western country. In 1839 Iowa City was laid out and became the capital of the newly created territory. To guide immigrants who were moving west and to encourage

[4] There is reason to believe that trading posts or settlements had been established at Sandusky, Burlington, and Fort Madison by 1820. *See* Campbell's "Recollections of the Early Settlement of Lee County" in *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), V. 883, 884.

them to move into the territorial capital, one Lyman Dillion was employed to plow a furrow between Iowa City and Dubuque, a distance of a hundred miles.[5] By the beginning of 1840 twenty families had settled at the former place.

The population of Iowa, in 1836, was estimated at 10,531 and the number had increased to 22,859 by 1838. By 1840, according to the census of that year, there were more than 43,000 people living in the territory.[6] This means that from 1836 to 1840 the population practically doubled every two years—in fact it more than doubled in the first two. A glance at the census map showing the population of the United States in 1840 indicates that the southern part of the Black Hawk purchase had been pretty completely occupied, and that the frontier line of settlement approached the Mississippi as it extended northward from Missouri's northern boundary, finally touching that river in the vicinity of the forty-third parallel.

Iowa well advertised.—This rapid growth was due in part doubtless to the advertising which Iowa received in the public press. In March, 1839, a correspondent in the *Buffalo Journal* had declared:

> Taking into consideration the soil, the timber, the water, and the climate, Iowa territory may be considered the best part of the Mississippi valley. The Indians so consider it, as appears from the name which they gave it. For it is said that the Sioux (Sac) and Fox Indians, on beholding the exceeding beauties of this region, held up their hands, and exclaimed in an ecstasy of delight and amazement,

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[5] *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), VI. 107.

[6] Gue, *History of Iowa*, I. 185; Niles' *Register*, LIX. 40. The population by counties is given as follows: Clayton, 1945; Delaware, 171; Dubuque, 3056; Jackson, 1432; Jones, 475; Clinton, 800; Linn, 1385; Scott, 2193; Muscatine, 1042; Cedar, 1225; Johnson, 1504; Louisa, 1925; Washington, 1572; Henry, 3782; Jefferson, 2780; Van Buren, 6030; Lee, 6096; Des Moines, 5646; attached to Van Buren, 136. For the population of Iowa in 1836 *see* Albach's *Annals of the West* (Second Edition), 802.

"I-O-W-A," which in the Fox language means, "this is the land." [7]

On June 29, 1839, it was reported in *Niles' Register* that one of the citizens of Cincinnati had just returned from a tour of Iowa and had stated that the prospects for an exceptional harvest were the best he had ever seen anywhere.

> He spoke to us particularly of one field of wheat, which he saw on the prairies, consisting of six hundred and forty acres, which was a perfect level, so that it could be taken into one view, and was handsomely fenced; the stalks were then two feet and a half high, and the growth most luxuriant. We would go a day's ride to see such a field of wheat as that.[8]

During the fall of this same year the public land sales in Iowa City alone were at the rate of about five thousand dollars a day. Those lots fronting the public square where the State House was to be erected brought from four to six hundred dollars each. In Burlington the proceeds of the first four days of the sale in 1840 amounted to nearly seventy-six thousand dollars. The *Chillicothe (Ohio) Gazette*, reported in May, 1840, that between one and two hundred people were leaving that city to settle "near the center of what will probably be the capital of Iowa, at the head of navigation on the Des Moines river." The *Burlington Gazette* in the fall of 1840 stated that "the health of Iowa territory is, thus far this season, universally good. The crops of wheat, rye and oats have been as abundant as usual, and the crop of corn will be very large."

Indian land cessions.—These comments with scores of others like them played no small part in directing the attention of homeseekers to Iowa. As the number of immigrants increased in the Black Hawk purchase

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[7] Quoted in Niles' *Register*, LVI. 48.
[8] *Ibid.*, LVI. 277.

and as the pressure of white settlers against the Indian territory along the western border of this strip became greater, it proved necessary to draw up additional treaties with the Indians in order to open more territory to the covetous frontiersmen. In 1837 and again in 1842 treaties were concluded with the Sac and Fox Indians by which the entire central and south-central parts of Iowa were thrown open to white settlers, except a strip about sixty-five or seventy miles wide along the western border of the territory.[9] By the terms of the latter treaty the Indians were given until the first of May, 1843, to yield possession of the eastern half of the cession, and three years in which to surrender the western half.

The opening of 1843.—This condition did not prevent the Americans from exploring the country during the interval, but army officers patroled the territory to check any attempt which the former might make to run lines or to mark off claims. The new acquisition was well known to the frontiersmen therefore when on April 30, 1843, men who had gathered along the border of the unoccupied Indian country waited and listened for the discharge of fire arms which would announce the hour of midnight and the time that formally opened the land to settlers. Between midnight of April 30 and sundown of May 1, it is said that at least a thousand settlers staked their claims within the boundaries of Wapello County alone. Ottumwa on the Des Moines was surveyed at once, and about four hundred lots were laid out. Eddyville, Agency City, and Dahlonega also sprang up over night as it were. Not only was the land along the rivers taken up by these immigrants, but they began to occupy the intervening spaces between the streams. Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and

[9] Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" in the *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part II, 766, 767, 778, 779.

Missouri furnished most of the population, but there were settlers who came from Wisconsin, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

Protection against Indian depredations.—In order to protect the occupants from Indian depredations and to prevent the encroachment of the whites on Indian lands, Fort Des Moines was built in 1843 near the frontier. The rapid influx of settlers produced increasing dissatisfaction among the red men along the border as a result of which, six years later, Fort Clark was erected farther west on the Des Moines River. The name was later changed to Fort Dodge, and in 1853 the troops were moved from Fort Dodge still farther north to Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River. During the following year the town of Fort Dodge was laid out and became the distributing center for northwestern Iowa.

Call of constitutional convention.—As the population increased the desire for a change in the existing government became more evident. The territorial organization which had been made in 1838 no longer satisfied the ambitions of many citizens. Consequently an act was passed on July 31, 1840, calling for a vote of the people on the question of a constitutional convention. The proposition was defeated in August following. The question was submitted again in 1842 and was again defeated. The objection to the proposal was based apparently on the unnecessary expense which would result from a change in the existing government. A state government would cost more and the total operating expense would fall on the people of Iowa. Under the territorial form the United States government would provide the administrative machinery. But the advocates of statehood were persistent and on February 12, 1844, the legislature passed an act providing for a constitutional convention. In April this action was approved by a majority of the

qualified electors of the territory.[10] The convention met and adopted a constitution which was submitted to Congress by the territorial delegates.

Constitution before Congress.—The congressional Committee on Territories presented a bill proposing the simultaneous admission of both Iowa and Florida. An amendment was suggested immediately which would change the boundaries of Iowa and reduce the area of the proposed state considerably. This provoked heated discussion and brought out some interesting opinions as to the real position which the West should assume in developing and maintaining nationalism. The idea was presented clearly and forcibly by Vinton of Ohio.

The West and Nationalism.—He advocated the admission of Iowa with reduced limits, and he resented the former attitude of Congress which had insisted on organizing western states with such extensive boundaries that that section would be irrevocably deprived of its share in national legislation. This was a mistaken view. The interest of the national government demanded a larger representation from the West than had been possible under former conditions. Indeed, no other section of the country could be trusted so completely with the general interest of the nation. The geographical position and commercial dependence of the West united it with both the East and the South. New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans were western harbors. These conditions would make the West an impartial umpire in any conflict between the East and the South. The people of the Mississippi valley, no matter whence they came, would always be conservative. This would not be because they possessed greater patriotism or superior virtue, but simply be-

[10] James, James A., "National Politics and the Admission of Iowa into the Union" in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1897, 163-173.

cause their position would force them into this attitude. To them dissension would spell ruin. They could be depended upon, therefore, to oppose all elements of secession. Massachusetts and South Carolina might possibly "find a dividing line that would be mutually satisfactory to them, but, sir, they can find no such line to which the Western country can assent. . . . Lay down the map of the country before you; look, sir, at the wonderful network uniting the West with the North and the South and then let any Northern or Southern man tell me where he would begin the work of its destruction." [11]

These arguments may have had little weight in influencing the vote of members of Congress, but they expressed an appreciation of western nationalism which has generally characterized that section. Had the principle been adopted of building states from smaller areas, the influence of the West on national legislation would have been much stronger than it has been.

Constitution defeated.—In this case Congress accepted the amendment and the constitution of Iowa, with the boundaries which it had proposed restricted by Congress, was sent back to the people of that territory. A heated discussion among the political leaders of Iowa immediately began. The constitution was attacked for other reasons than the amended boundaries which Congress had written into it. The opposition came largely from the Whigs who were opposed to statehood. They were in the minority and held none of the offices, nor could they expect to secure political recognition under a state government. Besides the constitution placed heavy restrictions on corporations and banks and provided for the election of many officials instead of their appointment. The Democratic

[11] Quoted *ibid.*, 166, 167.

officeholders and the press favored the acceptance of the constitution, even with the restricted boundaries, but there were some Democrats who joined the opposing Whigs. The split within the Democratic party was due to the Congressional amendment. They wanted the state of Iowa with the boundaries which had been drawn in the constitution they submitted to Congress and not Iowa with the restricted limits provided by Congress. In the election held in April, 1845, the constitution was defeated. The Democratic leaders would not admit defeat. A bill providing for the resubmission of the constitution in its original form passed the legislature, but apparently the voters were not satisfied. In the August election the original draft was defeated.

Admission of Iowa.—State advocates refused to surrender, and the territorial governor in a message to the assembly pledged his hearty coöperation in any move that would help bring Iowa into the Union. On January 17, 1846, an act was passed which provided for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. Delegates were elected and met on May 4. A new constitution was drafted after a short session. With few exceptions it was a copy of the original constitution. The northern boundary was fixed at 43 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, but the western boundary was maintained along the Missouri as provided in the constitution of 1844. Another clause in the constitution forbade the establishment of banks and roused strenuous opposition among the Whigs in Congress, but it was finally accepted by that body. On December 28, 1846, Iowa Territory was declared to be one of the states of the Union.

Mormon settlements. — Meanwhile settlers continued to come in increasing numbers. In the spring of 1846 the Mormons were compelled to leave Nauvoo.

During their westward migration through southern Iowa many of them stopped within that territory and erected homes. Settlements were made at Garden Grove in the northeastern part of Decatur County, near Osceola in Clark County, in the eastern part of Union County, in the southwestern part of Cass County, and in the southern part of Mills County. But the principal Mormon settlement was near Council Bluffs. These thrifty people thus made generous contributions to the settlement of the country in southwestern Iowa. Other settlers had moved into this section by 1847, and with the great overland immigration through southern Iowa to California in 1849 and in 1850, Kanesville (Council Bluffs) became a typical frontier town like Weston and Independence in Missouri.

The Dutch immigrants.—Iowa never attracted foreigners in the same proportions as did Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, but in 1847 there came to Marion County a company of earnest and thrifty Hollanders who made no small contribution to the intelligence and industry of the state. About a thousand of them had left Holland under the direction of Henry Peter Scholte. From New York they had gone west to St. Louis and here Scholte left them while he set out accompanied by a chosen committee to select a home for his colony in Iowa. Land was offered them in Lee County but the title appeared doubtful and Scholte decided to seek advice from the agent of the United States land office at Fairfield in Jefferson County. After carefully investigating the selections to which his attention had been directed Scholte persuaded his companions to agree to buy from pioneers who had not completed payments on their claims and who did not therefore have clear titles.

A location selected.—While Scholte busily examined the maps of the land office in Fairfield other members of the committee were investigating the coun-

try in that vicinity. Finally upon the recommendation of a Baptist missionary whom they met by chance the committee decided to investigate lands on the frontier about seventy miles west of Fairfield. On July 29, 1847, the missionary acting as guide conducted the company into the section located in the northeastern part of what is now Marion County. So well pleased were they with the country and with the terms which they were able to make that deals were closed immediately with several pioneers living in the vicinity of the present town of Pella and south along the Des Moines River. Having purchased the land and completed other arrangements for accommodating the company the committee returned to St. Louis where their friends were awaiting their report.

Arrival of the immigrants.—When the five committeemen made a report to their comrades in that city nearly all of them were eager to move northward immediately. Some of the members of the company, however, had secured profitable employment in St. Louis and it was decided to have them continue at their work temporarily while the others went ahead and prepared homes. About five or six hundred of the party, having provided themselves with an adequate supply of food and clothing, took passage on a Mississippi River steamer and arrived at Keokuk within two days. Horses, wagons, and other things essential for an overland journey were purchased, and the company proceeded up the Des Moines valley, arriving at their destination in August, 1847. Scholte had made a contract with some Americans for the construction of fifty log cabins and for the delivery of some lumber, all of which was to have been attended to before the company's arrival, but these things had not been done. The Hollanders were keenly disappointed, for they had hoped to find at least the materials for their homes.

Imagine a number of bakers, tailors and shoemakers, painters, office clerks, business managers, and such like [exclaims their historian], who had all their lives been used to the city life of Europe—some of whom hardly knew what a cow or pig looked like, nor had the slightest knowledge of farm implements; who had left neat and comfortable homes and had never known or seen others—imagine such people suddenly transplanted to an open prairie, with here and there some timber, seeing nothing but grass, trees and sky, and finding no protection against the elements! . . . It takes but a few lines to tell it, but to live it is something wholly different.[12]

Building a town.—Despite such a discouraging beginning the company proceeded at once to lay out a town which they called Pella, and to construct temporary dwellings to shelter them while they selected their lands, prepared to till the soil, and to build more substantial homes. The streets of Pella—"Strooijen Stad" or Straw Town as it was called—were given such names as Extension, Addition, Washington, Franklin, Columbus, Liberty, Union, and Independence; while the avenues were called Perseverance, Inquiring, Reformation, Gratitude, Patience, Experience, Confidence, Expectation, and Accomplishment. In a few years these streets and avenues were lined with rows of simple wooden houses interspersed with a few dwellings of red brick, and the eighteen thousand acres of fertile land which Scholte had selected were converted into profitable farms on which the owners had constructed comfortable homes. Wild fruits grew in abundance in the woods, and on their farms the Hollanders raised good crops of Indian corn, flax, wheat, buckwheat, and vegetables. From their cows which were provided with shelter during the long winter, contrary to the custom of the American frontiersmen, the Dutch obtained generous quantities of rich milk and made more

[12] Quoted in Van der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa*, 68.

than enough butter and cheese to supply their own needs. In fact "Iowa cheese" which was shipped by these thrifty farmers became famous in the St. Louis market.

Irish and Germans.—Irish and German immigrants formed settlements south of the Hollanders, the former occupying fertile lands in the western part of Monroe County and the latter selecting what was considered a barren country on Coal Creek, sometimes called the Dutch Ridge. The Irish on account of their poverty were compelled to make their meager resources yield the largest possible returns, and by selecting fertile lands were soon living in comfort. The Germans, although in possession of sufficient funds to pay for the best in the country, selected the ridge lands which were covered with white oaks and dense undergrowth where they too established a prosperous community and lived a comparatively isolated political life.

Settled area of Iowa in 1850.—The United States census reports show that nearly one hundred and fifty thousand people moved into Iowa during the decade ending in 1850. These immigrants, as shown by the maps accompanying the reports, had occupied the eastern and southern parts of the state, with the exception of a very small area in the extreme northeastern corner and a circle around the present town of Quincy near the center of Adams County in the southwest. The entire northern and northwestern parts of the state were still unoccupied. The decade beginning in 1850 was to witness a migrating tide which was to sweep over the waste places of the state and to inundate the valleys and hills with more than sufficient human energy to build up a commonwealth of the first rank.

Reasons for rapid growth after 1850.—There were several things which encouraged migration during this period. Railroad lines had been completed to the Mississippi and so the eastern border of Iowa was easily reached. It was during this decade also that the rail-

roads began advertising western lands. Land speculators and land companies offered inducements which appeared most alluring to the land-hungry men of the more densely populated areas farther east. Guides for emigrants were published in great quantities, and articles "containing glowing accounts of the beauty, advantages, and fertility of the Iowa country appeared in hundreds of Eastern newspapers until the name 'Iowa' became a household word; and those who were so fortunate as already to own a home in that far-famed State wrote enthusiastic letters to their relatives and former neighbors urging them to come and share in their prosperity."[13]

Great number of immigrants.—These inducements combined with a fatal epidemic of cholera in the middle states and a severe drought throughout the Ohio valley during the summer of 1854 brought homeseekers to Iowa by the thousands, particularly during the years 1854 to 1856.

The immigration into Iowa the present season is astonishing and unprecedented. For miles and miles, day after day, the prairies of Illinois are lined with cattle and wagons, pushing on toward this prosperous State. At a point beyond Peoria, during a single month, seventeen hundred and forty-three wagons had passed, and all for Iowa. Allowing five persons to a wagon, which is a fair average, would give 8,715 souls to the population.

An Iowa City editor, commenting on this, added:

This being but the immigration of the month, and upon one route only out of many, it would not be an unreasonable assertion to say that 50,000 men, women, and children will have come into this State by the first of December, reckoning from the first of September.[14]

[13] Clark, "The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley During the Fifties" in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 1913-1914, 215.

[14] *Ibid.*, 216.

Ferries unable to handle crowds.—During the fall and early winter of 1854 there was an almost uninterrupted procession of immigrants crossing the ferries at Prairie du Chien, Dubuque, Burlington, Davenport, and Keokuk. Sometimes they had to wait in camp two or three days for their turn to cross. It was estimated that twenty thousand people crossed the ferry at Burlington in thirty days, and at the end of that period the number increased to six or seven hundred a day. About one wagon in a hundred was marked Nebraska, the others were to halt in Iowa. And even at Keokuk such large numbers of settlers came in by boat that a journalist was led to say that "by the side of this exodus, that of the Israelites becomes an insignificant item, and the greater migrations of later times are scarcely to be mentioned." It was said that one thousand people from Richmond County, Ohio, alone, came to Iowa that fall; while long double-header trains brought into Chicago thousands of homeseekers every week.

A westward moving frontier.—These people came into Iowa by the hundreds of thousands during the years following 1850. The majority passed on through the settled area to the frontier; others moved into the intervening spaces between the older settlements; and a few bought improved lands, thus freeing the original owners who themselves joined the canvas-covered trains that were traveling toward the West. In May, 1855, the first settlement was made in Palo Alto County near the present town of West Bend. The immigrants came in ox wagons from Benton County through the frontier settlements along the trail from Fort Dodge known as the military road. The soldiers had passed over the route when they moved from Fort Dodge to Fort Ridgely, and subsequent supply wagons had left their marks on the prairie grass. About a year later, in the summer of 1856, a settlement of about forty people was made in the vicinity of Spirit Lake near the

northern border of the state. Other settlements were established farther west in Woodbury, in Cherokee, and in Clay Counties before 1857. During the year 1856 a colony of seven Irish families from Kane County, Illinois, made settlements about two miles northwest of the present city of Emmetsburg, and in a short time they were joined by many of their countrymen. Just east along the Des Moines settlers had already located (1855) at Dakota City in Humboldt County, at Algona farther north, and at Bancroft in Kossuth County. Scattered settlements might be found at Smithland and at other places in the valley of the Little Sioux.

Summary of Iowa's growth in population.—This growth will be appreciated more fully from a summary. We have seen that the population in 1836 was estimated at 10,531, and that this number had increased to 22,859 in 1838. The census of 1840 gives the territory a population of 43,112. Ten years later there were 192,214 inhabitants in Iowa. This gives the average annual number of immigrants during the period from 1840 to 1850 at a little less than 15,000. Such rapid growth in the territory's population during these ten years produced an almost constant shifting of the frontier line. In 1840 the frontier followed approximately a line running through Ottumwa and Iowa City, finally touching the Mississippi in the vicinity of the present town of Guttenberg. By 1850 it had moved out toward the center of the state. If a line were drawn from the southwest to the northeast corner there would be tongues of settlement west and north of that line in the Missouri and Des Moines valleys, and there would be unsettled areas east and south of the line in the vicinity of modern Quincy, Marshalltown, and Oelwein. But the settled area west and north of such a line would hardly fill the unsettled parts east and south of it. In 1840 the territory had contained but eighteen counties; the state had forty-nine.

Lumbering in Wisconsin and Minnesota.—The First Americans to follow the fur traders into northwestern Wisconsin and into northeastern Minnesota were the lumbermen. They had begun to establish themselves at advantageous places along the streams of the north at a very early period. Colonel John Shaw had built a sawmill on Black River as early as 1819. In 1822 another was constructed on a branch of the Chippewa River by a man named Hardin Perkins from Kentucky. A treaty concluded with the Menominee Indians in 1836 opened a strip six miles wide and forty miles long to the lumbermen on the upper Wisconsin, and was followed by the construction of a number of mills in that section.[15] Wausau later became a center for the lumbermen of the region. A treaty made with the Chippewa and Sioux Indians in 1838 opened the St. Croix valley to the lumbermen. Mills were erected at St. Croix Falls, at Marine, at Point Douglas, at Lakeland, and at Osceola;[16] and the lumbermen, assisted by the fur traders, discouraged the more permanent settlers. In fact some of the lumbermen even at a later period sent petitions to the government praying that their pursuits be not interfered with until the land should be brought into the market.[17] Like the fur traders, the lumbering interests were opposed to the agricultural settlements.

Mormons in upper Mississippi valley.—One of the most interesting of the early enterprises of this section, because of its connection with a people who were attracting considerable attention along the frontier at this

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[15] Wisconsin Historical *Collections*, II. 132; III. 438. These lands were purchased from the Menominee Indians by the United States and surveyed by the government evidently after they had been occupied by Americans. *Interior Department Lands*, L. B. (manuscript), I. 122.

[16] Folsom, "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley, with Biographic Sketches" in the Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, IX. 291-324.

[17] *Interior Department Lands*, L. B. (manuscript), I. 181.

of the lake region. Later Ely moved across the St. Louis River and became one of the first settlers of Oneota, Minnesota. Here he built a steam mill and docks, and for six years served as postmaster. Some of these early immigrants moved eastward along the north shore of the lake and settled at Beaver Bay which was incorporated in 1857.

Extension of lumbering industry.—The demand for pine lumber created by the great influx into the lead region and the surrounding country and by the Indian treaties ratified in 1838 which opened to settlement the section between the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers, brought eager lumbermen from Wisconsin, anxious to establish their industry in the new territory. Operations were begun along the west bank of the St. Croix as already indicated, but as the number of mills increased pioneer lumbermen began to move farther west. Until after 1851 the Indian treaties of 1838 confined the industrial activities of the whites to the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the forty-sixth parallel. The first explorations, therefore, were made along the tributaries on that side of the river. The Rum River valley had been explored before 1848 and found to contain a large amount of excellent timber. A mill erected at the Falls of St. Anthony began operations in 1848, securing its supply principally from this region. In fact it was reported that preparations had been made for cutting and manufacturing from thirty to forty million feet of lumber from the public lands of Minnesota before 1855.

Of the thousands of immigrants who took part in the westward movement of 1848 and 1849 "some learned wisdom," according to one patriotic chronicler, and stopped in Minnesota. The number was sufficiently large to create a great demand for lumber at the Falls of St. Anthony and at St. Paul. The mill at the former place worked day and night in its attempt to supply the

needs of the immediate community, and even then it was found necessary to have lumber shipped from mills at Stillwater in order to provide all that was necessary. Very soon, however, additional mills were constructed farther up the Mississippi and along the banks of its tributaries at Anoka, Centerville, St. Francis, Princeton, Monticello, St. Cloud, and Little Falls. Lumbering towns came into existence only to pass into oblivion when the industry which supported them ceased to operate, but the amount of the lumber cut increased down to the end of the century.[20] Some of the lumbering centers have retained their importance to the present time.

St. Anthony and St. Paul.—As soon as the mill was completed at the falls, the village of St. Anthony became a busy center. From the first it was an ambitious rival of St. Paul, which was located about six or eight miles by stage farther down the river. The former owed its advantage to its favorable location for the establishment of sawmills, the latter to its position at the head of steam navigation on the Mississippi. By 1854 St. Anthony had become "a cheerful, pretty place, clean and well built, containing about 2500 inhabitants." The attractiveness of the scenery around the village, the location of the university there, and the "comfortable and civilized aspect of the town" had marked it as a fashionable summer resort, but along the river bank "sawmills, foundries, shingle machines, lath factories, and other industries testified to the spirit of the community.[21] In St. Paul at the same period were

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[20] Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, IX. 326-362. During the three years including the period from 1848 to 1850 twelve million feet of lumber were cut by mills in this section. From 1851 to 1860 there had been more than three hundred and fifteen million feet cut, and this was increased each decade through the century. During the nine years from 1891 to 1899 more than four billion, four hundred million feet were sawed.

[21] Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West*, 236, 244, 245. A steamer of light draught had been launched above the Falls of St. Anthony and had

"four or five hotels, and at least half a dozen handsome churches, with tall spires pointing heavenward, and sundry meeting-houses, and a population of seven or eight thousand to go with them, and good streets with sidewalks, and lofty brick warehouses, and stores and shops, as well supplied as any in the Union; and 'an academy of the highest grade for young ladies'; and wharves at which upwards of three hundred steamers arrive annually, bringing new settlers to this favored land, and carrying away its produce to the south and east." As in most western communities there was apparent here both industrial and educational vision.

Advertising as a factor.—Advertising was a potent factor in bringing settlers into Minnesota during the early years of its history just as it had been a stimulus to a similar movement into Iowa. On May 24, 1849, Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, directed that all advertisements of land sales in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota should be published in the *Correspondent* of Chillicothe, Ohio, in the *Schnellpost* of New York City, and in the *Telegraph* of Buffalo, New York.[22] Upon request he had notices of land sales placed in the *Minnesota Pioneer,* published at St. Paul. That Ewing personally had a high opinion of the value of the lands under consideration, particularly those in Wisconsin, is evident from his own statement. A little later (August 11, 1852) a proclamation announcing land sales in Minnesota appeared in the *Register,* published in Middlebury, Vermont.

Extension of settlements.—In the meantime farmers had pushed up north of St. Anthony's Falls and had made settlements along the banks of the Mississippi and its important branches. The Rum River country had

navigated the stream—a distance of about eighty miles—to the Sauk Rapids.

[22] *Interior Department Lands,* L. B. (manuscript), I. 23.

been occupied by industrious Germans, and homes were found scattered at intervals along the Mississippi up to the vicinity of Crow Wing. Even free negroes petitioned for a share of the fertile lands in this far-off territory.[28] Permanent settlers had increased in numbers on the banks of the St. Croix River; and in the northwest corner of the territory, on the site of Lord Selkirk's experiment, farmers were raising wheat. But the place to which the early Minnesota booster pointed with greatest pride, the place which was referred to as "the prettiest country lying wild that the world can boast of, got up with greatest care and effort by old dame Nature ten thousand years or more ago, and which she has been improving ever since," was the country along the Minnesota River. The fertile land along this navigable stream and its tributaries was the goal of many an early immigrant. It was doubtless this region which Colonel James M. Goodhue, editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer,* had in mind when he said:

> We will give Illinois May the start, and Minnesota shall come out ahead. Don't care what the crop is—any grain, any root—anything from a castor bean, or an apple or a pear tree, or a pumpkin, to a sweet potato or a tobacco plant. Why, sucker, do you know you have frosts about two weeks earlier in Illinois than we do here? It is a fact! We will show these people *sights* who come up here in May, and go shivering back home, saying that Minnesota is "too cold for crops."

Early towns in Minnesota valley.—By 1854 there had been founded along the banks of this stream the towns of Shakopee, Le Sueur, Traverse des Sioux, Kasota, Mankato, and Henderson, all "thriving cities,"

[28] On November 18, 1856, Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, wrote Isaiah Lawrence, a free negro, that there was nothing in the laws of the United States to prevent him as a free man of African descent from settling upon public lands in Minnesota and acquiring the right of preemption. *Interior Department Lands,* L. B. (manuscript), III. 347.

containing from one to fifty log houses, "but with imaginary public buildings, squares and streets enough for a moderately sized empire."[24] Yet post offices had been established in every one of these towns, and in many others along the banks of the Minnesota, the Mississippi, and the St. Croix rivers. There were at least forty-six in Minnesota Territory in 1854.[25]

Early post offices.—According to Eli Bowen as early as 1851 nineteen or more post offices had been established in Minnesota with fairly well-defined mail routes extending into remote parts of the territory, and arrangements had been made for deliveries at intervals varying from once or twice a week to "according to opportunity."[26] Mail passed from Sauk Rapids to Pembina under the latter scheme for instance, but from Swan River the mail was scheduled to leave for Pembina by way of Long Prairie on the first day of each month. There was another monthly route from Mendota via "Little Rapids, Traverse des Sioux, and Little Rock to Lac qui Parle." Between St. Paul and Fort Gaines by way of St. Anthony's Falls, Sauk Rapids, and the mouth of Swan River, the mails were scheduled once in every two weeks, and there were several weekly deliveries between points along the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers.

Population.—In January, 1849, St. Paul was a village containing about a dozen buildings and about one hundred and fifty inhabitants; by the first of July following, it is described as having one hundred and forty-two houses and eight hundred and forty people. The

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[24] Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West*, 258.

[25] Rode, *The United States Post-Office Directory and Postal Guide.*

[26] Bowen, *The United States Post-Office Guide*, 174, 300. There is another volume: *Table of Post-Offices in the United States on the First Day of January, 1851, Arranged in Alphabetical Order and Exhibiting the States, Territories, and Counties in which they are Situated, with the Names of the Postmasters; also an Appendix Containing a List of the Post-Offices Arranged by States and Counties, to Which is Added a List of Offices Established, Changed. or Discontinued to May 31.*

population is said to have increased from eight hundred and forty during the summer of 1849 to seven or eight thousand in 1854.

When Minnesota was organized as a territory in 1849 it contained an estimated population of between four and five thousand. A year later, according to the United States census of 1850, there were 6,077. This increased to an estimated population of 140,000 in 1854, and 150,000 in 1857. The Federal census of 1860 gives the state a population of 172,023.

Foreigners in Minnesota.—In Minnesota the two thousand and forty-eight foreigners constituted a little more than a third of the territory's population in 1850. Of these the largest number, 1,417, came from Canada, but there were Irish, Germans, and English, and a few representatives from Scotland, France, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and the other nations of the earth. These, with the other foreigners, had settled for the most part in the rural districts rather than in the cities and constituted a valuable part of the citizenry of the commonwealth.

In conclusion it may be said that the population in Iowa and in Minnesota was drawn from varied sources. The people had come from many nations of the world and from various parts of the Union. The census reports of 1850 show that there were people from all the states of the Union except Florida, Mississippi, and Texas. To be sure the representation from the southern states was small compared with that from the northern section, and even in the North some States had much larger representation than others. In Minnesota there were in 1850, 488 people from New York and 655 from New England, 365 of whom came from Maine. These Americans and their foreign neighbors, opening for cultivation the fertile regions on the plains and in the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Croix and their principal tributaries, building their mills in the rich

pineries of the north, erecting their homes and their churches, and making liberal provisions for their educational institutions, were the founders of the present states of Iowa and Minnesota.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

On December 19, 1820, a committee was appointed by Congress "to inquire into the situation of settlements" in the Pacific Northwest and into the "expediency of occupying the Columbia River." This committee made a report through its chairman, John Floyd of Virginia, on the twenty-fifth day of the following January.[1]

Congressional report of January, 1821.—The report made a detailed review of the United States claims to the country and dwelt at length on the value of the fur trade. It told of the energy displayed by the Hudson Bay and Northwest Fur companies in their search for furs in that section. They carried their supplies for Indians and traders across the continent from Montreal to the Rocky Mountains and brought back the peltries over the same long route. They paddled their birch canoes through innumerable rivers, across more than sixty lakes carrying them over one hundred and thirty portages varying in length from a few yards to thirteen miles. The latter company had many establishments within the limits of the United States, "as fixed by the Convention of London of October 20, 1818." In order to have the people of the United States enjoy all the profits from this rich trade, therefore, it would be necessary to place a few troops on the upper waters of the Missouri River and compel the British to confine their activities to their own territory. If the Canadians had

[1] The detailed report, accompanied by a bill to authorize the occupation of the Columbia, and "to regulate intercourse with the Canadian tribes within the United States and territories thereof," may be found in *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2d Sess., 1820-1821, 946-959.

been able to carry on a profitable trade in spite of the numerous obstacles in their way, how much larger would be the profits to the citizens of the United States who could conduct their business along the Missouri and Columbia rivers which were separated by a portage of less than two hundred miles! All that was needed to develop Oregon was a small permanent post at the mouth of the Columbia, provision for which was made in the bill accompanying the report.

Proposal to introduce Chinese settlers. — If the United States were to make an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, the report continued, there could be no doubt but what it would be successful, providing the men sent out were accompanied by their wives and children. "It is believed that population could be easily acquired from China, by which the arts of peace would at once acquire strength and influence, and make visible to the aborigines the manner in which their wants could be supplied." England had planned to introduce Chinese into the country in 1789, "that they might be employed in the mechanic arts." It was true that these people "evince no disposition to emigrate to the territory of adjoining princes," but it is believed that they would willingly, nay gladly, embrace the opportunity of a home in America, where they have no prejudices, no fears, no restraint in opinion, labor or religion."

This report is a document of first importance in the early history of Oregon. It has been declared to bear the same relations to the Pacific Northwest "in its expression and embodiment of the ideas and impulses that were to shape the progress of events" that "Richard Hakluyt's famous *Discourse on Western Planting* bears to the foundation of the English colonies in America." [2] But to the members of Congress it appeared absurd and

[2] Bourne, E. G., "Aspects of Oregon History before 1840" in the Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, VI. 263.

preposterous. Oregon was as remote as Africa, and one member spent some time attempting to show his colleagues that it would require a year or more for a congressman to make the round trip from Washington to that distant land, and that his trip to and from the capital would cost the national government three thousand, seven hundred and twenty dollars in mileage.[8] The report was laid on the table.

In 1824 and in 1826 negotiations were carried on between the United States and Great Britain over the division of the Oregon country, but the best the negotiators could do was to renew the Convention of 1818. Astor's experiment in the fur trade had not encouraged him to renew his interest in the Pacific Northwest, despite the restoration of Astoria to the United States according to the terms of the treaty of Ghent, and it was too early to expect the people as a whole to manifest any enthusiasm over a country which was so difficult of access.

A bill to organize Oregon territory.—This lack of interest on the part of the people generally will cause no surprise. The surprising thing is that there were a few who began to show a decided interest in Oregon by 1828. In various parts of the United States men became enthusiastic over the Pacific Northwest and manifested a willingness to brave the hardships of a march across the plains for the purpose of beginning life anew beyond the mountains. In Massachusetts, in Ohio, and in New Orleans three associations or companies of adventure were formed, and a bill was reported in Congress in their behalf in December, 1828. It provided for the organization of a territorial government over the entire country up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, and for the establishment of a military force, for the erection of a fort, for a port of entry, and for

[8] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 24.

donations of land to settlers. The discussion had not been carried far before a motion was made to modify the bill by striking out everything after the enacting clause and to substitute instead sections which would give the President power to build and garrison forts, to send out an expedition to explore the country, and to extend the jurisdiction of the United States to the citizens of Oregon.[4]

Oregon not worth possessing.—An interesting feature of this bill was the discussion it provoked in Congress. Bates of Missouri could not understand how any one would think seriously of occupying Oregon. The country wasn't worth settling. The entire region "between the Missouri and the Pacific, save a strip of cultural prairie not above two or three hundred miles wide . . . is waste and sterile, no better than the Desert of Sahara, and quite as dangerous to cross." Part of the country was composed of rocky ridges incapable of producing anything, and near the coast "the soil, where there is any, is formed of rotted pine leaves, and even that is swept away by the floods which from time to time cover the land along the river banks. To-day the extremity of drought prevails; to-morrow all except the hills are under water." He did not believe that settlers could be induced to remain there longer than two years; it would be impossible for them to endure the "incessant rain of four months' duration." But even if the settlement were successful it was ridiculous to imagine that the people in that far-off country could long retain any patriotic feeling for the United States. "Does any man imagine that a brotherhood of affection, a community of interest, could bind that distant and solitary member of the family in the far West to those held together by the firmest of political ties in the East? The very name of the place is expressive of its poverty

[4] The bill as finally amended may be found in *The Register of Debates in Congress*, V. 190, 191.

and sterility, for it comes from *oregano,*[5] a word applied by the Spaniards to an herb resembling pennyroyal and growing near the coast."[6]

To Mitchell of Tennessee the idea of settling Oregon was even more absurd. He couldn't understand how any one would desire to "seek the inhospitable regions of Oregon, unless, indeed, he wishes to be a savage." The Rocky Mountains formed our natural boundary on the west, and no man, even though he had "the most prolific mind," could ever look forward to the day when our country with that boundary would be densely populated. "Not even within the reach of fancy itself can the advocates of this bill point out the time when Oregon Territory will have to be organized." If any other nation wanted it, let that nation have it. "It is a territory we ought not to inhabit and one I hope we never shall inhabit," because it is too remote. "No sir, let those restless spirits who cannot be content to cultivate their native soil, let such beings go to Oregon, but let them go at their own risk."[7]

These speeches were delivered before the Lower House of Congress on December 29 and 30, 1828. Twenty years from that time a delegate was sitting in the House of Representatives from the Territory of Oregon. A little over forty years later the first transcontinental railroad was completed connecting the Pacific coast with the Atlantic.

More optimistic views.—There were others more optimistic than Bates and Mitchell. They denied that Oregon was a desert waste, but, on the other hand, pronounced it fertile and healthful, well watered and wooded, and to prove their contentions they quoted from Vancouver, Lewis and Clark, Franchére and Pre-

[5] For a discussion of the name Oregon, see Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 17-25.

[6] *Register of Debates in Congress,* V. 127, 129.

[7] *Ibid.,* 134-137. The discussion of the bill is given between pages 125 and 153.

vost. It was a mistake to suppose that Oregon could never become a part of the Union. In time the Stony Mountains would be passed with as much ease as the Alleghenies then were. But these were the views of the minority. The belief that Oregon was of little importance, that it could not become a state in the Union, and that to organize it as a territory or extend the United States laws over it would violate the convention of 1827 were the opinions that prevailed, and the bill was rejected.

Oregon needs a "booster."—In fact the knowledge of the Pacific Northwest and the interest in the country at the time was too vague to expect such a bill to become a law. The wonder is that it was ever introduced. It is true that trappers and traders had visited the region for years and knew it thoroughly, but their knowledge had not been made available. The country was still a land of silence—a mythical land of

> "continuous woods
> Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,
> Save his own dashings——"[8]

It needed some one to assemble the known facts of the territory and to bring them directly to the people and such information would be more effective, as far as the public's attitude toward Oregon was concerned, if it were presented by one who could speak with authority. Briefly, in modern parlance, Oregon needed a convincing "booster." Hall J. Kelley was destined to play a prominent part in satisfying this need.

Hall Jackson Kelley; plans for settling Oregon.—Kelley was a New England schoolmaster who became interested in Oregon as early as 1815. He believed the discussion of the Oregon question which he began that year led to the restoration of Astoria to the United

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[8] Bryant, William Cullen, *Thanatopsis.*

States. In 1824 he began devoting the principal part of his time to agitating the Oregon controversy, and Bancroft says he did not "cease writing and raving" until the ripe age of eighty-five.[9] He assembled all the information he could obtain concerning Oregon, and from his investigations he became deeply impressed with two ideas: (1) the value of the country on account of its furs, fisheries, soil, and climate, and (2) the importance of christianizing the Indians. In 1829 he published his *Geographical Sketches of Oregon.* This, he said, was made up from the journals of Lewis and Clark, from public documents, and from personal interviews with *voyageurs* and travelers. In 1830 or 1831 the American Society for Encouraging a Settlement of the Oregon Territory was incorporated in Boston through his efforts. Many prominent people became interested in his plans, and the heads of all the departments in Washington were supplied with his literature. On more than one occasion he petitioned Congress for support, but the only pledge he could obtain was that protection would be given to any settlement he might establish in the Oregon country.

Kelley issued a general circular calling for emigrants.[10] His plans provided for extinguishing the Indian title to land in the Northwest, and for constructing a seaport city with wide streets, large lots, and a great public square on Gray's Bay at the mouth of the Multnomah River. The future inhabitants of this prospective city must be people who could present certificates of good moral character, they must sign a pledge to emigrate and obey the civil government to be estab-

[9] Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast,* II. 544.

[10] "A General Circular to All Persons of Good Character Who Wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory, Embracing some Account of the Character and Advantages of the Country; the Right and the Means and Operations by Which It is to be Settled;—And all Necessary Directions for Becoming an Emigrant," by Hall J. Kelley, General Agent. By order of the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory Instituted in Boston in A. D., 1829. Charlestown, 1831.

lished, and they must deposit twenty dollars as proof of good faith. Physicians, master shipbuilders, wheelwrights, carpenters, blacksmiths, and skilled mechanics of all sorts were encouraged to join the forming expedition. Upon the arrival in Oregon each emigrant, except the married women, would receive a seaport lot five hundred feet square, or two farms, one of forty and the other of one hundred and sixty acres, both to be located in the Multnomah valley.

First expedition planned.—As originally planned the first expedition was to leave the East on January 1, 1832, but it was postponed hoping thereby to secure favorable action from Congress. Directions were accordingly sent out to the emigrants requesting them to gather in the chief cities from Portland and Boston to Albany and Baltimore on March 1, 1832, and prepare to make their way in companies of fifty from these points to St. Louis. They were to be provided with free transportation from the latter place to their destination on the Pacific coast. The route would be by way of the Great Platte River to its source, thence through the South Pass to the sources of the Multnomah, and down that river to its mouth. Each emigrant was responsible for finding his own arms, blankets, and covered wagon for his women and children.

Wyeth forms a separate expedition.—A very few applicants applied for enlistment in the first expedition, but among these was a man destined to play an important part in the settlement of Oregon. This was Nathaniel J. Wyeth, an ice-dealer of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The number enlisting was so small that the Colonization Society decided to join the first and second expeditions, and to change the date of departure from March to the first of June, 1832. This did not please Wyeth and he withdrew and began to organize a joint-stock company of fifty people to leave St. Louis by May 1. He planned to engage in trade in Oregon.

The articles of agreement were to last five years, and provided for a contribution of forty dollars from each member and for a division of the profits at the end of the period.

Under Wyeth's energetic leadership plans were rapidly projected.[11] Thirty-one men had entered their names by December 19, 1831. For the purpose of becoming better acquainted and discussing various angles of the proposed expedition, members of the company met at Wyeth's home every Saturday night. The emigrants assembled in camp on an island at the head of Boston harbor on March 1, 1832, where they practised frontier hardships for ten days, attracting considerable attention by their "showy and attractive uniform suits, a feature of which was a broad belt from which dangled bayonet, knife, and ax." The company was also provided with an "amphibious machine" which was a wagon when turned with one side up and became a boat when turned over. It occasioned considerable merriment at Wyeth's alma mater, Harvard College, where it was dubbed a "Nat-Wyethium."

Overland to the Columbia.—On March 10 the company set sail for Baltimore. Here they camped for a short time two miles outside the city and resumed the journey by rail to the Alleghenies. Thence they went on foot to the Monongahela, and by steamboat from there to Pittsburg, St. Louis, and Independence. There had been four additions to, and six withdrawals from, the company *en route*, so that twenty-seven remained to undertake the trip across the plains and over the mountains to the Pacific. Many of these were discouraged and the expedition might have gone to pieces had it not been for the advice, guidance, and protection of William L. Sublette and his band of trappers.

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[11] Young, F. G. (editor) "The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-1836," Eugene, Oregon, 1899. The plan is outlined in a letter to Edward Everett, dated December 19, 1831, *ibid.*, 12, 13.

Under the direction of these veterans of the western country Wyeth and his little band crossed the plains and made their way over the mountains to Pierre's Hole on the upper waters of the Snake River.

Further desertions along the way and at this famous rendezvous of the trappers reduced the party to eleven. In vain they attempted to persuade Wyeth to abandon the undertaking. He remained here in the midst of the assembled trappers for nine days and then pushed on, traveling southwest under the guidance of Milton Sublette and his party to the vicinity of the head-waters of the Humboldt. Here the two expeditions separated and Wyeth with his remaining followers made his way to the Columbia, arriving at Fort Vancouver on October 29, 1832. The company was then dissolved, some of the men remaining in Oregon, others returning home by sea, and two accompanying the leader on his return overland. Wyeth reached Cambridge in November, 1833.

Meantime the plans of the Oregon Colonization Society had not prospered. Kelley found that he could not muster followers who were willing to leave for the Pacific Northwest in June, 1832, as he had planned, but he did gather a few in the autumn of that year. In the early part of 1833 he made a final appeal to the public. He declared that he intended to join his friends who would assemble at New Orleans in the following March. Recently he had fitted out detachments of emigrants, and it was necessary for him to seek aid. He intended to bring to the nations in and about the Pacific the principles of free and liberal government and the blessings of Christianity, and such a purpose was worthy of the support of the people.

Kelley deserted by his followers starts alone for Oregon.—In the spring of 1833, Kelley set out for the Columbia accompanied by a small party. He was provided with a free passage to New Orleans and a pass-

port through Mexico. His companions deserted him at New Orleans, and his voyage thence to Vera Cruz was made under great difficulties. Undaunted by his hardships and the inhospitable treatment accorded him in Mexico, he pushed on to California. In the latter place, in the summer of 1834, he met the American trader Ewing Young from Taos, New Mexico, and persuaded him to join in an expedition to the Columbia. A small party of about a dozen men composed of Kelley, Young, and some deserted seamen and adventurers made its way northward toward the goal of Kelley's ambition. In southern Oregon Kelley came down with an attack of malaria, from the effects of which he had not recovered when he reached Fort Vancouver in October, 1834. At this place his illness was aggravated still further by unpleasant accusations made by the Governor of California through the Hudson Bay Company officials and by the unsympathetic attitude of his American friends, particularly Wyeth and Lee. It is needless to record that he was bitter and despondent when he returned to Massachusetts in 1836, and his disappointments were increased by the loss of the remainder of his fortune in an unsound investment soon after his return to New England.

Kelley's part in settlement of Oregon.—It is difficult to estimate accurately Kelley's part in arousing an interest in Oregon and in stimulating the movement which led finally to the settlement of the country. It is possible that his Oregon propaganda encouraged Floyd of Virginia and Benton of Missouri to agitate the question in Congress, and it is very probable that he stimulated the movement of missionaries into that region. If the latter is a fact instead of a probability, then Hall J. Kelley played no small part in initiating a movement which led ultimately to the settlement of Oregon.[12] To this we may now turn our attention.

[12] For various opinions and estimates of Kelley's part in the settlement

Movement of missionaries into Oregon.— On March 1, 1833, the *Christian Advocate* published the well-known letter signed by William Walker in which the writer related the visit to Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at St. Louis of the three chiefs of the Nez Percé Nation who had come from west of the Rocky Mountains in search of the Bible. They said that their fathers had told them of his visit to their nation when he had accompanied Lewis over the mountains to the mouth of the Columbia. They also said that white men who had penetrated their country at a later date and witnessed their religious ceremonies, had declared that their manner of worshiping the Great Spirit was wrong and had informed them that the white people away toward the rising sun had a book which would tell them the right way. The tribe was so excited by these descriptions that a council was called and four chiefs selected to go to St. Louis and procure this book. They were entertained by Clark, assured by him that what they had heard was true, and the Bible and its contents were explained, but they were not given a copy of the book. Two of the chiefs died while in St. Louis and the other two started homeward.

This letter attracted the attention of the pulpit and the press throughout the country. President Fisk of Wilbraham College urged young men to respond to the call of the Nez Percés, learn their language, preach Christ to them, open schools among them, and teach them the ways of civilization. Copies of the letter in other papers finally reached St. Louis and resulted in the publication of another letter in the *Christian Advocate* of May 10, 1833, written by E. W. Sehon, giving a different version of the cause of the visit of the Nez Percés chiefs. But this did not materially affect the interest which had been stirred up over the incident.

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of Oregon see Fred W. Powell, *Hall Jackson Kelley, Prophet of Oregon*, Chapter XII; Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 67.

As a result of Fisk's call Jason Lee and his nephew Daniel Lee offered their services as missionaries to the Indians. On October 10, 1833, a missionary meeting was held in New York to arrange for the early departure of the volunteers. The Methodist Missionary Board voted three thousand dollars for an outfit, decided that two laymen should be selected to go with and assist the missionaries, and authorized the latter to begin their work at once by traveling about the country and raising funds, then to work their way west to join some company of fur traders in the following spring.[18]

Before the missionaries left New York they learned that Nathaniel J. Wyeth had returned to Boston from his first attempt to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. He had brought two Indian boys with him from beyond the mountains who, arriving at this time, attracted more than ordinary interest. The board ordered Jason Lee to visit Wyeth at once and obtain information in regard to conditions in the West for missionary work. Wyeth gave what information he could. He also informed them that they might ship their possessions in a vessel which the Columbia River Company (the name Wyeth and his associates gave to their business enterprise) was about to send around Cape Horn and that the missionaries themselves might join him in the overland journey in the spring.

New expedition overland.—The missionaries left New York in March, 1834, and made their way to St. Louis, and thence to Independence, the rendezvous.

[18] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VI. 112, 113; 446, 448; Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 54-59. J. Quinn Thornton in his *Oregon and California in 1848*, II. 21, says: "As early as the year 1831, the Methodist Board of Missions had been induced by Mr. Kelley to determine upon sending Messrs. Spaulding and Wilson as missionaries to the Indians of Oregon, but the expedition which they had proposed to accompany having been broken up, they changed their destination, and went to Liberia."

They met two of their associates here, Philip Edwards and Courtney Walker. Cyrus Shepard had joined Daniel Lee at Pittsburg. Wyeth had come before them, and Sublette joined the party before it left Independence. Townsend and Nuttall, two scientists, were also members of the expedition. The entire company of trappers, traders, missionaries, and adventurers numbered about seventy men. Dividing themselves into three groups with Wyeth and Sublette and their respective retainers taking the lead and the missionaries with their horses and cattle bringing up the rear, the company moved slowly westward across the Kansas River, up the forks of the Platte and the Laramie to the Green River, finally halting on June 22 at the trappers' rendezvous [14] on the latter stream. A few days were spent here and again the journey to the Pacific was resumed. On the Port Neuf River near its junction with the Snake in what is now southern Idaho, Wyeth lingered to build Fort Hall, but the missionaries pushed on to Walla Walla where they were joined by Wyeth. The cattle were left here to be transported by barge while the company went by canoe to Fort Vancouver, arriving September 16.

Hudson Bay Company Posts in Northwest.—The country in which the missionaries now found themselves was dominated by the Hudson Bay Company. The sole representative of the company at Fort George, formerly Astoria, was the white trader in charge. Farther up the Columbia, about six miles east of the mouth of the Willamette, was Fort Vancouver. This was the center of Hudson Bay Company interests in the Pacific Northwest, and was the residence of Dr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor. Fort Walla

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[14] Townsend, John K., *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands and Chili*, etc., 75. Chapters II-X give an account of the journey including the arrival at Fort Vancouver.

Walla was situated two hundred miles above Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, and still farther up was Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville. The latter, like the others, stood on the bank of the river, and was a supply post for the forts and trading stations north of the Columbia. Other posts had been established north and west on the Kootenay, the Spokane, and the Flathead rivers and on Lake Pend d'Oreille. Fort Nisqually, another stockade including warehouses, magazine, and dwellings, was situated a mile from the head of Puget Sound. On the Umpqua River south of the Columbia was Fort Umpqua, and Fort Boise, built by the Hudson Bay Company as a rival to Fort Hall, stood on the Snake River near the mouth of the Boise.[15]

Against these scattered channels of British influence people of the United States offered Fort Hall on the Port Neuf River, Fort William on Wapato Island at the mouth of the Willamette, both of which had been constructed by Wyeth, and the aroused interest in missionary work among the Indians.

Within a week after their arrival at Fort Vancouver the Lees began exploring the country for a mission site. Their destination was the Willamette valley of which they had heard a great deal on their trip down the Snake and Columbia rivers. They were provided with guides, horses, and provisions for the entire trip by McLoughlin. Taking the route common to trappers of the time, they went by canoe to McKay's farm, situated a short distance up a small creek that emptied into the Multnomah, thence by horseback to the settlement on the east side of the Willamette River. About a dozen families were found along the river, mostly French Canadians who had been hunters employed by the Hudson Bay Company or free trappers. They had

[15] See *Report No. 101, House of Representatives*, 25th Cong., 3d Sess., particularly Wyeth's "Memoir of February 4, 1839," 19-22; W. A. Slacum's "Report," 29-46; and Hall J. Kelley's "Memoir," 53-61.

recently left that employment and begun farming in order that they might have a more dependable method of supporting their families. Apparently they were happy and prosperous, and to the missionaries they gave a generous welcome.

Establishment of a mission on the Willamette.—Here on the east side of the river and about sixty miles from its mouth, in the midst of a "broad, rich bottom, many miles in length, well watered, and supplied with timber, oak, fur, cotton-wood, white maple, and white ash, scattered along the borders of a grassy plain, where hundreds of acres were ready for the plough,"[16] the Lees chose a location for the mission. Then they returned to Fort Vancouver and proceeded at once to remove their men and possessions to the site chosen. McLoughlin in his usual way was ready to render any assistance. The brig *May Dacre,* Wyeth's vessel on which were the tools and goods of the missionaries, had arrived before the Lees had left Vancouver, and McLoughlin offered them a boat and crew to transport the mission goods to the site chosen. He also gave them horses and cows in exchange for others left at Walla Walla, and loaned them oxen with which to haul lumber for building. On account of poor health Shepard remained at Fort Vancouver, teaching a small school which was conducted under the patronage of McLoughlin. The other members of the missionary party with their livestock and goods arrived at their station on the Willamette on October 6, 1834, after a journey in which they experienced many hardships.

Reasons for selecting Willamette instead of Flathead country.—It may be remembered that the Lees had been sent out to do missionary work among the Flathead Indians, but we find them establishing themselves far from the native haunts of that particular tribe. Daniel

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[16] Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon,* 125.

Lee gives four reasons for beginning the work on the Willamette: (1) The difficulties of obtaining food in a region so remote and inaccessible, and of transporting all necessary implements and tools a distance of six hundred miles. (2) The Flatheads were few in numbers on account of their perpetual wars with the Blackfeet. (3) "Their vicinity to the Blackfeet, as well the white man's enemy as theirs, and who would fall upon the abettors of their foes with signal revenge." (4) The missionaries desired a larger field of usefulness than was afforded by a single tribe. It was their intention to consider the wants of the entire country, "present and prospective," and the hope of meeting these wants led to the choice of the Willamette as the most suitable location. "Here any amount of supplies could be produced from the soil that might be required in the enlargement of the work; and here the first blow was struck by the pioneer missionaries in Oregon; and here they began their arduous and difficult toil to elevate and save the heathen from moral degradation and ruin."[17]

Arrival of Kelley and Ewing Young.—It was while they were in the midst of building a house and barn that a dozen men arrived one day led by Kelley and Ewing Young, who were on their way to Fort Vancouver. The reputation of some of the men was bad, and on reaching Fort Vancouver Kelley found that the Governor of California had written McLoughlin describing them as horse thieves and persons of dangerous character, and the Chief Factor refused to admit them into the fort until they cleared themselves. It will be remembered that Kelley was sick upon his arrival. He was kindly treated and given quarters in a cabin outside the stockade, and in the spring of 1835 he was provided with money and given passage in one

[17] *Ibid.*, 127, 128.

of the Hudson Bay Company ships to Hawaii. From there he made his way back to Boston.

Presbyterians become interested in missionary work.—Meanwhile the Presbyterian Church, following the lead of the Methodists, was preparing to undertake religious work beyond the mountains. In the spring of 1834, through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, it sent Samuel Parker, John Dunbar, and Samuel Allis to the Flatheads as missionaries. They had intended to join the expedition sent from St. Louis annually by the American Fur Company, but arrived at that city too late. Parker returned East but Dunbar and Allis went on and took up their labors among the Pawnees. In the spring of 1835 Parker repeated his efforts, this time with success. He arrived at St. Louis, April 4, where he found Marcus Whitman, a physician whom the Board had appointed to accompany him. The two missionaries joined an expedition of the American Fur Company at Liberty, Missouri. The party was under the direction of the trader Fontenelli.

Experiences of missionaries crossing plains.—On May 15 the expedition, consisting of sixty men and a caravan of pack animals and wagons loaded with Indian goods, left Liberty for Council Bluffs. The final start was made from Bellevue, a trading post on the west side of the Missouri, on June 22. The usual incidents of travel across the plain were experienced by the expedition: the early start and the long march before breakfast, the frequent thunderstorms which drenched and chilled, crossing and recrossing streams, occasional visits of Indians, and now and then a buffalo hunt or an accident. Proceeding by way of Fort Laramie they came to the rendezvous of the trappers on the Green River. Here Whitman gave medical and surgical aid to a number of persons, in one instance extracting from the back of Captain Bridger, the

builder of Fort Bridger on a branch of the Green River, an iron arrow three inches long; and in another, an arrow from the shoulder of a hunter who had carried it in his flesh for more than two years. His services on these occasions made a deep impression on the Flatheads and Nez Percés who were present, and increased their desires to have teachers among them who could do such wonderful things. A consultation between the missionaries resulted in an agreement to introduce teachers among the Indians as soon as possible. Whitman proposed to return to St. Louis with the caravan,[18] obtain assistants, and return with the trapping expedition the next spring. Meanwhile Parker continued westward under the protection of Captain Bridger and about sixty men as far as Pierre's Hole on the headwaters of the Snake River, thence under the guidance of the Flatheads and Nez Percés to the Columbia, arriving at Fort Vancouver on October 16, 1835.

Parker selects a missionary site.—Parker spent the winter at the fort enjoying the generous hospitality of McLoughlin. Several excursions were made into various parts of the surrounding country for the purpose of locating mission sites. On April 14, 1836, the missionary started to return east to the Green River valley to meet Whitman, but he did not go far in this direction. His dread of the Salmon River Mountains where he nearly lost his life the year before and his inability to persuade his guides to take the more southern route along the Snake River induced him to return to the Columbia. Some time was spent here in exploring for mission sites. The upper part of the Walla Walla valley was noted with particular favor, the only objection being that it was not centrally located for the Nez Percés, Cayuses, and Walla Walla Indians, to

[18] Parker, Samuel, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, 1842, 80-82.

whom the missions had been promised by him. The soil was exceedingly fertile and "even now," Parker said, "the spontaneous productions of these vast plains, including millions of acres, are so profuse, that not the fiftieth part becomes the food of organic life." Forty years were to pass before settlers were to realize that this was one of the most productive wheat fields in the world.

Steamer in the Columbia.—Further explorations were made by Parker in the upper Columbia country before he finally returned to Fort Vancouver. Here he witnessed the introduction of steam navigation by the company, and on June 14, with others, he took an excursion around Wapato Island in the *Beaver,* during which they reflected "upon the probable changes which would take place in these remote regions in a very few years" and upon the addition of a new empire to the kingdoms of the earth. On June 18, 1836, Parker left Fort Vancouver and sailed for Honolulu. He was compelled to wait here until the middle of December for passage to the United States, and arrived at his home May 23, 1837, after having traveled twenty-eight thousand miles. During the following year he published a volume of his travels.[19]

Whitman crosses plains with missionary party.—When Whitman left Parker at the Green River rendezvous he took two Indian boys and joining an expedition of the American Fur Company that was returning to St. Louis at the time, availed himself of their protection across the plains. Pushing on to New York he made a report to the American Board and that body determined to establish a mission among the tribes west of the Rockies in accordance with the arrangement made between Parker and Whitman when they separated.[20] In March, 1836, Whitman, with a wife

[19] The volume cited in connection with his explorations.

[20] Gray, W. H., *A History of Oregon, 1792-1849,* Portland, 1870, 109.

he had just married, set out on his return. At Pittsburg he was fortunate enough to meet H. H. Spaulding, a young minister who had recently graduated from Lane Theological Seminary near Cincinnati, Ohio, who was on his way, with his bride, to the Osage Indians. Whitman persuaded them to join him and his wife, and the four went to Liberty, Missouri, where the party was enlarged by the arrival of William H. Gray, two Indian boys, and a lad of sixteen from Iowa. The wives of the two missionaries were the first white women to make the trip across the plains.

Before leaving the frontier the expedition provided itself with wagons, teams, riding horses, pack animals, sixteen cows, blacksmith tools, a plow, grain for seed, and clothing for two years. Guided by a fur company caravan they made their way, after experiencing many delays and accidents, to Council Bluffs, thence to Laramie. At this place the fur traders left their carts, but Whitman retained one of his light wagons in order to make the trip more comfortable for Mrs. Spaulding who was in poor health. In this she made the journey through South Pass to the Green River rendezvous. While they were in camp here Wyeth arrived. The two forts which he had built had been sold to the Hudson Bay Company. He had already delivered Fort William and was on his way to surrender Fort Hall. He was accompanied by John McLeod, a chief trader of the British Company, who intended to return to Fort Vancouver after receiving Fort Hall from Wyeth, and offered to escort the emigrants. The missionary party was glad to avail itself of his kindness, and after a few weeks' delay the journey was resumed. Some of the heavy articles were left at Green River, but the light wagon was retained. At Fort Hall it was converted

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McMaster says Whitman was disappointed because he was not able to found two missions as he had planned. *History of the People of the United States*, VI. 450. *See also* Bancroft, *Oregon*, I. 124.

into a cart and taken as far as Fort Boise. Here it was left because the horses were not able to pull it farther. It is said to have been the first wheeled vehicle to pass beyond Fort Hall.[21] Pushing forward the missionaries arrived at Fort Walla Walla on September 1, and reached Fort Vancouver on the twelfth of the same month where they were courteously received by the Chief Factor.

Mission established at Waiilatpu.—McLoughlin showed his accustomed generosity in the business dealings he had with the missionaries, and after resting a few days the latter began to make preparations for establishing their missions. Their goods had been left at various points along their route so that they had practically nothing with which they had started except their clothing. Purchasing a winter's supply of provisions and goods enough to load two *bateaux,* Whitman, Spaulding, and Gray, at the end of a week, returned to Fort Walla Walla, leaving the women at Fort Vancouver until a shelter had been prepared for them in their new quarters. At Waiilatpu on the north bank of the Walla Walla River near the mouth of a small stream known as Mill Creek, a site already chosen by Parker, the missionaries began the first mission house. It had disadvantages as a homestead, but wood and water could be secured and the place presented a certain picturesqueness which was enhanced by its isolation. It had the further advantage of being within twenty-two miles of Fort Walla Walla. Here among the Cayuses, with the help of the Indians and a man or two from the fort the first house was soon built. In the small valley of Lapwai about twelve miles from the mouth of the Kooskooskie another was quickly constructed. Before Christmas Whitman and his wife were settled in the first, and Spaulding and his wife in the other.

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[21] Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 133, note 25.

During the winter months the two families began their missionary duties in a limited way and planned for larger things in the spring. It was impossible, however, to extend the work to the Flatheads or to any other Indian tribes unless additional laborers could be found. It was concluded, therefore, that Gray should return East in the spring and procure reënforcements.[22] His trip was successful. He enlisted the services of three newly married couples, a single man, and a young lady who later became Gray's wife. They settled in 1838 in the missions already established or formed new ones among the Indians in the vicinity.

Reënforcements for the missions.—Meanwhile the Methodist mission at Willamette was reënforced. About a score of men, women, and children left Boston in July, 1836, and sailed around the Horn to Honolulu, arriving there so late that they decided to remain throughout the winter. In the spring they set sail for the northwest coast arriving at Fort Vancouver in May, 1837. The majority were interested in the missionary work among the Indians but there were also a physician, a blacksmith, and a ship carpenter. These had hardly established themselves before another vessel from Boston with more workers and additional supplies arrived at Fort Vancouver. This raised the number at the station to about sixty, twenty-five of whom were missionaries. A new station was located at the Dalles, and in order to extend the work still more Jason Lee determined to seek additional help in the East.

The Methodist mission was now a thriving community. While their members were increasing through the arrival of fellow workers from the East, they took another step which was to help free them from economic dependence on the Hudson Bay Company. This

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[22] Gray, *History of Oregon*, 167-179.

British firm, as we have seen, through its Chief Factor, had been generous and courteous to the missionaries and had assisted them materially in establishing their post on the Willamette. There were few if any cattle in the country except those owned by the Hudson Bay Company, and these McLoughlin refused to sell. He was willing to let the missionaries have cows if they were desired for their milk, but they must be returned together with any increase which might have taken place while the cows were in the possession of the missionaries. Jason Lee and others may have looked upon this as oppression.

The Willamette Cattle Company.—The Secretary of State had been attracted to Oregon by the writings of Hall J. Kelley, and he determined to send a special agent to the Pacific coast to inquire into the truth of Kelley's statements. Slacum was chosen for this task. He went first to California, but unable to find conveyance from there to Oregon he proceeded to Hawaii. He chartered an American vessel there, arrived safely at Fort George, and was taken by canoe to Fort Vancouver, arriving at the latter place in the early part of January, 1837, soon after Whitman and Spaulding had left for their missions. Slacum visited the Methodist post on the Willamette where he "took an account of the produce of their farms, and stock, and the number of inhabitants." [23] and has been credited with suggesting a scheme whereby the settlement would be provided with cattle of its own. An organization was formed known as the Willamette Cattle Company, or the California Cattle Company as it is called by one writer.[24] It was backed by all the different interests involved in the American settlement of Oregon, but the management and execution of the plans fell largely upon Ewing

[23] Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, 144. Cf. Hines, Gustavus, *Oregon, its History, Condition, and Prospect*, 21, 22.

[24] Hines, *Oregon*, 21, gives it the latter name.

Young. With ten companions he went to California and purchased approximately eight hundred head of cattle. About two hundred head were lost in the long overland drive northward, but despite this the undertaking was a significant success for: (1) unity in associated effort had been realized; (2) provisions had been completed whereby the standard of living could be raised; (3) Young's leadership secured the complete ascendancy of democratic leadership "where up to this time benevolent autocracy had ruled." [25]

When Slacum returned to Washington some trouble occurred over the payment of expenses and he addressed a memorial to Congress in December, 1837, accompanied by a report.[26] This was followed by a message from the President.

National government's interest in Oregon.—Meanwhile Senator Linn of Missouri, who was an earnest and persistent advocate of our rights to Oregon, having failed to secure from the executive department definite information he sought regarding foreign influence in the Pacific Northwest, introduced a bill to organize the Oregon Territory, erect a fort on the Columbia, hold the country by military force, establish a port of entry, and spread the revenue laws over the country. The bill provided for appropriating fifty thousand dollars to put these measures into operation. Quick action he believed was necessary in order to insure the permanency of United States influence there. He was supported in his proposals by Buchanan. The latter declared that Slacum's report proved that the Hudson Bay Company was rapidly fastening its influence on the territory. It was time for the American government to take a determined stand in regard to Oregon. The bill was sent to a select committee, and

[25] Young, F. G., "Ewing Young and his Estate with Documentary Records," in the Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, September, 1920, 172.

[26] *Senate Doc. No. 24*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., I.

in the House Caleb Cushing took steps toward having the Committee on Foreign Affairs report on the expediency of submitting a similar bill.[27]

In June the Senate committee reported a bill, submitted long extracts from Slacum's memorial, a map of the Oregon country, and another of the Columbia for a distance of ninety miles from its mouth, gave quotations from the journal of Spaulding, from Lewis and Clark, Prevost, and Irving, and from the Encyclopedia of Geography; referred to the passage of the mountains by Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding as proof of the fact that the route was direct and easy, and submitted a bill authorizing the President to use the army and navy to protect the persons and property of residents in Oregon.[28]

In March, 1838, at a meeting of the settlers in Oregon a memorial was drawn up asking Congress to extend its jurisdiction over the country. This was signed by thirty-six missionaries and settlers on the Willamette. In this document the settlers pointed out the natural advantages of the country not only as a place for settlement but also as a base from which to carry on trade with China. Then they indicated the benefits such control would bring to them. Good order had been maintained up to that time by the moral influence and dependence upon the Hudson Bay Company, but this must end. The population would surely increase and with this increase the feeling of dependence upon the Hudson Bay Company would diminish, and they were very much concerned over what might then result. They believed they were to be the founders of a great state and they wanted the moral and intellectual tone of its citizens to be high. It was for Congress to determine whether the future settlers of Oregon

[27] *Senate Journal,* Feb. 13, 1838, 226, and *House Journal,* March 19, 1838, and May 11, 872; May 22, 945; and May 23, 149.

[28] *Senate Doc. No. 470,* 25th Cong., 2d Sess., V.

should be unprincipled adventurers or the hardy and enterprising pioneers of the West.[29]

This memorial was placed in the hands of Jason Lee when he left for the East. He arrived in New York near the end of 1838 and soon after Congress met in December he sent the memorial to Caleb Cushing who was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House. Cushing had already presented a bill similar to the one that had been introduced in the Senate; and in order to complete the report he had been instructed to make covering the extent of the sea coast, number of harbors, climate, soil, productions, and trade, Cushing wrote Lee, Wyeth, Kelley, the secretary of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society of Lynn,[30] and the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, and submitted their replies as a supplementary report in February, 1839, but no action was taken by Congress.

Another call for missionaries.—Lee, however, did not wait for Congress to act. He had gone East to get reënforcements for the work in Oregon, and as soon as he had crossed the Mississippi River he had begun to lecture and work for recruits with all the ardor of an enthusiast. The people who heard him were impressed and he succeeded in raising money and missionaries for the work. At New York he made a report to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, and a call was published in the *Christian Advocate* and *Journal* for five missionaries, and for laymen, physicians, farmers, mechanics, and young women for teachers. As a result fifty-two men, women, and children responded. A ship was chartered and loaded with forty-two thousand dollars' worth of things needed in the new

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[29] *Reports of Committees, House of Representatives,* 25th Cong., 3d Sess., I. No. 101, January 28, 1839.

[30] This society was organized at Lynn, Massachusetts, in August, 1838. For the reply from its secretary, F. P. Tracy, and the society's constitution, *see ibid.*

colony. Some of the money used for chartering the vessel was drawn from the secret-service fund of the United States government by government officials.

Lee evidently had not spent all his time in the East in raising money and men. News had been sent him while crossing the country that his wife had died soon after he left the Columbia. He married another in the East and she became a member of the Oregon company.

Results of missionary activity.—The *Lausanne,* the vessel chartered by the missionaries, sailed from New York October 10, 1839, and reached the Columbia in May, 1840. Some of the emigrants were stationed in the old missions while others were used to found new ones. A new station was established south of the mouth of the Columbia on the Clatsop plain. Another was located near Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound. Jason Lee opened a new station on the Chemeketa Plain among the Umpqua Indians. But the missionary work did not prosper as many thought it should. Some of the new arrivals were disappointed and left the field. Jason Lee impaired his influence among the older workers by his second marriage. They had been deeply moved by the thought of his return to his desolate home; "and now the revulsion of feeling was so great that the supremacy of Jason Lee in their hearts was thenceforth a thing of the past."[81] By 1841 the missionary activity of the Methodists in Oregon was drawing to a close. Together with missionaries from other denominations they had accomplished two things for the United States besides performing their regular missionary duties among the Indians: (1) by their settlements in the Pacific Northwest they had kept alive American interest in the territory; and (2) through the propaganda activities of their leaders they had been powerful factors in arousing that interest in

[81] Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 183. *See also* Chapter VIII.

the United States which resulted in thousands of men, women, and children seeking homes in Oregon.

Petitions to Congress; Linn's bill.—In August, 1841, a petition from citizens in Alabama informed Congress, while in special session, that they intended to move to Oregon and requested armed protection. At the regular session a little later one hundred and eighty citizens of Missouri warned the national legislators that the territory of Oregon would be taken over by Great Britain unless it were settled by people from the United States. Many of them declared that they were ready to emigrate if Congress would establish military posts in the territory and would give each settler six hundred and forty acres of land after residing there for five years. During this same session Congress received a memorial from the town of Washington in Oregon requesting that body to secure them in the title to the lands which they occupied, and to protect them against the domination of the Hudson Bay Company.[32] This induced Linn to present a bill again in the Senate. It provided for a chain of stockaded posts or blockhouses from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, for a land grant of six hundred and forty acres to every male emigrant eighteen years of age or over who should cultivate the soil for five years, and an additional one hundred and sixty acres for the wife of each married man and for each child born in the territory during the first five years of residence. In the midst of considering the bill Lord Ashburton arrived and it was put aside in the belief that the Oregon question would soon be settled by negotiation.

Sub-Indian agent White seeks emigrants to Oregon.—But while Webster and Ashburton negotiated the government and people were also busy. John C. Frémont was despatched by the Secretary of War to

[32] *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 2d Sess., 361.

explore a route from western Missouri to the South Pass, and Elijah White was sent to Oregon as a sub-Indian agent. White's instructions bade him to return to Oregon as soon as possible (he had been there as a missionary) and to take with him as many emigrants as he could assemble. Immediately perfecting his plans he started for Independence. Through every available channel—notices in the newspapers, addresses and lectures, private conversations—he made known to the people that a company was forming to settle in Oregon, and that those who desired to join it should arrange their affairs and meet the others at Elm Grove, about twenty miles southwest of Independence. As a result of his endeavors over one hundred men, women, and children gathered at the rendezvous in the spring of 1842.

Emigration of 1842.—The overland journey was begun about the middle of May under the leadership of White who was replaced by L. W. Hastings at the end of a month. The company experienced more than ordinary difficulties and disagreements when compared with the preceding ones. They did not have the protection of a fur-trading expedition, and the dissensions among their leaders led to divisions within the company. In spite of the difficulties experienced, the emigrants reached the Willamette valley early in October. White and a few associates had preceded the main expedition and had reached Fort Vancouver September 20. In the spring of the following year (1843) Hastings with about one-third of the adult male members of the original company, with women and children, started for California. On their way south they met a company *en route* to Oregon, and about a third of Hasting's company joined them and returned.

The overland expedition of 1842 has been overshadowed by the much larger emigration of 1843 and

possibly has not received as much credit as it deserves. It was the largest company that had come to Oregon up to that time, and its members came to colonize the country. In the fall of 1842 there were but two or three houses where Oregon City is located; in the spring of 1843 there were thirty. These were built by energetic members of the company of 1842.[33]

Linn's bill discussed; Choate's views.—Some time before the company of 1842 had reached the Columbia, Webster and Ashburton concluded the treaty which bears their names without settling the Oregon question. Again Senator Linn brought forward his bill and a long debate was precipitated.[34] It was declared that the undertaking was too great. Steeped in debt, with its treasury empty, and its currency in disorder, the government was in no condition to bear the cost of a chain of stockaded posts across the plains. Neither was the country in a position to raise an issue with Great Britain such as the bill would inevitably stir up. The land grants proposed would be an exercise of that exclusive jurisdiction over the territory forbidden by the Conventions of 1818 and 1827. Indeed, said Choate of Massachusetts, not an Englishman could set his foot in Oregon for farming, hunting, or trading purposes within five years if the bill produced the effect expected. The only justification for passing such a bill would be to have England begin to colonize or in some other way break the Convention. But he saw no intention on her part to violate the Convention. It might be true that her subjects were silently and widely occupying the territory, culling out the choicest parts, taking up the best mill sites, reclaiming the richest lands, extending the English name, character, institu-

[33] Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 264, 265.

[34] Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 2d Sess., 736, 737. *See* index under Linn, Benton, McDuffie, Choate, Calhoun, 3d Sess., for debates over the bill.

tions over all of it, making it slowly into another England, in which case it might be as well to end the Convention. The question was not whether England was or was not friendly to us, not whether she was proud, ambitious, and grasping. The question was, Does she grant lands in Oregon to English subjects, to be enjoyed exclusively and adversely to all the world? There was no proof of this. The United States might do one of two things. It might serve the year's notice at once, end the Convention, and at the end of the year proceed to plant a colony in Oregon; or better, by negotiations forever end the last serious question which endangered the peace of the two great nations of one faith and one blood.

Views of Linn and Benton.—Linn and Benton felt differently. Had not Great Britain extended her jurisdiction over Oregon, the former inquired? Had she not built forts, set up establishments, and settled farms? Could she in the face of this make objections to the United States doing the same? Was it not a fact that forts called Hudson Bay Company trading posts had been built on the Columbia? Was it not a fact that subjects of Great Britain had picked out, settled on, and cultivated lands under promise of protection by the Crown? American citizens had the same rights under the treaty, but their government had failed to promise them protection. It had been said that the British did not understand the treaty as giving any joint rights except in trading, hunting, trapping, and fishing. Had not the British subjects large farms on the Columbia? Didn't they have the Puget Sound Company to carry on farming on a great scale at Nesqually, Colville, Walla Walla, and Vancouver? Didn't they have sawmills which sent lumber to the Sandwich Islands? Didn't they have contracts with Russia to furnish beef, pork, wheat, and salmon? Did the Convention of 1827 give Great Britain the right to turn Oregon

into a farming settlement and deny it to the United States?

Benton said the bill before the Senate was opposed because it implied the assertion of an exclusive possession which might be a breach of the Convention of 1818. The view was wrong. At that very moment the British had exclusive possession of the ground covered by Fort Vancouver, Fort Colville, and by all other forts, and of all the ground they cultivate. They had forts, houses, fields, farms, and possessed them exclusively. Grants of land to American settlers could be no more exclusive than these. They would exclude only to the extent of the grant. Free and open access to all the rivers, harbors, creeks, and bays was secured to both parties by terms of the Convention. The United States secured the right to go on the British claims to hunt, fish, and navigate. Great Britain secured the right to go on the claims of the United States for a similar purpose, without in any way prejudicing the claims of either to any part of the country. What were the American claims? The Columbia River from source to mouth. How had the British acted under terms of the Convention? They had crossed the parallel of forty-nine degrees, had come down on the Columbia, taken possession of it from mouth to source, fortified and colonized it, monopolized the fur trade, driven the American traders across the mountains, and killed more than a thousand of them. This they had done through their agent—the Hudson Bay Company. What had the United States done? Nothing.

McDuffie's views.—But Senator McDuffie, voicing the sentiments of others besides himself, did not want Oregon on any terms. Why should the United States want the territory? What would they do with it? If Oregon were really to become part of the Union, it would present a very different question. But did any man seriously suppose that a state could ever be formed

at the mouth of the Columbia? He had great faith in the power of representative government, but never even in the sanguine days of youth had he dreamed of the possibility of embracing within the same government people living five thousand miles apart. The Senator from New Hampshire had discovered a bond more potent than representative government—steam. How could steam be applied in this case? For seven hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains the country was uninhabitable because the soil was sandy and barren and the rain scarcely ever fell. Beyond the plain were three ridges of mountains which were totally impassable, except at certain gaps to be reached by going hundreds of miles out of the direct course. How then could steam be applied? Had members of Congress estimated the cost of a railroad at the mouth of the Columbia? The wealth of the Indies would not be sufficient to pay for it. No, the advocates of the bill were laboring under false impressions about Oregon. As an agricultural country it was worthless. "Why, I would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole country. I wish to God we did not own it." Did any one think the honest farmers of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, or Missouri would leave their farms and go on such an enterprise? God forbid!

Calhoun's views.—Calhoun's faith was much larger than McDuffie's. Thirty-two years had passed since he first entered the Lower House of Congress, and during that time he had seen the Indian frontier recede a thousand miles westward. It was too early for the United States to assert and maintain its claims to Oregon yet. If attempted it would end in failure.

How, then, can we save Oregon? There is but one means—time. All we need to gain our end is a masterly inactivity. . . . In a little while the great westward-rolling wave of population will reach the Rocky Mountains and

be ready to pour into Oregon. Then shall we come into our possession without a struggle.

Failure of Webster-Ashburton Treaty in Oregon question.—Meanwhile the first of these "great westward-moving waves of population" was forming. The failure of Webster and Ashburton to settle the Oregon question had aroused public sentiment. In Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a mass meeting was called to consider the advisability of moving to Oregon. A committee was appointed to report on the country, the route, and the best place for locating a settlement. After some investigation the committee reported that it would be unwise for American citizens to go to Oregon until the government was willing to protect their rights. But those who were determined to go were informed that Fitzpatrick would leave Independence, Missouri, with a party on April 1, and that White advised future emigrants to secure light, strong wagons, buy mules, and take with them a light equipment consisting of cooking utensils and food for four months. At Logan, Ohio, a meeting of indignant citizens expressed disappointment at the failure of Webster and Ashburton to settle the question, declared that the occupation of Oregon by Great Britain was a disgrace to the United States, that the Monroe Doctrine was the true American policy, and recommended that the Conventions of 1818 and 1827 be abrogated. At St. Louis a public meeting was called to assist in the colonization of Oregon, and at a meeting in Cincinnati the people expressed the belief that any attempt to surrender a part of Oregon for a part of California was unwise. It would not do to have either Oregon or California go into the hands of Great Britain. It was also proposed that a convention of western and southern states be held at Cincinnati on July 3, 4 and 5, to urge the immediate occupation of Oregon by United States troops, and to adopt measures which would result in

the people taking possession of the country whether the government did or not.[35]

Six states in the Mississippi valley sent ninety-six delegates to the convention in July. They declared that the right of the United States to Oregon was unmistakable and that this right included the entire territory from forty-two to fifty-four forty north latitude. The measures of the bill which Senator Linn proposed were approved and the Monroe Doctrine was endorsed. In western Missouri and in Vermillion County, Illinois, other meetings were held and similar sentiments expressed.[36]

Company formed for overland emigration.—This agitation in behalf of Oregon in Congress and in mass meetings throughout the country bore fruit in the spring of 1843. As soon as the grass began to grow, without preconcert, but as if by previous appointment, emigrants from Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Iowa, bringing their families in canvas-covered ox-wagons inscribed "For Oregon," and driving herds of cattle before them, began to assemble at Elm Grove, about twelve miles southwest of Independence. From the Platte Purchase in Missouri came Peter H. Burnett of Weston with a large following. Jesse Applegate, with his two brothers Lindsey and Charles, led a company from St. Clair County. From the southeastern part of the state Joseph B. Chiles brought a party which was to go to California. Under T. D. Kaiser, Jesse Looney, and Daniel Matheney other parties made their way to the common rendezvous. About a thousand gathered here preparatory to crossing the plains for the Pacific.[37]

Selecting a leader.—While in the process of perfecting their organization a hunting party *en route* to

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[35] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* VII. 294, 295.
[36] *Ibid.,* 296, 297.
[37] *See* Bancroft, *History of Oregon* I. 395, note 4.

the Rocky Mountains came upon the emigrants and one of their number, probably the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune* who was of the party, has left a description of the method used:[38]

. . . but in their largest force we saw them just after crossing the Kansas River about the first of June. The Oregonians were assembled here to the number of six or eight hundred, and when we passed their encampment they were engaged in the business of electing officers to regulate the conduct of their proceedings. It was a curious and unaccountable spectacle to us as we approached. We saw a large body of men wheeling and marching about the prairie, describing revolutions neither recognizable as savage, civic, or military. We soon knew they were not Indians, and were not long in setting them down for emigrants, but what in the name of mystery they were about our best guessing could not reduce to anything in the shape of a mathematical probability. On arriving among them, however, we found they were only going on with their elections in a manner perhaps old enough, but very new . . . to us. The candidates stood up in a row behind the constituents, and at a given signal they wheeled about and marched off, while the general mass broke after them . . . each man forming in behind his favorite so that every candidate flourished a sort of tail of his own, and the man with the longest tail was elected.

In this manner Peter H. Burnett was chosen captain, J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant, and nine councilmen were elected to assist in settling disputed questions. A former army officer, but then a mountain man, John Gantt, was engaged at one dollar a head per emigrant to guide the party to Fort Hall.

[38] Printed in the New Orleans *Picayune* for November 21, 1843. The above is from a reprint of the article in the Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, I. (March to December, 1900), 398-402. *See* Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 396, note 6. Burnett in his *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, Chapter III, gives an account of the organization of the company and journey overland. In Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, V. 64.

Emigration of 1843.—It was hardly to be expected that harmony would continue indefinitely among a company of frontiersmen as large as the expedition of 1843. A serious quarrel developed after a few days over an attempt to force a rule that no family should drive more than three head of loose cattle, and over the refusal of those who had no cattle to stand guard over the herds at night. Burnett resigned when he found it impossible to maintain peace, and the councilmen ordered the election of four orderly sergeants, four captains, and a colonel. The last named position was given to William Martin, and the members of the company who owned cattle, with about fifty wagons, elected Jesse Applegate captain and withdrew to the rear. This divided the expedition into two companies, one called the cow column and the other the light column. Marching within supporting distance of each other they made their way to Independence Rock, on which they recorded "The Oregon Company arrived July 26, 1843." [89] The Sweetwater was reached early in August. By that time the company had divided into four parties, a division which Whitman who was with the company had recommended before it had left the Kansas River. At Fort Hall attempts were made to persuade the emigrants to leave their wagons, but Whitman believed that the remainder of the journey could be made by wagon and his advice was accepted. The California emigrants left the main expedition near the

[89] *Ibid.*, 402. *Ibid.* (March-December, 1903), IV. 177, is a copy of a letter written by a member of the expedition and dated June 3, 1843, first published in the *Iowa Gazette* of July 8 and copied by the New York *Tribune* of August 5, 1843, which gives an account of the disputes. The writer thinks there were over three thousand and perhaps five thousand head of cattle, mules, and horses attached to the company. The dispute was finally settled by the owners of the cattle agreeing to furnish the company with beef, oxen, and milk cows. The beef was to be provided only in case buffalo meat became scarce and the price was to be fixed by the committee. Milk cows and oxen were to be furnished without charge. The writer said the number of cattle was quite too large. Indian attacks were invited by such a vast herd.

American Falls of the Snake River and Whitman himself guided the main company over part of the route. When he finally left the emigrant band to push on ahead a Cayuse chief guided the expedition to Waiilatpu. From there they went to Walla Walla, thence traveled by land and by canoe to the Dalles. They still had the most dangerous part of the route before them. The emigrant road ended, and some left their cattle and wagons, made rafts, and with their goods lashed on them floated down the river to the Cascades. Others proceeded by land, driving their cattle before them. The Willamette was finally reached after great suffering from cold and hunger.

Location of settlers.—It was the last of November when this great body of emigrants arrived, and the problem of shelter was a serious one. It was obviously impractical for the majority of them to select land for settlement before spring. The emigrants who were able bought supplies from the Hudson Bay Company and provided themselves with temporary shelter during the rainy season; others found employment and went to work. A number remained in Oregon City. But it was a question of only a few weeks or months before they would seek permanent quarters. Waldo drove his cattle into the hills southeast of Salem and made a settlement. Kaiser, in the spring, selected a claim a mile and a half below Salem. Nesmith and the Fords remained a short time in Oregon City and then settled in what became Yamhill County. McClane settled at Salem and purchased the mission mills there. Another emigrant settled on the plain near Salem, and Howell's Prairie takes its name from the settler. Jesse Applegate was employed in surveying both at Salem and at Oregon City and in the spring, with his two brothers, opened farms in the present Polk County near Dallas. On the Tualatin plains in later Washington County the Garrisons settled. Burnett and

McCarver located on land on the west bank of the Willamette River "above the head of Suave Island" and laid out a town which they named Linnton in honor of Senator Linn. The town did not develop and its promoters moved to the vicinity of the present town of Hillsboro and took up farms near the Garrisons. Other settlers occupied lands above the old fort of Astoria and laid the foundation for the present town of that name. Lovejoy with F. W. Pettygrove later laid off the town of Portland.[40]

During the year 1843 a few emigrants came into Oregon by sea. Some of these settled at Oregon City. Another opened a farm sixteen miles up Clackamas River on the trail leading to the Dalles. His farm later became the halting place for immigrants who took the Mount Hood road into the Willamette valley. Still another, after assisting in building the first two houses in Portland, moved to Puget Sound later, in 1846, and became one of the founders of Olympia.[41]

Attempts to organize local government.—As early as 1838 the Methodist missions furnished a magistrate and a constable for the colonists. These officers were provided not so much because they were needed as because the Americans desired to keep up with the British fur company in the exercise of civil jurisdiction. In 1840 the arrival of the great missionary reënforcement took place, and it was evident that some form of local government would be necessary sooner or later. And yet there was such general good order in the colony that its organization might have been postponed for some time except for the death of Ewing Young in the winter of 1840-1841. Young left considerable property and no legal claimants. The administration of his estate was a perplexing problem since there was no probate court. A mass meeting of the people living south

[40] Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 413-415.
[41] *Ibid.*, 422-424.

of the Columbia was called at the Methodist mission for February 17 and 18, 1841. Steps were taken to provide laws and officials for the community; but the appointment of a judge with probate powers who disposed of Ewing Young's estate to the entire satisfaction of the community, and opposition to a permanent governmental organization on the part of some of the prominent settlers led to a temporary abandonment of the project. The people were still further encouraged in postponing the establishment of a civil government by the appearance of Captain Wilkes. The latter was decidedly opposed to the idea, and encouraged the people to believe that the United States would soon extend its jurisdiction over the territory.

The Champoeg convention of 1843.—The subject of organizing a government was again revived in the autumn of 1842. This led White, the sub-Indian agent for Oregon, to claim that his office was equivalent to that of governor of the colony, but some of the citizens contended that the doctor's business was to regulate the intercourse between the whites and the Indians and not to interfere with the former in their intercourse among themselves. A meeting was held at French Prairie for considering the matter of organizing a government and the Canadians were asked to take part in such organization. They declined, it was believed, because of the advice of McLoughlin and their spiritual adviser, Blanchet. The subject was discussed more or less during the winter, and finally at a meeting held in March, 1843, at Willamette Falls, a committee was appointed to give notice of a public meeting to be held in May following for the purpose of perfecting a governmental organization. The convention assembled at Champoeg on May 2. Here the opponents to an organized government in Oregon made strenuous attempts to block the move, failed, and withdrew. The committee that called the meeting had drawn up a report, and this was sub-

mitted and disposed of article by article. The result of the proceedings was the immediate election of a supreme judge with probate powers; a clerk of the court, or recorder; a sheriff; a treasurer; four magistrates; four constables; a major and three captains; and a legislative committee of nine members. The legislative committee was expected to complete its work in six days, and July 5 was fixed as the date for receiving its report. On the day designated the report was made and adopted.[42]

The work of the men at Champoeg will always occupy a place of first importance in the history of government in the Pacific Northwest. The pioneers who drew it up deserve great credit for what they did, but the success of these first efforts was due largely to the great emigration of that year. This changed the small American majority into a large one, provided able political leaders, and gave a feeling of stability and security to their government which it had not enjoyed.

If the arrival of immigrants saved the provisional government of 1843 it also pointed out its weaknesses. Among the most prominent of these were the provision for an excutive committee of three instead of a governor; a land law which permitted the Catholic and Protestant missions to claim each an entire township besides the land their members held as individual settlers; and a dependence upon private contributions for the necessary government funds. The agitation these defects provoked resulted in the election of a new legislative committee in the spring of 1844 made up principally of recent arrivals, and that body revised the entire system of government. The executive power was placed in charge of a governor to be elected by the qualified voters at the regular annual elections. The legislative power was vested in a house of representatives to

[42] The report of the committee is given in Hines, *Oregon*, 426-431.

consist of not less than thirteen nor more than sixty-one members instead of a committee of nine as formerly. The new body had all the powers usually possessed by territorial legislatures. The judicial power was vested in a supreme court and such inferior courts "of law, equity, and arbitration, as should, by law, from time to time, be established."[43] Changes were made also in the land laws which permitted none but actual settlers to hold claims. And finally provision was made for a system of taxation whereby the government could secure funds for maintaining itself with dignity and self-respect.

Emigration of 1844.—The number of immigrants coming into Oregon during 1844 was much larger than the company of the preceding year. They were drawn to the Pacific Northwest not only by the favorable reports from settlers who had gone before them and by the constant agitation in favor of emigration along the frontier, but by the prospect of having to drive Great Britain from the country.[44] They felt, some of them perhaps in an exaggerated degree, the rising hostility to England which was occasionally indicated by speeches in Congress and by the slogan of "fifty-four forty or fight" that was adopted by the Democrats in the presidential election of 1844. Intense suffering was experienced by members of the expedition before they reached their destination. The majority of them settled in the Willamette valley, but several of the families pushed north and located in the vicinity of Olympia. McLoughlin desired to confine the American settlements to the country south of the Columbia, and this evidently influenced some of the emigrants of 1844 to establish themselves north of that river. For a time it looked as if hostilities might take place between some

[43] *Ibid.*, 431, 432. *See also* Schafer, Joseph, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, New York, 1905, 197-206.

[44] Bancroft, *Oregon*, I. 448, and note 7.

of the American settlers and the employees of the Hudson Bay Company, but a few men with good judgment on both sides settled the questions under dispute. McLoughlin did a great deal to remove similar dangers to the peace of the community by complying with the suggestion of the local legislature in 1845 and joining in the government organization which the Americans had established.[45]

Further emigration to 1848.—The population of Oregon was more than doubled by the emigrants of 1845.[46] In the spring of that year companies began to form under capable leaders at Independence and at St. Joseph, Missouri, and when the expeditions were finally on the march they covered the trail from the state line to fifteen miles beyond the Big Blue. The journey between the Missouri and the Snake rivers was uneventful, but at Fort Hall, it was said, they found agents of the Hudson Bay Company who attempted to turn them from Oregon to California. Between Fort Hall and the Columbia the expedition experienced intense suffering and some loss of life. In 1846 about fifteen hundred more arrived, and the following year, after the settlement of the boundary question, four or five thousand people migrated to Oregon from the states. The number for 1848 was seven hundred or more.

Population and industries.—By the end of the year 1848 there were between ten and twelve thousand people in Oregon, including the whites and half-breed Indians. They were living in scattered settlements about the valley of the Willamette, with a few in the

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[45] It took all the tact and diplomacy of McLoughlin to avoid hostilities with members of the expedition of 1844. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 458-465. See also *ibid.*, 493-495, for union of Hudson Bay Company and Americans in local government.

[46] *Ibid.*, 508; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII. 412; Gray, *History of Oregon*, 453; Niles' *Weekly Register*, May 30, 1845, 203.

valleys of the Columbia, the Cowlitz, and on Puget Sound, and for the most part were engaged in stock raising and grain growing.[47] During the year 1844 the people raised more grain than they needed for their own use, according to Hines, shipped fifteen thousand bushels of wheat to the Russian settlements, and exported a thousand barrels of flour to the Sandwich Islands. A good crop of wheat, "provided the seed is put into the ground in its season, and in a proper manner, is as sure to reward the labor of the husbandman, as that day and night will continue until harvest time," and fifty and sixty bushels to the acre were not uncommon.[48] Indian corn did not do well, but vegetables and fruit thrived. There were nine grist mills in the country, and a sufficient number of sawmills had been constructed to provide lumber in necessary quantities for the inhabitants.

Territorial government established 1848.—The provisional government which had been established in 1843, with the modifications introduced during the following years, had served the community satisfactorily, but the demand for an extension of the laws of the United States over the country had grown with the increase in population. The United States and England had agreed upon a division of the territory, and there was no longer any just reason for the former to delay organizing a territorial government for Oregon. The people of that trans-mountain country sent messengers to Washington to urge that action be taken by the national legislature as soon as possible, but the wheels of Congress were clogged with the slavery controversy.

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[47] *Ibid.*, II. 1. Wilkes was in Oregon in 1841. He estimated the population at that time, including Indians and embracing in his estimate all the Oregon territory between forty-two degrees and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes at 19,204. He thought his estimate was too large rather than too small. Of the whites, Canadians, and half-breeds there were between 700 and 800, of whom about 150 were Americans. Report copied in Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, XII. 291.

[48] Hines, *Oregon*, 342.

A bill to organize the Territory of Oregon was reported in the Senate by Stephen A. Douglas on January 10, 1848. The president sent a message to Congress late in May which hastened action, and transmitted an appeal from the assembly of Oregon for troops and a territorial government. The bill was taken up in earnest and might have passed had not Hale of Massachusetts moved to add a section forbidding slavery. This aroused so much opposition that the amendment was finally withdrawn. The debate then began on a motion to strike out section twelve which declared that the "existing laws now in force in the Territory of Oregon, under the authority of the Provisional government established by the people, shall be valid therein." One of the laws referred to forbade slavery, and if it remained Oregon would be free soil. Regardless of the fact that nature had decreed against slavery in Oregon, regardless of the fact that any legislation by Congress would in no way affect the situation, the debate on the subject was heated. Finding that an agreement was impossible, the question was referred to a committee of eight of which Clayton of Delaware was chairman. On July 18 this committee reported a bill to organize three territories in Oregon, California, and New Mexico. The anti-slavery laws which had been passed by the provisional government in Oregon were to be retained subject to the later action of the territorial legislature, but California and New Mexico were not to be permitted to legislate regarding slavery. The Supreme Court was to have the right to settle disputes over slavery in those territories. This compromise measure was accepted by the Senate but the House rejected it. On August 2 the latter body passed a bill for the organization of Oregon alone, with the anti-slavery provision of the Ordinance of 1787. An attempt was made in the Senate to amend the bill, but "mindful of the recent nomination of Van Buren on a platform call-

ing for 'free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men,' receded, and accepted the bill as framed by the House." [49]

It was signed by Polk on August 14, 1848, and Oregon secured a territorial organization. Four days later the President appointed Joseph Lane governor of the newly organized territory, and early the next spring the new executive arrived at Oregon City. On March 3, one day before Polk's administration came to an end, Lane issued a proclamation notifying the people that he was on that day entering upon the discharge of his duties.[50]

Effect on Oregon of Gold in California.—While his vessel was anchored in San Francisco Bay, Lane saw hundreds of men from the Willamette with thousands of dollars' worth of gold dust buckled to their waists. They had been drawn to California by the discovery of gold in January, 1848, by J. W. Marshall who had come to Oregon with the emigrants of 1844 and had moved two years later to California and entered the employment of Sutter. Several thousand of Oregon citizens joined the rush to California's gold field during the years 1848 to 1849. Lane's first census of the territory, taken soon after he entered office, showed an American population of 8,785, counting all ages and both sexes, and 298 foreigners.[51] But the loss of population on account of the discovery of gold did not affect Oregon permanently. Of the thousands who crossed the plains a few chose the northern territory instead of California. There were several thousand of these between 1850 and 1853.

Development of southern Oregon.—Influenced by the excitement of gold-seeking and the love of adventure which it stirred up, all the northwest seaboard was opened to settlement. A mania for prospecting

[49] MacDonald, William, *From Jefferson to Lincoln*, 126, 127.
[50] *Lane's Autobiography*, MS. 5.
[51] Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II. 66, note 1.

and discovery possessed the people. "From Klamath River to Puget Sound and from upper Columbia to the sea men were spying out wealth or laying plans to profit by the operations of those who preferred the risks of the gold field to other and more settled pursuits." [52] An association of seventy of these speculators was formed at San Francisco in 1850 for the purpose of discovery, opening roads to the mines of northern California, and the founding of towns In May thirty-five of the share-holders sailed north in a small vessel and entered first the mouth of the Rogue River in southern Oregon. The adventurers were not favorably impressed either by the natives whom they met or by the appearance of the country, and they sailed up the coast a little farther to the Umpqua. Here they met a small party of Oregonians, among them Jesse Applegate, who were also exploring. The two parties joined, and the "Umpqua Town-Site and Colonization Land Company" was formed. The forces were divided and Umpqua valley was surveyed and explored. Then some members of the company returned to San Francisco and began selling lots in Oregon. Seventy-five emigrants were sent from San Francisco to occupy chosen sites in the Umpqua valley, but the Umpqua Company failed. One reason for its failure was the passage of the Oregon land law in September, which forbade companies or nonresidents from holding land for speculative purpose. This made it impossible for the company to give valid titles to the land it was offering for sale.

But the company had greatly benefited southern Oregon. They had surveyed and mapped Umpqua harbor and notes of the survey were published with a report of explorations and discoveries of rich agricultural lands, abundant and excellent timber, valuable

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[52] *Ibid.*, 175.

water power, coal and gold mines, fisheries, and stone quarries. Population was drawn to this part of Oregon by the published reports, and vessels began to ply between San Francisco and the Umpqua region. Ere long the towns of Gardiner, Winchester, and Scattsburg sprang up, and south of Winchester, between 1851 and 1853, a number of settlements were made, the most notable of which was that of Aaron Rose who became the founder of Roseburg. A trail was opened in 1851 over the mountains to Winchester, and was extended to the mines in the Umpqua and Rogue River valleys. "Long trains of mules laden with goods for the mining region filed daily along the precipitous path which was dignified with the name of road, their tinkling bells striking cheerily the ear of the traveler plodding his weary way to the gold fields." [58] At the session 1850-1851 Congress made appropriations for mail service by sea and land, a lighthouse at the mouth of the Umpqua River, and established a separate collection district. The discovery of gold in southern Oregon in 1852 led to a movement of miners from California, and for a few years these mines yielded well. As immigration into that section increased farms were opened and the permanent settlement of southern Oregon was assured.

Development at north and division of Oregon.—Meanwhile that part of Oregon north of the Columbia was growing and developing an independence of its own. The first American settlements on Puget Sound were made in 1846. During the next two years there was little increase in American population and commerce with the outside world amounted to nothing practically until the autumn of 1848. In the latter year the settlers abandoned their "shingle making and their insignificant trade at Fort Nisqually, to open with

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[58] *Ibid.*, 183.

their ox teams a wagon road to the mines on the American River." By 1850 trade on Puget Sound was opened and this increased considerably by 1853 because of the demand for lumber at San Francisco. Olympia, Steilacoom, Alki, Seattle, and Port Townsend, though still in their infancy, were participating in this trade. Settlements had been made on Shoalwater Bay and Gray Harbor, and on the principal rivers which entered them, and at Cowlitz Landing. A town was surveyed at the Cascades of the Columbia in 1850, and trading establishments were made at the upper and lower falls. In fact "the map of that portion of Oregon north of the Columbia had marked upon it in the spring of 1852 nearly every important point which is seen there today." [54]

As early as 1851 a movement was made by the settlers north of the Columbia to organize a new territory. There was little or no opposition from the legislature of Oregon or from Congress. A memorial from the territorial legislature was drawn up in December, 1852, and forwarded to Congress requesting that a separate territory might be made of the country to the north to be known as the Territory of Columbia. Congress changed the name to Washington and extended the boundaries from a point near Fort Walla Walla along the forty-sixth parallel to the Rockies, making a nearly equal division of Oregon territory, and in 1853 the new territorial government was established. A census taken in that year showed Washington to have a white population of 3,965.[55]

Oregon at close of this period.—The conditions of the southern territory continued to improve and the population spread rapidly. By 1853 there were over twenty thousand people, most of whom were scattered over the Willamette valley on farms. The mania for

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[54] *Ibid.*, 250, 251.
[55] Swan, *Northwest Coast*, 401.

town building which was at its height from 1850 to 1853 prevented the growth of any one town in particular. Oregon City was the oldest and had a population of little more than a thousand. Portland had grown to about two thousand. Salem, Corvallis, Albany, Eugene, Lafayette, Dayton, Hillsboro, and the newer towns farther south all contained less than a thousand each. The farmers were multiplying and prospering. In 1853 Meek and Luelling of Milwaukee sent four bushels of apples to San Francisco where they are said to have sold for five hundred dollars, and forty bushels in the same market the following year brought twenty-five hundred dollars. In 1861 Oregon shipped seventy-five thousand bushels of apples, but they no longer sold at the fabulous prices of earlier days.[56]

Bibliographical Notes

Settlement of Oregon: There is considerable material on the settlement of Oregon. The subject was discussed in the press of the country quite extensively before the people had moved into the territory in very large numbers. This is indicated by the numerous meetings held in the northern states preceding the presidential nominating conventions of 1844. Local accounts of some of these have been preserved in the newspapers of the respective localities.

The following works contain the most satisfactory accounts of the settlement: H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, 2 vols., San Francisco, 1886 to 1888 (Vols. XXIV and XXV of *The Works of*); James Christy Bell, Jr., *Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846*, New York, 1921; S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon Territory*, 2 vols., Portland, 1905; Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in 1811-1814* (in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*); W. H. Gray, *History of Oregon, 1792-1849*, Portland, Oregon, 1870; Rev. Gustavus Hines, *Oregon, its History, Condition and Prospects, Containing a Description of the Geography, Climate, and Productions with Personal Adventures among the Indians during a Residence of the Author on the Plains bordering the Pacific while Connected with the Oregon Mission, Embracing Extended Notes of a Voyage around the World*, New York, 1859; Washington Irving, *Astoria*, various editions;

[56] *Overland Monthly*, I. 39.

Texas and talked glibly to both Jackson and his Secretary of State, Van Buren, of conditions there. He prepared two papers on Texas, one giving an account of the geography and products of the country and the other setting forth arguments that might properly be submitted to Mexico to urge her to sell Texas to the United States. The presentation of these papers by Butler, who was then a speculator in Texas lands, seems to have first aroused Jackson's interest in the acquisition of that country.

Jackson makes an offer.—With these documents before him, on August 13, 1829, Jackson directed the Secretary of State to have Poinsett renew the proposal to Mexico for a change in the boundary as fixed in the treaty of 1819. The President favored a new boundary to be drawn along the watershed between the Nueces and the Rio Grande rivers, "north, to the mountains dividing the waters of the Rio Grande del Norte from those that run eastward to the Gulf, and until it strikes our present boundary at the 42nd degree of north latitude."[2] Poinsett was authorized to offer four million dollars for this territory; if it were impossible to procure it for that amount he might offer five million. Other boundaries were suggested, providing this one did not prove acceptable to Mexico, which would have brought less territory to the United States than the first one proposed. If any of the lines submitted were agreed upon, payment was to be made in proportion to the amount of land obtained.

Sentiment in the United States.—In his instructions to Poinsett in 1827 Clay suggested an argument that might be used in negotiations with Mexico, the purpose of which would be to show that nation that it was to her interest to surrender Texas to the United States. The increasing number of Anglo-Americans settling in Mexican territory, he said, who bore with them the

[2] Marshall, T. M., *The Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase*, 87.

political principles of their own nation must ultimately produce trouble. Poinsett was shrewd enough not to use this argument but its significance occurred to Mexican leaders and was magnified by them. In the United States the possible transfer of Texas was a subject of frequent written and oral discussion. A friend wrote Austin from Lexington, Kentucky, in the fall of 1829:

> We are all anxious to purchase Texas from Mexico and the subject is beginning to excite a great deal of warm discussion in our public prints. If Mexico will dispose of it on reasonable terms, I believe our government will no doubt be glad to obtain it, and I am sure will meet the almost universal desire of our citizens. The consequences to the holders of property in Texas would be very important and it would promote the happiness and prosperity of all the citizens of the province. A great many citizens of Kentucky would move to your settlement instantly if it were under our government.

Just a few days later a Texas colonist who had returned to the states wrote to Austin from Nashville, Tennessee:

> The prosperity of your colony . . . has now become a leading topic in conversation and one of the most interesting subjects of discussion in the political papers. A trong and simultaneous effort is at this moment making from one end of the country to the other to induce this government to purchase it. I incline to the belief that if the Mexican government will *sell,* this government will *buy.*[8]

Mexico was well informed concerning these facts. The discussions evidently became less frequent, however, when it was learned that Poinsett would not be able to conclude a treaty. He was then given permis-

[8] Howren, Alleine, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," in The Southwestern Historical *Quarterly* (1912-1913), XVI, 384.

sion to return to the United States and Butler was appointed to succeed him.

Jackson's instructions to Butler.—In a private letter to Butler dated October 19, 1829, Jackson had said:

> I have full confidence you will effect the purchase of Texas, so important for the perpetuation of that harmony and peace between us and the Republic of Mexico so desirable to them and to us to be maintained forever and if not obtained, is sure to bring us into conflict, owing to their jealousy and the dissatisfaction of those Americans now settling in Texas under the authority of Mexico—who will declare themselves independent of Mexico the moment they acquire sufficient numbers. This our government will be charged with fomenting, altho' all our Constitutional powers will be exercised to prevent. You will keep this steadily in view, and their own safety if it is considered will induce them to yield *now* in the present reduced state of their finances.[4]

Just two months later Butler arrived in Mexico. He had been there but a short time when Mexican newspapers published declarations that he was under instructions to purchase Texas for five million dollars. Editorial comments based on these declarations were not such as to encourage Butler to broach the subject. In fact the official communications which he received from Washington during this period indicated that the state department did not expect him to accomplish anything.

Reports of Poinsett.—The reports from Poinsett were doubtless responsible for the pessimistic views held by the officials in Washington. In a letter to Van Buren written in the summer of 1829, Poinsett had declared that it would be impossible for the United States to extend its "boundary south of the river Sabine without quarreling with these people, and driving them to

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[4] Quoted in Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 243, 244.

court a more strict alliance with some European power."[5]

The results.—The verbal reports made by Poinsett when he reached Washington in March, 1830, were equally unfavorable. Influenced by these communications the administration determined to change the instructions to Butler. On April 1, 1830, Van Buren wrote him that the President was convinced it would be wiser to postpone negotiations for the purchase of Texas until the public sentiment in Mexico became less hostile.

It is not necessary to examine the negotiations carried on by Colonel Anthony Butler. They are sufficiently well known. He was not qualified to handle delicate issues of diplomacy among a sensitive people like the Mexicans. The fact that a man so incompetent could find his way into an office of such importance and could remain in the position for a period of seven years is a sad commentary on the spoils' system introduced by Jackson and the new democracy in the spring of 1829.[6]

Attitude of Mexico.—In the meantime public sentiment in Mexico did not become "less hostile" toward the United States. When Bustamante established himself in office he selected as his Secretary of Foreign Relations Lucas Ignacio Alaman through whom the attention of the Mexican public was called seriously to Texan affairs. News had reached the Mexican officials that the offer to purchase Texas made by President Adams was to be renewed by President Jackson. As a result of this Alaman presented a report to the Mexican Congress in secret session on February 8, 1830. The subject of this document was the clearly manifest intention of the United States to take possession of Texas.

[5] Poinsett to Van Buren, July 22, 1829. In *House Doc. No. 351*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., 286.

[6] For summary of Butler's negotiations *see* Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 242-261.

The first part dealt with what he believed to be the policy of the United States, and the second with the means which he thought Mexico should adopt to maintain her hold on the territorv coveted by the United States.

Alaman's report.—Under the first part of his subject he traced what he declared to be a uniform policy in the United States, a policy that had in less than fifty years enabled them to take possession of "extensive colonies belonging to European powers, and of districts still more extensive, formerly in possession of Indian tribes—which have disappeared from the face of the earth; proceeding with these transactions not with the noisy pomp of conquest, but with such silence, such constancy, and such uniformity, that they have always succeeded in accomplishing their views." He said they usually began by introducing themselves into the territory which they coveted. With or without the consent of the country to which the territory belonged they devised ways and means of establishing colonies there. These colonies grew, multiplied, became the predominant part of the population:

"and as soon as support is found in this manner, they begin to set up rights which it is impossible to sustain in a serious discussion, and to bring forward ridiculous pretensions founded upon historical facts which are admitted by nobody such as La Salle's voyage (now known to be a falsehood), but which serve as a support, at this time, for their claims to Texas.

"Their machinations in the country they wish to acquire are then brought to light by the appearance of explorers, some of whom settle on the soil, alleging that their presence does not affect the question of the right of sovereignty or possession to the land. These intruders gradually originate movements which complicate the political status in the country under dispute, and this is followed by such general dissatisfaction that the patience of the legitimate

owner will become fatigued and the usefulness of the administration and the proper exercise of authority will be diminished. Then diplomatic intrigue will begin."

Proposals were to be made, Alaman continued, to purchase Texas for five million dollars. If this were not accepted it was very probable that the next step would be to submit the matter to arbitration, and if this should happen the evil would have been accomplished and Texas would be lost forever.

Alaman then suggested a definite program to prevent such a loss: (1) he would send a sufficient number of troops to suitable points along the frontier to repel invasion and to check insurrection, and he would increase the Mexican population by settling convicts in the places occupied by troops. (2) He would colonize the country with people whose interests, language, and customs were different from those of the United States. (3) He would encourage the coasting trade between Texas and the rest of Mexico. (4) The colonization law of 1824 should be repealed, and authority over public lands should be taken from the states and given to the federal government. (5) He would send a commissioner to Texas to collect statistics on the colonists and then take any measures necessary "to preserve that part of the republic." [7]

Comments on the report.—In commenting on the first part of this report a recent scholar says that Alaman invented historical parallels to fit his theory and that they "were quite as foolish as his ideas about arbitration." [8] The course of events in Louisiana or the Floridas had not resembled the process he traced and the United States government had never taken any part in the settlement of Texas. In short, this part of the report was absurd. But when Alaman turned his at-

[7] A translation of the document is in *House Doc. No. 351*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., 312-322.

[8] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 194-204.

tention in the second part to existing conditions in Texas he was on firmer ground, and his recommendations were taken up by Congress immediately. The law of April 6, 1830, was the result. But its administration under the Mexican government served only to stir up the Texans and hasten the day of final struggle between them and Mexico.

Austin opposes annexation to the United States.—While Jackson was trying to acquire Texas and the Mexican officials were organizing legal machinery to check United States aggression in that coveted area, what was the attitude of the settlers toward the former issue? According to one writer the leader of United States citizens in Texas put himself on record as definitely opposed to the acquisition of that colony by the United States. This was Austin, and a circumstance which led him to record his views on the subject was his great desire to persuade his sister and her husband to move to Texas. He wrote on March 28, 1830, advising them to pay no attention to rumors and ridiculous reports, but to come to Texas as soon as possible. There was nothing to fear from the Texas government or from any other, except from the United States. If the latter should acquire Texas and introduce its land system,

"thousands who are now on the move, and have not yet secured their titles, would be totally ruined. The greatest misfortune which could befall Texas at this moment would be a sudden change by which any of the emigrants would be thrown upon the liberality of the Congress of the United States of the North. *Theirs would be a most forlorn hope.* I have no idea of any change unless it be effected by arbitrary force, and I have too much confidence in the magnanimity of my native country to suppose that its Govt. would resort to *that* mode of extending its already unwieldy frame over the territory of its friend and neighbor and sister republic.[9]

[9] Quoted by Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6,

A similar opinion was expressed on the following day in a letter written by Austin to the political chief of Béjar. He declared that the federal government of Mexico had no constitutional right to sell Texas. The national government, under the law of August 18, 1824, could not give title "to one single individual for even one *vara* of public land in the state; how then could it sell all the land to a foreign power?" The land problem in Texas would be complicated by such a transfer, and Austin declared that he felt duty bound to inform his political chief of the "public opinion" on such "a particular of such grave importance to all the inhabitants of Texas . . . for it is possible that in Mexico they might believe that the new colonists desire to be transferred to the government of the north. . . . The new colonists desire no such thing, nor would they in any manner consent to a transfer to the Government of the North without the greatest number of previous guaranties."

Houston's view.—A different view is expressed by Sam Houston a little later. On February 13, 1833, about three years after Austin's communications, Houston, in a letter to Jackson touching the acquisition of Texas by the Government of the United States, said, that "such a measure is desired by nineteen-twentieths of the population of the province, I cannot doubt."[10]

Houston's view accepted by people.—These opinions expressed by two prominent leaders in Texas differed widely, but there can be little question about the comparative opportunities of the two men for drawing their conclusions. Houston had been in Texas about two months when he expressed this opinion. Austin had not only been in Texas for several years but he was in a better position than any one else to determine the

1830," in the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly* (1912-1913), XVI. 385, 386. This is consistent with the attitude taken by Austin in the Fredonian uprising which occurred about three years earlier.

[10] Quoted in Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Winning of the Far West*, 13.

public sentiment in the province. His colony composed the predominant element of the Anglo-Americans in Texas, and he was the foremost figure among them at that time. It is very probable, however, that the appearance of Houston accentuated, if it did not initiate, a movement for annexation. The sentiment of the people as expressed by Austin had undoubtedly changed by 1836. Writing to Secretary of State Forsyth from Velasco on September 12, 1836, Henry M. Morfit, the special agent sent to Texas by Jackson, said "the desire of the people to be admitted into our confederacy is so prevailing that any conditions will be acceptable which will include the guaranty of a republican form of government, and will not impair the obligation of contracts. The old settlers are composed, for the most part, of industrious farmers, who are tired of the toils of war, and are anxious to raise up their families under the auspices of good laws, and leave them the inheritance of a safe and free government." [11] The election held on the first Monday in September had shown an almost unanimous vote in favor of annexation. Austin, too, had changed his opinion completely by 1836. On November 18 of that year he instructed Wharton to make every effort to accomplish annexation, and a few days later, December 10, he wrote again that anxiety on the subject of annexation was "unabated." "The opinion in favor of that measure is much more decisive, if possible, than when you left. It is therefore expected that you will press the matter with as much earnestness as prudence will permit." [12]

There can be little question about the change in public sentiment in Texas regarding annexation between 1830 and 1836. The injudicious attempts made

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[11] *House Doc. No. 35*, 24th Cong., 2d Sess., II. 26, 27.

[12] Garrison, George P., "The First Stages of the Movement for the Annexation of Texas," in The American Historical *Review*, October, 1904, X. 76, 77.

to enforce the law that had passed in 1830 as a result of Alaman's recommendations to the Congress of Mexico had antagonized the people from the United States who were in Texas, and it is probable that the appearance of Houston tended to unify and strengthen that feeling still further.

Texan independence and annexation.—Texas won her independence in the spring of 1836. In October of the same year a permanent government was organized with Houston as president. William H. Wharton was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States. The two main objects of his mission were first to secure recognition of Texan independence, and second annexation. Austin, who was Secretary of State, in giving instructions to Wharton, urged him to secure recognition as soon as possible and cautioned him against accepting any terms of annexation except by formal treaty, and privately he was instructed to sacrifice no principles in order to obtain annexation.[13] Wharton reached Washington and was received unofficially by Jackson on December 20. The following day he had a conference with Forsyth and was told by that official that the popular vote in Texas favoring annexation had embarrassed the government of the United States. If Texas were immediately recognized it would look as if an agreement had been made with the United States for that purpose. Forsyth thought that it would be much better in every way if recognition could be secured first from England or elsewhere.

Wharton's disappointment was increased when he read the President's message which was presented to Congress on the day following his conversation with Forsyth.

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[13] Binkley, William C., "The Expansion Movement in Texas., MS., 33-35. (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree at the University of California.) *See* Austin to Wharton, November 18, 1836, in Garrison (editor), *Diplomatic Correspondence of Rep. of Texas*, I. 127-135.

United States Hesitates.—Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate [the message concluded] that we should still stand aloof, and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers, shall recognize the independence of the new government, at least until the lapse of time, or the course of events shall have proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the government constituted by them.

This was called "cold blooded" and "ungenerous," and Wharton declared there was nothing for him to do except "to operate with the President" and endeavor to have him quicken the action of Congress. "This I shall day and night endeavor to effect by using every argument that can operate upon his pride and his sense of justice."[14]

Jackson's private views.—In his private conversations with Wharton, Jackson made no attempt to hide his personal views on the subject of Texas. He favored recognition as he undoubtedly favored annexation, but he told Wharton that he wanted Congress to express itself favorably first. Such timidity was not characteristic of Andrew Jackson, but in this case it is not difficult to explain. He was influenced doubtless by a desire not to embarrass Van Buren's administration by committing the executive branch of the government to a policy which had not received the support of Congress. But the conversations between the President and the Texas minister evidently put heart into the latter and gave him a more optimistic view of the whole matter. Jackson, too, reached the point where he was willing to use Texas as a tool for acquiring a part of California. In an undated letter to Thomas J. Rusk, who was then acting secretary of state for Texas, Wharton said:

[14] Quoted in Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 396. For a detailed account of the attempts at annexation made by Texas *see ibid.*, Chapter XVI.

General Jackson says that Texas must claim the Californias on the Pacific in order to paralyze the opposition of the North and East to Annexation. That the fishing interests of the North and East wish a harbor on the Pacific; that this claim of the Californias will give it to them and will diminish their opposition to annexation. He is very earnest and anxious on this point of claiming the Californias and says we must not consent to less.[15]

Texan independence recognized.—Texas could thus make the expansion problem of the United States more inclusive by adjusting her western boundary so that it would include California, but the independence of Texas would have to be recognized first. March 2, 1837, Congress authorized the President to recognize Texan independence whenever he considered it wise to appoint a minister to that government. This Jackson did at once.[16]

Annexation solicited.—Recognition gained, Texas agents in Washington could turn their efforts towards annexation, but first they must be received formally by the United States government. As it worked out this was to be delayed longer than they had anticipated. Wharton had reported before the inauguration of Van Buren that the leaders of the new administration were afraid of the subject of annexation because they believed it would become the leading issue in the next elections. The policy of the administration would be to postpone the question. The Texas representatives were formally received July 6, 1837. Five days later Hunt, who had succeeded Wharton as minister, wrote to Irion that he believed Van Buren would be ambitious

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[15] Quoted in Binkley, *Expansion Movement in Texas, 1836-1850*, MS. 39, 40. *See* Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 193, 194. The letter, Dr. Binkley thinks, was written probably on February 28, 1827.

[16] *Ibid.*, 40. Two years later France extended her recognition, and Holland and Belgium in 1840. Recognition by Great Britain did not come until 1842.

to distinguish his administration by acquiring Texas. Writing again on August 4 he was still hopeful and proceeded to address a long communication to the State Department in which he proposed annexation, gave a résumé of the history of both Mexico and Texas, pointed out the mutual advantages to be derived from such a course and the disadvantages likely to arise if Texas remained an independent power.

Whatever views Van Buren may have held on the subject of Texan annexation he kept to himself for several months following his inauguration. Hunt thought the President hesitated because he was "doubtful as to what course of policy would be most popular—for that course he will be certain to pursue as soon as it is fairly ascertained."[17] And in this conclusion the Mexican minister was probably right. But he did not have to wait long for a reply to his formal communication of August 4, regarding the administration's view of annexation. Forsyth's communication on the subject was dated August 25, 1837.

Solicitations Rejected.—After dismissing the historical facts presented by Hunt as irrelevant to the subject and stating the policy adopted by the United States in recognizing the independence of other countries, Forsyth took up the question of annexation:

> The question of the *annexation* of a foreign independent State to the United States has never before been presented to this government. Since the adoption of their constitution, two large additions have been made to the domain originally claimed by the United States. In acquiring them this government was not actuated by a mere thirst for sway over a broader space. Paramount interests of many of the confederacy, and the permanent well-being of all, imperatively urged upon this government the necessity of an extension of its jurisdiction over Louisiana and Florida.

[17] Hunt to Irion, August 4, 1837, in Garrison, *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*, I. 246.

As peace, however, was our cherished policy, never to be departed from unless honor should be imperilled by adhering to it, we patiently endured for a time serious inconveniences and privations, and sought a transfer of those regions by negotiations and not by conquest.

The issue of those negotiations was a conditional cession of these countries to the United States. The circumstance, however, of their being colonial possessions of France and Spain, and therefore dependent on the metropolitan Governments, renders those transactions materially different from that which would be presented by the question of the annexation of Texas. The latter is a state with an independent Government, acknowledged as such by the United States, and claiming a territory beyond, though bordering on the region ceded by France, in the treaty of the 30th of April, 1803. Whether the constitution of the United States contemplated the annexation of such a State, and if so, in what manner that object is to be effected, are questions, in the opinion of the President, it would be inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to agitate.

So long as Texas shall remain at war, while the United States are at peace with her adversary, the proposition of the Texan minister plenipotentiary necessarily involves the question of war with that adversary. The United States are bound to Mexico by a treaty of amity and commerce, which will be scrupulously observed on their part, so long as it can be reasonably hoped that Mexico will perform her duties and respect our rights under it. The United States might justly be suspected of a disregard of the friendly purposes of the compact, if the overtures of General Hunt were to be even reserved for future consideration, as this would imply a disposition wholly at variance with the spirit of the treaty, with the uniform policy and the obvious welfare of the United States.[18]

Not only did the administration refuse to annex Texas, but virtually announced that the subject would not be considered further. Hunt was disappointed, and

[18] *House Doc. No. 40,* 25th Cong., 1st Sess., 11-13.

his reply to Forsyth was not entirely civil. For some time, however, he apparently expected that the American government might be influenced to reconsider the proposal. Forsyth was thought to be friendly at heart toward the proposition and Poinsett, the Secretary of War, was a firm supporter of annexation. In fact, the Cabinet was supposed to be acting cautiously for diplomatic reasons—principally out of courtesy to the prejudices of the North.

Uncompromising attitude of northern states.—But these early hopes which were aroused by representatives who were friendly toward annexation were soon dispelled by the uncompromising character of the opposition from northern and eastern states. Petitions were pouring into Congress from these sections, declared the Texan minister in Washington; and Irion wrote to Hunt in December, 1837, that he regretted "the presentation of so many petitions against Texas from the North Eastern states." He had "anticipated opposition from that quarter," but he was not prepared for the "determined and uncompromising" character of it.[19]

Hunt resigned early in June, 1838, and Peter W. Grayson was appointed to succeed him. Following this, Texan diplomacy in the United States took on a decided change. Grayson was told by Irion that if the United States Congress failed to act on the question of annexation before its adjournment the proposal was to be withdrawn. As it worked out Grayson did not go to Washington but was succeeded in August by Anson Jones to whom these instructions were repeated. In compliance with these orders Jones withdrew the proposal in October, 1838.[20]

New administration in Texas.—Mirabeau B. Lamar succeeded Houston as president of the Republic of

[19] Garrison, *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*, I. 277.
[20] Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas*, 1836-1850, MS., 47, 48.

Texas in December, 1838. Not only did he refuse to attempt any negotiations for annexing Texas, but he declared he was unable to see any advantages to be gained thereby. His great ambition was to see Texas develop into a "great independent republic"[21] which should extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, and "ultimately afford a highway for commerce to the Indies by way of Galveston and San Francisco."[22] These dreams of the President were evidently imparted to some of his ministers. Richard G. Dunlap, who was sent to Washington as minister from Texas, had been there but a short time when he began to grow enthusiastic over the possibility of securing California for Texas. "How would you like to have the boundary of the Republic to run to the Pacific so as to include California?" he wrote to Lamar, May 16, 1839. "This may seem too grasping, but if we can get it ought we not to take it and pay for it?"[23]

And so Texan statesmen apparently began to think of building up a republic of their own instead of spending further energy in attempting to have their territory annexed to the United States.

New administration in United States.—The presence and the influence of Andrew Jackson had hampered the Whig party for so long at Washington that they determined in the presidential election of 1840 to adopt the tactics of their opponents and nominate a military hero. The man chosen was William Henry Harrison of Tippecanoe fame. John Tyler of Virginia, a former Democrat who had recently joined the Whigs, was selected for the second place. These selections proved excellent for campaign purposes and the Whigs elected their candidates with an electoral

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[21] Marshall, "Diplomatic Relations of Texas and the United States," in Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, (1912) XV. 267.

[22] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 412.

[23] Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 85.

vote of two hundred and thirty-four out of a total of two hundred and ninety-four. But one month after the inauguration Harrison died and Tyler became president.

It did not take the Whig cabinet members long to learn that the new chief executive was still a Democrat at heart, and they began to send in their resignations. Webster remained longer than the others in order to conclude a treaty with Ashburton which would fix the northeastern boundary of Maine, and then he joined his former colleagues in retirement. Following his withdrawal an active campaign was undertaken for the "reannexation" of Texas.

Jackson no longer cautious.—Jackson was a private citizen at this time but he was still the leader of the Democratic party, and the Texas representative at Washington believed the old hero's influence over Tyler was paramount.[24] At any rate Jackson's interest in the annexation of Texas was apparently keener than ever, and in the new president the proposal found an eager advocate. Jackson's views on the subject were expressed in a letter to William B. Lewis written a few months after Webster's retirement. He said that he had been advised that Texas was then very willing to come into the Union. "I could obtain the cession in a week. We have a right now, Texas being independent, having been acknowledged by us, Great Britain and France, to treat with her as an Independent Nation, and annex her to this Union. The future safety of our country and its interests demand it. . . . We must regain Texas, *peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.*"[25] England, he believed, intended to extend her claims and her influence over Oregon and over Texas. By securing an

[24] See Van Zandt to Jones, March, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 137.

[25] Quoted in Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Winning of the Far West*, 60. The letter is dated, according to Professor McElroy, September 12, 1843.

offensive and defensive treaty with Texas she might secure the right to land and organize a formidable military force in that republic—a force of sufficient strength to take "New Orleans and reduce all our fortifications and, having command of the ocean, could keep the country a long time, and it might cost oceans of blood and millions of money to regain it."

With these sentiments, so far as they expressed a desire for annexing Texas, President Tyler heartily agreed. To fill the office of the state department which had been left vacant by Webster's resignation, he chose Abel P. Upshur. Upshur agreed perfectly with the President on the subject of Texas, and before his nomination was ratified by the Senate he had begun negotiations for securing that territory by urging Houston to renew his application for the admission of Texas into the United States.

Tyler's views.—As early as June 11, 1842, Tyler had expressed himself to the Texas minister in Washington as favoring immediate annexation.

> The only fear is its nonconfirmation by the Senate, two-thirds of that body being necessary to consummate a treaty. We are now casting about to ascertain the strength of the friends in the Senate, for annexation. There is a majority, but whether it amounts to the number requisite is doubtful. The President would act in a moment, if the Senate would assent.[26]

But when Tyler sent his message to Congress in December, 1843, he said nothing of the question of annexation. Jackson learned of this and wrote to Lewis December 15, 1843, approving the President's silence. He declared that it showed both prudence and wisdom. The proper course would be to secure first a treaty of annexation and present it to the Senate.

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[26] Reily to Jones in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 568.

Any other course would bring down upon him the abuse of J. Q. Adams and associates, and perhaps injure the negotiations. Houston will not oppose, as I believe, the annexation; he dare not . . .; did I believe otherwise I would write him on the subject, but I am convinced I could obtain it in a day. . . . To prevent Great Britain from getting it, or an influence over it, we must have it, peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must.[27]

Texan diplomacy.—A few months later, February 17, 1844, the British representative to Texas, Charles Elliott, wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, that he believed President Houston was determined "to sustain the durable independence of the country." [28] And indeed there were some in Washington who did not agree with Jackson in regard to Houston's stand on annexation. The reason for their belief was the conduct of Houston himself. The latter had instructed his representative in Washington, Van Zandt, on July 6, 1843, to take no further action at that time, with regard to annexation. It was evidently expected that Van Zandt would encourage the impression that Texas was now beginning to depend upon the friendship of England and France since her petition for annexation had been rejected by the United States. However, the remainder of the instructions declared that the real intention was "to simplify the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States" by first gaining the "acknowledgment of our independence" from Mexico. But the interpretation that had been given it by the authorities at Washington was doubtless as Houston had intended it should be. The administration was alarmed. Upshur immediately sought an explanation from Van Zandt regarding this surprising attitude of the Texas government, and it did not take long to come to a better

[27] Quoted in McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 61, 62.

[28] Adams, Ephraim D., "British Correspondence Concerning Texas," in Southwestern Historical *Quarterly*, XVIII, (1914-1915). 99.

understanding. Van Zandt wrote to his government that the question of annexation had taken an encouraging form. It had resolved itself into the question of whether or not Texas was willing to negotiate a treaty of annexation.

The possibility of England's (as many believe) securing an undue influence in Texas, and thereby monopolizing her growing trade, seems to have touched the secret springs of interest so fondly cherished by northern manufacturers, and presented the question in a form hitherto unheeded. The West are intent on the occupation of Oregon, in order to wrest it from the grasping power of Great Britain—it is believed that the interest of the two questions of the annexation of Texas, and the occupation of Oregon, can be combined, securing for the latter the south and southwestern votes, and for the former some northern and the entire western vote.[29]

It was true that the annexation fever which was to sweep the country in the election of 1844 had already begun to spread. The chances for success had not been so bright at any time since the Texas question was first considered, but Houston persisted in his policy of agitating it still more by playing England and France against the United States for the purpose of raising the sentiment for annexation to a point at which renewed annexation proposals might have even greater prospect of success. The letter sent to Van Zandt on December 13, 1843, containing new instructions indicated quite clearly that Texas was willing to accept a treaty of annexation if she had positive proof that such a treaty would be accepted by the Senate of the United States. But she was not willing to sacrifice her relations with England and France unless by doing so she could be assured that she would become a state in the American Union.

[29] Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 207-209, 221, 222.

Its effect in Washington.—This stand taken by Houston had its effect in Washington. R. J. Walker sent an appeal to Jackson on January 10, 1844, urging him to bring Sam Houston to terms.

> I think the annexation of Texas depends *on you.* Much as you have done for your country this would be the crowning act. It seems that your old friend, Samuel Houston, President of Texas, believes, that if he made a treaty with this administration, it would be regarded as an administration measure and fail. This is a great mistake. I believe the measure would receive the vote of nearly *every* Democrat in the Senate and many Whigs and I think *would succeed.* But delay the measure one or two years, and Texas is lost forever.

Walker concluded by requesting Jackson to write Houston urging him to give Van Zandt instructions to make a treaty of annexation, "or at least to make such a treaty if he believes it would succeed." [30]

Jackson complied immediately. His letter added to the pressure that was already bearing on the Texas administration. Houston had doubtless been opposed to annexation for a time during this period, but he could not withstand indefinitely the local public sentiment in its favor, particularly when it was accompanied by almost daily evidence of the eagerness of the American government for annexation. Before he would commit himself definitely to negotiating a treaty on the subject, he thought it wise to submit the whole question to the Texas Congress.

Reaction in Texas.—In accordance with this decision he sent a secret message to Congress on January 20, 1844, in which he said he had carefully refrained from expressing any opinion on the subject of annexation during his present administration, and for that reason

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[30] This correspondence is quoted in McElroy, *Winning of the Far West,* 65-67.

he thought it would not become him to express any at that time. But he did point out that if any effort were to be made by Texas to secure annexation—he admitted that annexation would be desirable—and if such an effort should fail, it might seriously injure the existing relations with England and France and might greatly diminish the claims of Texas to the confidence of other nations and create distrust on their part. For these reasons he urged the utmost caution and secrecy on the part of the officials of Texas as to their true policy. If they could not obtain annexation, they might at least be able to enter into a defensive alliance with the United States. The United States Congress would probably formulate its Texas policy very soon, thus making immediate action on the part of Texas desirable. But the stand which the United States is to take should be known first. If Texas should "evince too much anxiety, it will be regarded as importunity, and the voice of supplication seldom demands great respect." Houston then suggested that an additional agent be appointed to the United States to "coöperate with our agent there."[81]

Negotiations.—Immediately after this Van Zandt in Washington was directed to begin negotiations for a treaty of annexation, provided he was sure that annexation could be obtained. If things were favorable in every way a special minister would be sent to act in conjunction with him. Before it adjourned on February 5, 1844, the Texas Congress appropriated five thousand dollars to cover the expense for an additional representative at Washington, and five days later Houston offered the place to General J. Pinckney Henderson. Other questions were settled favorably,[82] and Houston was able to write Jackson:

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[81] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 594. *See also* Justin Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 160-163.

[82] The main issue, which was favorably settled, was to have Texas an-

Now, my venerated friend, you will perceive that Texas is presented to the United States, as a bride adorned for her espousal. But if, now so confident of the Union, she should be rejected, her mortification would be indescribable. She has been sought by the United States, and this is the third time she has consented. Were she now to be spurned . . . she would seek some other friend, but all Christendom would justify her in a course dictated by necessity and sanctioned by wisdom.[33]

This was written in February, 1844. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the tragedy occurred on board the war ship *Princeton* in which Upshur, the Secretary of State, lost his life. John C. Calhoun was appointed to succeed him.

By the end of March the Texas officials had definitely thrown themselves upon the United States. This decision was made known officially in a despatch sent to the Texas representatives in Washington. They were therein instructed that if they were unable to conclude a treaty of annexation without going beyond the limits of instruction already given them, they might consider themselves vested with "discretionary powers to conclude said treaty upon the best terms possible." [34]

Jackson's anxiety.—But Jackson was still anxious about the subject. He wrote to Major Lewis on April 8, 1844:

Please say to Mr. Walker to push this matter—have the treaty made and laid before the Senate. . . . This will prevent Mexico from invading and be a barrier against the intrigues of Great Britain. . . . Say to him for me, and if you choose to the President, that delays are dangerous. Houston and the people of Texas are now united in favor

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sured that if she made a treaty with the United States she would be protected by that nation against Mexico. *See* Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 595-609.

[33] Quoted in Bruce, *Houston*, 172, 173.

[34] Jones to Van Zandt, March 26, 1844, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 266.

of annexation. The next President of Texas may not be so. . . . Obtain it the United States must, peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must. . . . Having had some agency in bringing about this measure, I feel interested . . . that it should be promptly carried out in all good faith to General Houston.[35]

Writing to Aberdeen from Galveston, Texas, on May 8, 1844, William Kennedy said:

I have heard, and I believe truly, that General Jackson has used all the influence he possesses with the President of this Republic, as his old political and military leader to induce him to aid in accomplishing the annexation of Texas to the Union.[36]

Kennedy had not been misinformed.

In the meantime the treaty of annexation was progressing. Van Zandt and Henderson wrote to Jones that Calhoun had assured them everything would be done by the United States to protect Texas from the aggressions of Mexico;[37] and with this assurance they signed the proposed treaty on April 12, 1844.

Terms of the treaty.—Among other things the treaty provided for the cession of the whole of Texas to the United States. The public lands of the country were to be subject to the same laws which regulated public lands in other territories of the United States. All the public debts of Texas were assumed by the United States, and the amount and validity of them were to be determined by a commission appointed by the President of the latter. The citizens of the country annexed were to be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and as soon as possible they were to become citizens of the United States. Meanwhile

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[35] Quoted in McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 67, 68.

[36] Adams, "British Correspondence Concerning Texas," in Southwestern Historical *Quarterly*, XVIII, (1914-1915). 310.

[37] *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 269-273.

the laws of Texas were to remain in force, and all executive and judicial officers would retain their posts except the President, Vice-President, and heads of departments.[38]

Tyler's message.—Ten days later, April 22, President Tyler forwarded the treaty to the Senate accompanied by a message of defense. The country was to be congratulated, he said, on regaining a territory which formerly constituted a part, "as is confidently believed, of its dominion, by the treaty of cession of 1803, by France to the United States." The wealth of the Union would be increased, not only by the fertile soil and genial and healthy climate, but by the character of the inhabitants of the country to be annexed. To the northern section of the United States the message promised an extension of the coastwise trade and advantages to the manufacturing and mining interests through the proposed annexation; while to the southern and southeastern section it gave assurance of "protection and security to their peace and tranquillity, as well against all domestic as foreign efforts to disturb them; thus consecrating anew the Union of the States, and holding out the promises of its perpetual duration." [39]

Treaty unpopular.—But Tyler's conciliatory message was not effective. There was at least one prominent member of Congress, however, who apparently thought it would be. On the evening of the day it was transmitted to the Senate, John Quincy Adams confided despairingly to his diary: "This was a memorable day in the annals of the world. The Treaty for the annexation of Texas to this Union was this day sent in to the Senate; and with it went the freedom of the human race." [40] But while Adams considered its rati-

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[38] *House Doc. No. 271*, 28th Cong., 1st Sess., 5-8.

[39] Richardson, J. D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, IV. 307.

[40] Adams, *Memoirs*, XII. 13.

fication inevitable, Jackson was more skeptical. On April 7, five days before the President's message was sent to the Senate, Jackson received a letter from W. D. Miller, Houston's agent in Washington, telling him that there appeared to be a strong disposition among Clay's followers to postpone any definite action on the treaty by the Senate. On the other hand, Van Buren's friends were said to be heartily in favor of annexation, but it was impossible to determine how Van Buren himself stood in the matter.

> Much, very much, my dear General [wrote Miller] depends upon your continued efforts. . . . From the relation in which you stand to President Houston, enjoying in the fullest degree his confidence, and friendship, and I might add, even affection, you will be able to give those senators, with whom you might communicate, some very wholesome and available advice.[41]

Treaty Defeated.—But Jackson's efforts were in vain. The letters by Van Buren and Clay, published at the same time, both opposing annexation, served to defeat the treaty in the Senate, and to defeat both writers for the presidency.

Jackson becomes more active.—The activities of Jackson preceding and following this defeat have been admirably outlined elsewhere.[42] Before he had heard of the defeat of the treaty, on May 3, 1844, he wrote his friend, Major Lewis, that he hoped some of the members of Congress would have energy enough to present a bill, if the treaty failed, and pass it through Congress, a bill which would provide for annexing Texas to the United States. When news reached him that the treaty had been defeated, he "deluged Wash-

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[41] McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 69, 70.

[42] *Ibid.*, Chapter III, especially from page 70 on. *See also* Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. Chapters XXIII, XXIV.

ington with letters written to spur the President and the Annexationists in Congress to renewed effort . . ." He thought it looked as if England's and France's secret diplomacy was about to succeed, but he never lost faith in the ultimate success of the movement for annexation. It "must make a part of our Union, cost what it may, and then we place at defiance the threats of combined Europe of invasion." He reviewed the history of United States claims to Texas as a part of the Louisiana territory. The Florida treaty of 1819 was vigorously denounced, together with its author, John Q. Adams, for surrendering it. He insisted that it was the duty of the United States to defend and hold every foot of territory, as far as Louisiana's ancient limits. Although the treaty of annexation had failed, he asserted that the United States was still bound by the treaty of 1803, and he urgently reiterated his plan for bringing Texas into the Union by joint resolution.

Tyler favors admission by act of Congress.—This particular method of settling the Texas question had been suggested by Henderson, then acting as Secretary of State in Texas, as early as December 31, 1836,[48] and it had been discussed many times after that date. The treaty of annexation was defeated in the Senate on June 8, 1844, by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen. Several weeks before Tyler had decided that Texas could be admitted into the Union as a state by an act of Congress. He based his belief on that clause in the Constitution which gives Congress power to admit new states into the Union. And in fact he had assured the representatives from Texas at the time the treaty was signed that he would urge Congress to enact a law admitting Texas as a state, if the treaty failed in the Senate.

Political parties and Texas.—Meanwhile political parties were lining up their forces for the presidential

[48] Henderson to Hunt, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 164.

contest of 1844—a contest which was to indicate that public sentiment favored the annexation of Texas. In May the two leading parties held conventions in Baltimore. The Whigs chose Clay unanimously, as it was known they would do, and Frelinghuysen was named for Vice-President. But among the Democrats opinions were not so harmonious. The majority of the delegates were pledged to vote for Van Buren, but some of them were opposed to him. In order to insure his defeat the two-thirds rule was adopted by the convention. On the first ballot Van Buren was thirty-two votes short of the two-thirds required for nomination under the new rule, and thenceforth he lost rapidly. Cass, his strongest opponent, began to gain. On the seventh ballot his success appeared probable, but he was unpopular with some of the northeastern states, and Van Buren's opposition would have rendered his success in New York impossible. An adjournment was therefore effected until the next day. During the night many conferences were held among the opponents of Cass to find some candidate to defeat him. James K. Polk of Tennessee was selected, and on the following morning was nominated on the second ballot by a union of the North and South. Wright of New York, a warm friend of Van Buren, was nominated for the vice-presidency, but he declined and the place was given to George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania. There was no ambiguity in the platform in regard to Texas. It declared that "the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practical period" was desirable. The followers of Tyler from various parts of the country held a meeting in Baltimore on the same day as the Democratic convention and nominated him. They named no one for Vice-President and they adopted no platform. At Buffalo the Liberty party, which had been organized in 1840, held its convention, and selected for its principal candidate

James G. Birney of Ohio. Morris of Ohio was nominated for Vice-President.

The attitude taken by the Democratic party and by his own followers on the Texas question encouraged Tyler to proceed with his scheme for acquiring that territory. He apparently had absolute confidence in the popular desire for expansion. Fifteen days after the adjournment of the Democratic convention and three days after the treaty of annexation had been voted down in the Senate, on June 11, Tyler published an appeal to Congress and to the people.[44] In this document he declared that Congress had ample power to accomplish everything that a formal ratification of the treaty would have accomplished, and that he felt it his duty to lay before the House of Representatives all the material he possessed which would enable that body to act intelligently on the subject. He had regarded annexation by treaty as the most suitable method of acquiring Texas, but if Congress thought it "proper to resort to any other expedient compatible with the Constitution, and likely to accomplish the object, I stand prepared to yield my most prompt and active co-operation." The principal question was not as to the manner in which it should be done, but whether or not it should be done at all. Upon Congress devolved the responsibility of deciding this question.

Texas in the campaign.—By this time the presidential campaign had begun and Tyler's message, although it came too near the adjournment of Congress to secure attention at that session, was an important factor in placing the Texas question first among the important issues in the campaign. It was impossible for Clay to soft-pedal or side-step the issue. His Raleigh letter had not strengthened his political position, and his explanation of that unfortunate epistle in the midst of his campaign completely destroyed any chance he may have

[44] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 637-639.

had for attaining the presidency. The Democratic forces that had been divided and doubtful at the beginning of the campaign began to attain unity and confidence as the summer weeks passed. Tyler's candidacy was obviously an obstacle to the success of the party, and Democratic leaders became more persistent in urging his withdrawal.

> Mr. Tyler's withdrawal, at once, [wrote Jackson] would unite all Democrats into one family, without distinction. This would render our victory easy and certain, by bringing Mr. Tyler's friends into the support of Polk and Dallas—received as brethren by them and their friends—all former differences forgotten—and all cordially united once more in sustaining the Democratic candidates. I had such confidence in Mr. Tyler's good sense and patriotism, that I was sure he would withdraw in due time, as I believe him to be a good Democrat.[45]

A united Democratic party.—Tyler finally yielded and on August 21 withdrew from the contest. Democracy was now united and against it the most of the Whig speakers were unable to offer effective opposition. Webster was the only prominent member of the latter party apparently who had a definite and clear-cut view of the question. He took a decided stand against annexation because if carried out it would involve the extension of slavery. Clay wrote as many as six letters on the subject, but by them he lost many votes. He was responsible to a considerable degree for placing the balance of power in the hands of the Liberty party, and the latter used its influence to defeat the Whigs.

Results of the election.—But to say that Clay's defeat was due to the anti-slavery feeling of a minority should not be taken to mean that Polk's success was due to the support of the slavery element. It was accomplished rather by the strong expansionist sentiment of

[45] Niles, *Weekly Register*, LXVI. 416.

the West. With the exception of Ohio all the western and southwestern states were for Polk. The congressional elections resulted in showing an even more decisive victory for the Democratic party. Of the members elected to the new House of Representatives one hundred and twenty were Democrats and seventy-two were Whigs.

Annexationists throughout the United States took courage as a result of the election, but none were more jubilant than President Tyler. His congressional message in December, 1844, was one long strain of exultation. After commenting most enthusiastically upon the growing improvement in domestic affairs and declaring that foreign questions of vital importance to the peace of the nation had been satisfactorily settled, he came to the subject which appealed particularly to his triumphant spirit. This was Texas.

Effect of Election on Annexation Sentiment.—The decision of the people and the United States [he said] on this great and interesting subject, has been decisively manifested. The question of annexation has been presented nakedly to their consideration. By the treaty itself, all collateral and incidental issues, which are calculated to divide and distract the public councils, were carefully avoided. These were left to the wisdom of the future to determine. It presented, I repeat, the isolated question of annexation; and in that form it has been presented to the ordeal of public sentiment. A controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the states, have declared in favor of immediate annexation. Instructions have thus come up to both branches of Congress, from their respective constituents, in terms the most emphatic. It is the will of both the people and the states that Texas shall be annexed to the Union promptly and immediately. . . . The two governments having already agreed . . . on the terms of annexation, I would recommend their adoption by Congress in the form of a joint resolution, or act, to be per-

fected and made binding on the two countries when adopted, in like manner, by the government of Texas.

Joint resolution introduced.—In accordance with this suggestion a joint resolution was introduced in the Lower House. Stephen A. Douglas, who was then a young member from Illinois, was among its principal supporters. The arguments which he urged to justify the annexation of Texas had been stated before the joint resolution came up for consideration: commercial advantages, a new market for northern manufacturers, and improved boundaries which would enable the country to protect itself against foreign powers more easily. But Belser of Alabama emphasized it as a natural step in the westward movement of the settlers, a step that it was beyond the power of Congress to check. The movement of settlers in the United States was naturally westward and westward it would continue to be until they had occupied not only Texas but the vast region beyond the Rocky Mountains as well. Congress might just as well attempt to stop Niagara as try to check this movement.

Resolution passed.—It was opposed by Giddings of Ohio, and by Winthrop and Adams of Massachusetts, but their efforts were vain. The resolution passed the Lower House on January 25, 1845, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to ninety-eight; and on February 27 the Senate accepted it by the close vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five.[46] The resolution had been slightly amended in the Senate, and was returned by that body to the Lower House on February 28, the question being upon the concurrence in the amendment made in the Senate. All discussion was omitted and the resolution in its amended form passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-two to seventy-six. The joint resolution was

[46] Details of the struggle in Congress may be read in Justin Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, Chapter XVI.

signed by Tyler on the following day, Saturday, March 1.

Substance of resolution.—The resolution finally adopted provided that Texas might become a state in the Union when her constitution was accepted by Congress; that four additional states might be formed out of her territory, with her consent; that any disputes which might arise over boundary would be settled by the United States through negotiations with the country concerned; that Texas should assume her own debt and surrender her defenses on land and sea; that the principle of the Missouri compromise should be extended to Texas; and that the President should have authority to complete annexation by negotiating with Mexico or by an agreement with Texas.

Resolution submitted to Texas government.—President Tyler hesitated to send the signed resolution to the Texas government. He had a conversation with Calhoun on the subject, and the latter expressed himself as heartily in favor of immediate action on the part of the President. Tyler said his only reason for considering delay arose from a feeling of delicacy to his successor. Calhoun thought that no feeling of delicacy should be permitted to stand in the way, and urged that action be taken at once. As a result of this conversation between the President and his Secretary of State it was agreed that a Cabinet meeting should be held on the following day, March 2. The Cabinet members were unanimously in favor of immediate action, but they thought it would be courteous to inform Polk of Tyler's idea on the subject. This Calhoun did but Polk refused to commit himself in any way. Instructions were forwarded then to the American agent in Texas, Donelson, directing him to give to the Texas government, as quickly as possible, the joint resolution as a basis of admission to the Union.[47]

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[47] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 32.

Mexican minister demands passports.—The Mexican minister in Washington had watched the proceedings of Congress with profound interest, and had expressed himself in a most vehement manner against the joint resolution. He declared the United States had committed the most unjust act of aggression which could be found recorded in the annals of modern history—the act of despoiling a friendly nation of a large part of her territory. He felt justified, therefore, in protesting most solemnly against the law which admitted Texas, "an integrant" part "of the Mexican territory," into the Union, and he closed by demanding his passports.[48]

This letter was written by Almonte to Calhoun on March 6, 1845, but by that time the old administration had given place to the new. Polk had already determined to adopt the action of his predecessor and to regard the annexation of Texas as an incident which had been practically concluded. In this view he was unanimously supported by his new Cabinet, and it was determined to go forward at once with the plan of annexation.

The new Secretary of State was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and to him fell the responsibility of carrying on the negotiations. Immediately after assuming his duties on March 10, he wrote to Donelson, the American agent in Texas, informing him that President Polk had no intention of reversing the decision of his predecessor in regard to Texas. The instructions sent by Calhoun on March 3 preceding were therefore confirmed, and Donelson was directed to use all his energy to obtain the consent of Texas to annexation.

Buchanan's letter.—Buchanan then turned his attention to Almonte, whose protest he had received. He declared that the admission of Texas into the Union as a state had received the sanction both of the legis-

[48] *Ibid.*, 38.

lative and executive departments and had been "irrevocably decided, so far as the United States are concerned. Nothing but the refusal of Texas to ratify the terms and conditions on which her admission depends, can defeat this object. It is, therefore, too late at present to reopen a discussion which has already been exhausted, and again to prove that Texas has long since achieved her independence . . . and now stands before the world, both *de jure* and *de facto* as a sovereign and independent State amid the family of nations." Under such circumstances, then, "neither Mexico nor any other nation will have just cause of complaint against the United States for admitting her into this Union." He regretted that the Mexican government had taken offense at what had been done, and he promised to use all his influence to arrange an amicable adjustment of every irritating question between the two governments.[49]

Attitude of Mexico.—Meanwhile the Mexican government had followed the presidential election in the United States with close and serious interest, and when the results were learned, the new administration of Herrera found itself confronted with the difficult problem of determining the proper course to pursue. The new minister of foreign relations was Cuevas, and among his first duties was to draw up the annual report of his department for submission to the Mexican Congress. In this the relations of Mexico to Texas were discussed at some length.

He frankly admitted at the outset that the separation of Texas from Mexico was a fact. It was due, he declared, to the disorders in Mexico and to the support given Texas by the government of the United States. The latter had gone further and had announced its intention of annexing Texas to the Union. Therefore Mexico had two questions to decide: the independence

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[49] *Ibid.*, 39.

of Texas, and its annexation to the United States. The first, if it occurred, would be a misfortune, but the second might be fatal. It was therefore the intention of the Mexican government to undertake negotiations to fix definitely the relations between Mexico and Texas. The exact plans of procedure had not been formulated at that time, but nothing would be done which was contrary to the sentiments of the Mexican Congress.

At this point, about the middle of February, 1845, it became known in Mexico that the joint resolution for annexing Texas had passed the Lower House of the Congress of the United States. Cuevas consulted the British minister, Bankhead, and was urged by the latter to recognize the independence of Texas, but this, Cuevas said, the Mexican Congress would not consider, unless it was supported by both England and France. Bankhead replied that "any assistance from England must be a moral one, for that whatever disposition may at one time have existed to go beyond that line, had now been withdrawn." [50]

Cuevas did not submit his report to Congress until about three weeks later. In the meantime he added a paragraph informing that body that the House of Representatives of the United States had accepted the project of annexation, and that it then depended upon the Upper House "whether or no this iniquitous usurpation shall be carried further. . . " [51] But the Mexican Congress took no action in regard to Texas. On March 21 Cuevas received official word from Almonte that the United States Senate had passed the joint resolution of annexation. He immediately sought advice from Bankhead, and later he discussed the situation with both the English and the French ministers who urged moderation. On March 22 he made a formal report to the Mexican Congress on the subject. In this

[50] Quoted in Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 420.
[51] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 700.

he placed all the blame for existing conditions upon the former administration. On March 28 following he sent a communication to Shannon, the American minister in Mexico, in which he protested against the annexation of Texas to the United States, declaring that:

> The republic of Mexico will oppose it with all the earnestness which becomes its honor and sovereignty, and that its government trusts that that of the United States may more carefully weigh considerations of loyalty and justice than those of an increase of territory at the expense of a friendly republic, which, in the midst of its misfortunes, desires to preserve an unstained name and to deserve thereby the rank to which its destinies call it.[52]

In the meantime the scene of diplomatic activity is shifted to Texas. Calhoun's instructions to Donelson in regard to the joint resolution of Congress reached that official in the latter part of March while he was in New Orleans on leave of absence. He immediately returned to his post, arriving at the capital of Texas on March 30. On his way he had met the English and French representatives, Elliot and Saligny, who were returning to Galveston. These officials had been successful in concluding arrangements with the new administration of Texas which would make it more difficult for Donelson to accomplish his mission.

Relations between Texas and Mexico.—On March 30 an agreement had been reached between the English and French representatives on the one hand and the Secretary of State of Texas on the other, whereby Texas accepted the good offices of France and England "for an early and honorable settlement of their difficulties with Mexico, upon the basis of acknowledgment of the independence of Texas by that Republic." The President of Texas accepted the proposed intervention of

[52] *Ibid.*, 701.

the two powers, but he pointed out that conditions in Texas made it imperative upon him to place before the people of that Republic, as soon as possible, decisive proof of Mexico's willingness to acknowledge the independence of Texas. The administration of Texas further proposed certain preliminary conditions which were to be submitted to Mexico, agreeing that if they were accepted a proclamation should be issued announcing the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace, and that for a period of ninety days from the date of the memorandum, Texas would not accept any proposal, nor in any way carry on negotiations to annex itself to any other country. It was also stated that Texas, if her people so decided, was to be at liberty to pursue the policy of annexation instead of carrying out the proposed arrangements with Mexico, but in that case the Texas government agreed to notify France and England of these intentions.[53]

By the time he reached Galveston, the British minister, Elliot, received word that Mexico had already expressed a willingness to treat with Texas. He hastened to Mexico, arriving there about the middle of April. The proposals which he had received from the administrative officials of Texas were placed in the hands of Cuevas who laid them before Congress. But that body was slow in acting upon them. Not until May 17 had they been passed by both Houses and signed by the President. Provided with this document

[53] The terms proposed by Texas as a basis for negotiations were as follows:

1—Mexico consents to acknowledge the independence of Texas.

2—Texas engages that she will stipulate in the Treaty not to annex herself or become subject to any country whatever.

3—Limits and other conditions to be a matter of arrangement in the final treaty.

4—Texas will be willing to remit disputed points respecting territory and other matters to the arbitration of umpires. *See* Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas, its History and Annexation,* New York, 1859, 474, 475.

and with a letter from the French minister in Mexico addressed to the President of the Texas republic, Elliot returned, reaching Galveston on May 30. The Texas government was informed immediately of the official action taken by Mexico.

Texas faced by two proposals.—And thus it came about that Texas found herself in a position to choose between two propositions. She might become a state in the American Union by accepting the conditions submitted by the United States government or she might have peace with Mexico together with recognition of her independence (terms which she had proposed) providing she would agree not to annex herself to any other country. Texas decided in favor of the former.

As soon as the new Congress met in December, 1845, Polk informed that body that Texas had accepted the terms of annexation submitted in the joint resolutions, and had forwarded her proposed state constitution to the government of the United States for its approval. The President declared that the faith of both parties had been pledged to the proposed plan for annexation, and that the new state should be admitted into the Union without delay. A few days later he submitted official evidence to show that the new constitution had been ratified by the people of Texas, and thus it followed that the final settlement of the question of annexation devolved upon the American authorities.

Texas admitted into the Union.—The subject was presented to the House of Representatives by whom it was referred to the committee on territories. On December 10 Stephen A. Douglas reported a joint resolution declaring Texas to be a member of the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and that it should have two representatives until an apportionment could be made on the basis of population. It was made the special order of the day for the sixteenth, and was immediately forced through by a vote of one hun-

dred and forty-one to fifty-six. Meanwhile the Senate was considering a bill, but when it learned that Douglas's resolution had passed the Lower House, the judiciary committee of the Senate recommended that this be substituted for the bill under consideration. This proposal was accepted, and, on December 22, the resolution passed the Senate by thirty-one to fourteen. It was signed by the President on the twenty-ninth. The laws of the United States were extended formally over the territory of Texas, and a district court was organized. Then a collection district was created and provision was made for constructing postal routes.

Bibliographical Notes

See the references listed at the end of chapter five; the citations given in the footnotes of the present chapter; Ephraim Douglass Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas; 1838-1846* (The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1909, Baltimore, 1910); G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension, 1841-1850,* XVII of A. B. Hart (editor), *American Nation: A History,* New York, 1906; William R. Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico,* Baltimore, 1916; Jesse S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk;* and Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico,* 2 vols., New York, 1919.

CHAPTER XI

OREGON DIPLOMACY THROUGH 1846

The name Oregon was vaguely applied to that part of the Pacific Northwest lying between parallels forty-two and fifty-four forty north latitude. The elimination of the French, Spanish, and Russian claims to that region and the beginning of the controversy between England and the United States have been noticed. The Convention of 1818 had secured equal rights of the subjects of both nations in the disputed territory for a period of ten years, and in August, 1827, that agreement had been renewed for an indefinite period with the understanding that either party might annul it at any time after October 20, 1828, by giving twelve months' notice to the other contracting party.

Canning's opinion of early English diplomacy regarding Oregon.—While both nations laid claims to the entire territory the particular section about which the controversy centered was the Columbia River basin. George Canning, while foreign secretary of the British government and leader of the House of Commons, wrote a letter to Lord Liverpool, July 7, 1826, commenting upon the advantages which England had deliberately surrendered to the United States. He regretted exceedingly the "blunder" committed by the British government when it consented to restore Astoria following the War of 1812, a blunder which he hoped to be able to retrieve "if we maintain our present ground immovably. If we retreat from that, the ces-

sion of Astoria will have been but the first symptom of weakness, the first of a series of compliances with encroachments which, if not resisted, will grow upon success. There are two points—one of a political, the other of a commercial character—which I anxiously desire you to bear in mind in the discussion of this question.

First, that the ambitious and overbearing views of the States are becoming daily more developed, and better understood in this country. Second, that the trade between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, direct across the Pacific, is the trade of the world most susceptible of rapid augmentation and improvement. Between China and Mexico, it is now going on largely. . . . We cannot yet enter into this trade, on account of the monopoly of the E (ast) I (ndia) C (ompany). But ten years hence that monopoly will cease; and though at that period neither you nor I shall be where we are to answer for our deeds, I should not like to leave my name affixed to an instrument by which England would have foregone the advantages of an immense direct intercourse between China and what may be, if we resolve not to yield them up, her boundless establishments on the N. W. Coast of America.[1]

Gallatin's estimate of British interest in Oregon.—However, the majority of the British officials were apparently not so interested in maintaining English supremacy in the Pacific Northwest. At least the United States minister, Albert Gallatin, did not receive that impression. In an explanatory letter to Clay written August 10, 1827, he gave what he believed to be Great Britain's real views in regard to the Oregon country. There was at that time no desire on England's part to establish colonies in the territory. The officials of the British government did "not believe that it will, when

[1] Quoted in Schafer, Joseph, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846," in *American Historical Review*, XVI. (1910-1911). 291, 292.

once settled, long remain either a British colony or a part of the United States; that they do not think it, therefore, a matter of great importance whether it shall receive its inhabitants from Great Britain, Canada, or the United States; and that they are willing to let the settlement take its natural course." But they were not willing to make such a division of the territory as the United States had a right to expect, nor would they be willing to agree to such an apportionment for some time to come. Public opinion would not support them in such a measure. It was possible that something might happen which would "accelerate the settlement of a permanent boundary line," but it was not probable that it would be "done in a satisfactory manner until the citizens of the United States" should "have acquired a respectable footing in the country." In the meantime Great Britain felt herself bound to protect the establishments there which had been built up by British capital and enterprise:

The Fur Company, though not perhaps as popular and favored as formerly, has still sufficient influence not to be disregarded. Of the monopolizing, rapacious, and unfriendly disposition of that company you are well apprised, and that it has been and will continue to be the principal bar to a definite settlement of differences in that quarter. But recollections of the high, though not very tenable ground assumed by this country towards Spain in the affair of Nootka, have also their influence. National pride prevents any abrupt relinquishment of her pretensions; but Great Britain does not seem indisposed to let the country gradually and silently slide into the hands of the United States; and she is anxious that it should not, in any case, become the cause of a rupture between the two Powers.[2]

During the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren practically nothing was done to settle the Oregon ques-

[2] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* VI. 694.

tion. The next action taken by Washington officials was to be at the point of pressure wielded by the people of the western country.[3] The movement of settlers into Oregon is treated elsewhere. It is sufficient here to remind the reader that American trappers and traders had become familiar with the country before 1830; that settlers began to immigrate a few years later; and that before the end of Tyler's administration, thousands of Americans were crossing the mountains to the fertile valley of the Columbia. They had friends in Congress. Within the limits of the United States were hundreds and thousands of others who knew neither emigrants nor Congressmen, but who were interested in the extension of the western frontier. The accumulated desires of all these people were back of Benton and others like him, and gave rise to the idea of "America from sea to sea."

Webster-Ashburton treaty and Oregon question.—In April, 1842, Lord Ashburton arrived at Washington to begin negotiations regarding disputed boundaries. Webster, who was about to retire from the state department, remained in office long enough to complete negotiations with the English representative. It was generally believed at the time that at last the Oregon question would be decided. But it was known that a partition of the country was the only possible mode of settling the issue in 1842. Webster spoke of adopting the Columbia River as a boundary, providing arrangements could be made by which Mexico could be induced to sell San Francisco Bay to the United States. To this plan Great Britain had no objection, but she expressed no desire to help the United States carry her point with Mexico. However, Webster modified his views ere long. He was a New Englander,

[3] The results of a study of this subject may be found in Joseph Schafer, "Oregon Pioneers and American Diplomacy," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, New York, 1910.

and as such was much concerned in regard to the harbors of the Pacific; so that in June, 1842, when Wilkes's exploring expedition returned and reported that there was a dangerous bar at the mouth of the Columbia and that Puget Sound contained excellent harbors, Webster again thought of the advantages of a boundary along the forty-ninth parallel.[4]

Omission of Oregon in Webster-Ashburton treaty explained by Webster.—People who were interested in the subject were disappointed when they learned that the Webster-Ashburton treaty had been concluded in August, 1842, without settling the Oregon controversy. In a letter to Everett written in the autumn, Webster explained why a settlement had not been made. It was difficult, he said, to see on what principle or in what form an adjustment could be drawn. The convenience of the Columbia as a line of division was obvious, but its navigation was too inconvenient and uncertain. The United States would not have a suitable harbor on the entire coast if it were limited by that river, since the only good harbors between the Russian settlements and California were on Puget Sound. While England might want a good harbor in the sound she would doubtless want the privilege also of transporting furs and other commodities down the river. Probably she would also desire to retain the settlement at Vancouver and other small settlements farther north under her jurisdiction and protection.

Does she want any more?

I doubt whether she can contemplate any considerable colonization in the regions. I doubt exceedingly, whether it be an inviting country for agricultural settlers. At present there are not above seven hundred white persons in the whole territory, both sides the river, from California to latitude 54 north, and about twenty thousand Indians.[5]

[4] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, II. 11.

[5] Webster to Everett, November 28, 1842, *Webster's Private Correspondence*, II. 153-156.

But after the conclusion of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, without reference to the Oregon question, British officials initiated a movement to bring the issue to a satisfactory conclusion. On October 18, 1842, Aberdeen wrote to Fox:

> It has appeared to His Majesty's Government that both parties would act wisely in availing themselves of so auspicious a moment to endeavor to bring to a settlement the only remaining subject of territorial difference. . . . I speak of the line of boundary west of the Rocky Mountains.
>
> On the receipt of this despatch, therefore, I have to desire that you will propose to Mr. Webster to move the President to furnish the United States' minister at this court with such instructions as will enable him to enter upon the negotiations of this matter with such a person as may be appointed by Her Majesty for that object; and you will assure him, at the same time, that we are prepared to proceed to a consideration of it in a perfect spirit of fairness, and to adjust it on a basis of equitable compromise.[6]

Both nations desire to settle Oregon controversy. This made it difficult for the President to ignore entirely the Oregon question in his annual message to Congress in December, 1842. He informed that body that the issue might not involve the peace of the two countries for several years, but he would nevertheless continue to urge upon Great Britain the importance of an early settlement. This way of stating the matter aroused Aberdeen's indignation.

> His mention of the Oregon question [wrote the British minister to a friend] was . . . most uncandid. When he talked of pressing us to enter into negotiation, he had in his pocket a most friendly overture from us, which he had already answered favorably.[7]

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[6] *Senate Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 139, 140.

[7] Quoted in Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II, 13, and notes.

Tyler's real intention was to send Webster on a special mission to England—an intention with which Webster was in full accord—but the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Lower House refused to report an appropriation for that purpose. Webster resigned in May, 1843. On October 8, 1843, instructions were at last sent to Everett to open negotiations in London. Aberdeen had grown tired of waiting by that time and had arranged to send Pakenham to the United States for the purpose of arranging an amicable settlement of the Oregon controversy.

Local meetings on behalf of Oregon.—Difficulties in the way of a compromise had increased greatly by the time Pakenham arrived in the early part of 1844. Hostile resolutions were being passed by state legislatures and public sentiment in the United States was becoming inflamed. Indeed the year 1843 was notable for the pro-Oregon sentiment voiced in local meetings held throughout the country. The movement was due in part to the failure of Linn's bill for the establishment of territorial government and the granting of land to settlers, and in part to a rumor that Washington officials were willing to give up the region north of the Columbia to Great Britain provided she would persuade Mexico to sell northern California to the United States. In Pittsburg a large gathering, called to consider the question of emigrating to Oregon, was informed through its committee that it was not expedient for American citizens to go to Oregon until they could secure more adequate protection from their government. A meeting of citizens in Logan, Ohio, considered the wisdom of taking possession of Oregon at once, encouraging settlement, and driving the British out. After prolonged discussion a resolution was adopted declaring that the occupation of Oregon by Great Britain was an indignity which the United States had accepted too long already, and that the Monroe Doctrine declaring the

American continent no longer open to colonization by any European power was the acceptable doctrine for this government. Therefore the Conventions of 1818 and 1827 ought to be abrogated. A public meeting was held in St. Louis to aid in the settlement of Oregon. There was a strong sentiment expressed at the local meeting in Cincinnati against the surrender of any part of Oregon for an equivalent in California. Such an exchange would be dangerous to peace and would be a repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine. The same would be true if the Californias went into the hands of the British. At the same meeting it was proposed that a convention of southern and western states be held at Cincinnati on July 3, 4 and 5, to urge the immediate occupation of Oregon by United States troops, and to adopt measures which would induce the people to take possession whether the government did or not.

General Convention at Cincinnati 1843.—The general convention met in July, 1843. Delegates were present from several states in the Mississippi valley, and adopted resolutions declaring that the right of the United States to Oregon from forty-two to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes was clear and beyond dispute, that it was the duty of the government forthwith to extend the laws of the United States over Oregon, that emigration should be encouraged, that a line of forts should be built from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, that a fleet should be maintained on the Pacific coast, and that that part of the Monroe Doctrine which declared against future colonization on the American continent was sound and true.[8]

All of this had a pronounced effect on the government, on politics, and on diplomatic negotiations. In March, 1844, Semple of Illinois precipitated a debate in the Senate by offering a resolution requesting the

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[8] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII. 294-296.

President to give notice terminating the Convention of 1827. An exciting discussion followed, but the resolution was defeated. Some of the speeches delivered in favor of it were doubtless intended to affect the coming presidential election and were probably so received by the Senate and by the people throughout the country.

Oregon comes into national politics.—At this stage of its development the Oregon question came prominently into national politics through its union with Texas as the principal issue in the campaign of 1844. It will be necessary, therefore, to consider briefly the Democratic convention and the presidential election of that year.

Democrats, slavery, and expansion.—The two leading parties held their conventions at Baltimore in May, 1844. There was no dissension among the Whigs, and that party nominated Clay without opposition. The Democrats were badly organized. The majority of the Expansionists in the country were within the ranks of that party, but they were divided among themselves over the slavery question. In fact the party as a whole was split into three factions: the southern, the northern, and the northwestern. The southern group was led by Calhoun, the northern by Van Buren, and the Northwest accepted the leadership of Cass, Douglas, and Allen in turn. Hannegan of Indiana was among its most brilliant and frequent spokesmen. The southern Democrats favored expansion providing slavery might be extended into the territory acquired. The northern group was bitterly opposed to slavery, and would have blocked westward expansion entirely if by doing so it could prevent the extension of that institution. The northwestern group were also antislavery, but not to the same extent as the northern. They would not oppose the extension of slavery into some of the territory acquired, but the amount dedicated to freedom must equal or surpass the acquisitions that were opened to

slavery. The lines separating these groups were drawn more sharply as a result of Tyler's treaty proposing the annexation of Texas in the spring of 1844.[9]

In their anxiety to acquire Texas the southern Democrats were eager to ratify the treaty of annexation, but the northern and northwestern groups opposed it. The motives actuating the last two were different, however. The northern faction opposed the measure because Texas was to be slave territory; the northwesterners, because this slave territory was to be acquired without the annexation of an equal amount of free soil. To meet the demands of the northern Democrats Van Buren came out against immediate and unconditional annexation. Calhoun considered bolting the regular Baltimore convention and running for the presidency as a southern candidate on a strictly southern platform in order to satisfy the southern faction.

Origin of "bargain of 1844."—It was at this stage that the northwestern Democrats came forward as pacifiers. They wanted Oregon. They may have been responsible for, and they had assuredly been encouraged by, the Oregon sentiment expressed in the local meetings and at the general convention in Cincinnati in July of 1843. They knew that that convention had laid the foundation for a political slogan of "fifty-four forty or fight." They remembered that an address to the southern states was sent out at the time the call for that convention went forth in which a bid was made for the support of the South on behalf of Oregon, but they also remembered that the South, "fearful of the effect of war with Great Britain on the cotton trade, and dreading the preponderance of free over slave states if Oregon were settled," [10] had contributed to the defeat of

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[9] Persinger, Clark E., *The "Bargain of 1844," as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso* in the American Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1911, I. 189-195.

[10] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII. 296.

the Oregon bill. They knew that the South wanted Texas, and the South knew that Texas could not be acquired without the support of some northern representatives.

The northwestern Democrats saw in this situation an opportunity for bargain. Accordingly they suggested that Oregon be combined with Texas in the party platform, in the presidential campaign, and in the subsequent action of Congress. If the southern Democrats would consent to this they would secure the support of northwesterners and enough of the northerners to restore party harmony and to secure victory in the coming presidential election.

"So originated the 'bargain of 1844'—the 'Oregon and Texas' plank of the Democratic platform of 1844—not as a mere appeal to the northern states in general, but as a definite means of party harmony and unity without the sacrifice of vital principle or interest by either the southern or the northwestern group of the party. The fact that such a bargain had been made was not published broadcast; in fact, it was kept most secret, but party leaders in the Northwest and Calhoun's lieutenants, if not Calhoun himself, knew of its arrangement and content."

Southern Democrats gain their part of "bargain."—The Democratic convention had hardly approved the "bargain" before the southern Democrats began to insist that their part of the contract be completed immediately by ratifying the Tyler treaty of annexation. This the northwestern faction was not ready to do. Senator Hannegan of Indiana explained his action later by calling the senators from Missouri and Tennessee to witness the fact that up to the time of the Baltimore convention he had been strongly in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. "What I saw which induced me to apprehend a breach of faith at that convention, it is unnecessary at present to detail," he said.

"But my friend . . . knows that he repeatedly urged me to vote for the treaty, notwithstanding my apprehensions, and that I refused to do so, for I did apprehend that if Texas were brought in—if we annexed Texas without some definite action on Oregon—the Baltimore resolutions would be construed to mean all Texas and the half of Oregon with certain gentlemen"—and he repeated while looking at Colquitt of Georgia—"with certain gentlemen." This explanation made by Hannegan was confirmed by the senators from Missouri and Tennessee.[11]

The southern Democrats were chiefly interested in Texas in the election of 1844, but occasionally Oregon was joined with it in their campaign utterances. The northwestern faction pointed out the advantages of Texan annexation and "pledged the party faith to the 'whole of Oregon.'" When the election was over and the Democratic victory was complete, the southern group again urged the immediate annexation of Texas. But it was not possible to gain Texas without the support of the northwestern Democrats. To "nurse them along until Texas was out of danger" the southern faction appeared to support Oregon measures. It will be remembered that Texas was annexed during the last days of Tyler's administration, and then the southern faction refused "to discuss such important" issues as the Oregon question "so near the close of the session."

Southerners refuse to help the Northwesterners.—In December, 1845, when the new Congress assembled, the northwestern Democrats were ready to insist that the Oregon part of the "bargain" be carried out. In compliance with the suggestion of President Polk, whose election had resulted from a campaign which had as its slogan the "reannexation of Texas" and the "re-

[11] Persinger, Clark E., *The "Bargain of 1844," as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso* in the American Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1911, I. 191.

occupation of Oregon," the Northwesterners introduced a series of measures providing for the final occupation of Oregon. The most important of these was the one giving twelve months' notice to Great Britain of the intention of the United States to abrogate the agreement which had been renewed in August, 1827. To their surprise Calhoun led the northern Democrats in opposition to the proposed notice. He believed the resolutions, if passed, would involve war with England.

This stirred the northwestern Democrats and brought a stinging denunciation from the abolitionist poet. Hannegan denounced the obstructionists. "Texas and Oregon were born the same instant," he said, "nursed and cradled in the same cradle—the Baltimore convention—and they were at the same instant adopted by the democracy throughout the land. There was not a moment's hesitation until Texas was admitted; but the moment she was admitted, the peculiar friends of Texas turned, and were doing all they could to strangle Oregon." Calhoun denied that he opposed the acquisition of Oregon. He considered Oregon as valuable as Texas. "If the Senator and myself disagree, we disagree only as to the means of securing Oregon, and not as to its importance."[12] But the apparently[13] candid reply of the southern leader did not hush the voice of criticism. In Congress other northwestern Democrats expressed their disappointment at the position taken by the southern faction,[14] and in far-off New England, Whittier addressed his lines "To a Southern Statesman," contrasting Calhoun's attitude toward Oregon and toward Texas:

> Is this thy voice whose treble notes of fear
> Wail in the wind? And dost thou shake to hear,

[12] *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 110.

[13] Calhoun was at this time advising Polk to settle the Oregon question on the basis of the forty-ninth parallel. Quaife (editor), *Diary of James K. Polk*, I. 313.

[14] *Ibid.*, 15, 125, 140, 143, 159, 289, 290 (January 10, 1846).

Acteon-like, the bay of thine own hounds,
Spurning the leash, and leaping o'er their bounds?
Sore-baffled statesman!

. . . . . .

It may be,
That the roused spirits of democracy
May leave to freer States the same wide door
Through which thy slave-cursed Texas entered in.

These were the discouraging circumstances under which Pakenham began his Oregon negotiations. Soon after his arrival in Washington he had written Upshur of the earnest desire of the British government to come to "an early and satisfactory arrangement" in regard to the Oregon question. In his reply Upshur requested the British minister to call on the morning of February 27, but on the day following their preliminary meeting Upshur was killed.[15]

British endeavor to settle issue.—Tyler and Calhoun were both in favor of letting the subject rest, but public opinion would not permit it. A "clamor was raised in relation to the subject throughout the country, which was loudest in the west, and nothing seemed to remain but that negotiations should be attempted."[16] Even so, negotiations did not begin until August 23. Calhoun's real purpose, as he explained, was to gain time, to *"have time to operate."*[17] The British government, on the other hand, desired a settlement. Aberdeen had instructed Pakenham to offer the Columbia River, "the last proposition made by the British negotiators in 1826," but to modify it by offering in addition a port or ports and some detached bits of territory north of that river. Aberdeen felt compelled to declare that the British "government would not be found disposed to

[15] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 140, 141.

[16] Tyler to Calhoun, October 7, 1845, in American Historical Association, *Reports*, 1899, II. 1059, 1060.

[17] Calhoun to Mason, May 30, 1845, *ibid.*, 660.

sanction any further cession of territory." However, Aberdeen expected the Americans to reject this offer in which case Pakenham might offer in addition "to convert into a free port any other harbor either on the mainland or on Vancouver's Island, south of the 49° north latitude, which the United States might desire. You may even advance one step farther, and . . . declare that Her Majesty's government would be willing to make all the ports within DeFuca's inlet and south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, free ports."[18] Should these concessions be rejected, Pakenham was to suggest that the question be submitted to some friendly state or sovereign for arbitration; and finally, if this, too, were declined, to propose a renewal of the joint-occupation agreement for a period of ten years.

These instructions were written by Aberdeen on December 28, 1843. On March 4 following he addressed a private letter to Pakenham. This, it has been asserted, not only proves that Aberdeen did not expect the American government to accept the concessions that Pakenham was authorized to make, but contained in addition a very remarkable suggestion.

> Should my apprehensions be verified, you will endeavor, without committing yourself or your gov't, to draw from the American negotiator a proposal to make the 49th degree of latitude the boundary, with the proviso that the ports to the south of that parallel to the Columbia inclusive, shall be free ports to G. Britain. The navigation of the Columbia should be common to both; and care should be taken that the 49th degree of latitude as a boundary, is to extend only to the sea; and not to apply to Vancouver's Island.[19]

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[18] These instructions are quoted in Schafer, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question," in *American Historical Review*, XVI, (1910-1911). 296.

[19] *Ibid.*

England must abandon Columbia River boundary.—"We shall not be far wrong in inferring from the above letter," is the comment of one authority on the subject, "that by this time the question before the British Cabinet was how to convince Parliament and the nation that the abandonment of the Columbia River boundary—Canning's boundary—was a political necessity unless Great Britain was ready to accept the stern arbitrament of war." [20] From several sources this fact was borne in upon the government. Everett, the American minister in London, had repeatedly told Aberdeen that his government would never consent to give up the forty-ninth parallel as a basis for settlement, and that the only modification that could be expected would be to allow the line to run through Fuca's Straits to the ocean instead of having it extend across the southern end of Vancouver's Island. Meanwhile Pakenham, in his letters from Washington, was confirming Everett's contentions.

Polk on the Oregon question.—The conferences between Calhoun and Pakenham which opened August 23, 1844, continued until September 24 following,[21] but nothing was accomplished in the way of settling the issue. The presidential campaign was under way when the conference ended, and a few weeks later it was known that Polk had been elected. The British government delayed instructing Pakenham further because it wanted to see exactly what position the new administration would take on the Oregon question. In his inaugural address President Polk made his position perfectly clear:

> Our title to the country of Oregon is "clear and unquestionable" and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. . . . The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industries

[20] *Ibid.*, 297.

[21] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 143-145, for protocols of conferences. The statement of the claims is *ibid.*, 146-161.

of the immigrants. To us belongs the duty of protecting them adequately wherever they may be upon our soil.

England stirred over Polk's Inaugural Address.—It was evident that the new president considered the declarations of the Baltimore convention seriously, and the words of his inaugural address gave the impression that he was emphatically opposed to any compromise with Great Britain. This impression was strengthened by the appointment of Buchanan as Secretary of State. The latter's uncompromising stand for the whole of Oregon in the spring of 1844 had made him conspicuous among the few radicals in the Senate who had insisted on all the territory west of the Rockies between the forty-second and fifty-fourth parallel. These things coupled with the loud talk of western senators and of the Democrats generally during the presidential campaign naturally attracted unfavorable attention in England. The President's message was made an issue by the opposition in Parliament for the purpose of discrediting Polk's government. The Prime Minister could reply to the attacks made in both Houses of Parliament only by saying to the House of Commons that negotiations were progressing, and he hoped for favorable results. But he was very sorry, he said, that the President in a public address should "have referred to other contingencies than" that of a friendly termination of the difficulties before the two peoples, and he concluded by declaring that "we have rights respecting this territory of Oregon which are clear and unquestionable. We trust still to arrive at an amicable adjustment . . . but having exhausted every effort to effect that settlement, if our rights shall be invaded, we are resolved—and we are prepared—to maintain them." [22]

Aberdeen explained in the House of Lords that Polk's inaugural address was not an official act of which

[22] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, LXXIX. 198, 199.

foreign countries could take note. It was the intention of the British government to continue negotiations in a manner consistent with justice, reason, moderation, and common sense. In order to maintain peace they were willing to make the greatest sacrifices, but there were limits beyond which they could not go, and amid the loud cheers of the House, he concluded:

> We possess rights which, in our opinion, are clear and unquestionable; and, by the blessing of God, and with your support, those rights we are fully prepared to maintain.[28]

It was clearly evident that the injudicious comments emanating from the President, from the Secretary of State, from members of Congress, and from the public press had stirred up a dangerous spirit of opposition in England. It was not a question of the ownership of Oregon with Great Britain so much as it was a question of national honor. If once this feeling were aroused in the breasts of Englishmen, an amicable settlement of the Oregon question would have been impossible.

Buchanan offers 49th parallel; it is rejected.—It was evident that temper on both sides had been stirred. Under these very unfavorable conditions the conferences over the Oregon question were resumed in the summer of 1845. At the very beginning Buchanan presented the arguments justifying the United States claims to the whole of Oregon, declaring that they were based on discovery, exploration, and possession. But, he said, the President found himself embarrassed, if not committed, by the acts of his predecessors who had uniformly adopted the principle of compromise in all their negotiations. Therefore he had felt himself somewhat bound by the same principle, and he desired to make one more effort to adjust the controversy by proposing the forty-ninth parallel as the dividing line. In his lengthy reply Pakenham said that he did not feel at liberty to

[28] *Ibid.*, 122-124.

accept Buchanan's proposal because it offered less than what the British government had refused in 1826, and in conclusion he hoped that the United States would be prepared "to offer some further proposal for the settlement of the Oregon question more consistent with fairness and equity, and with the reasonable expectations of the British government."[24] On August 30 Buchanan replied by informing Pakenham that the United States would no longer feel itself under obligation to accept the rejected proposal.[25]

Polk takes a determined stand.—When he learned what had happened, Aberdeen expressed regret that the offer made by Buchanan had been rejected, and intimated to the American representative, McLane, that it might be accepted if it were changed slightly. Buchanan was so informed and concluded that new instructions would be sent to Pakenham which would result in the reopening of the subject by the British minister. Meanwhile he prepared himself for the expected interview by asking directions from the President. Polk ordered him to say that any proposition the British representative might make would receive consideration, but he was to give no intimation of the intention of the administration. In vain the Secretary of State endeavored to have Polk take a more encouraging position on the subject, for the President was immovable. He was satisfied with things as they stood, he said, and in his message to Congress he promised to take "bold and strong ground, and reaffirm Mr. Monroe's ground against permitting any European power to plant or establish any new colony on the North American Continent."[26]

Reaffirms Monroe doctrine.—In his first annual message to Congress, December 2, 1845, Polk took

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[24] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 170-177.
[25] Quaife (editor), *The Diary of James K. Polk*, I. 63.
[26] *Ibid.*, 62-65.

"bold and strong ground" on the Oregon question. He related the history of the controversy from the presidency of Monroe to the withdrawal of his recent offer of the forty-ninth parallel, and he recommended that Congress make provision for giving the twelve months' notice terminating the convention of August 6, 1827. He also advised that Congress immediately extend the protection of our laws over American citizens in Oregon, establish an Indian agency, provide for the building of stockades and block-houses along the emigrant route, and organize a force of mounted riflemen to guard and protect those who made the journey overland. This would not be a violation of the treaty with England, it would be doing no more for American citizens than England had been doing for British subjects in Oregon since 1821. When the year's notice expired American rights in the disputed territory must be yielded or firmly maintained. Obviously they could not be yielded without sacrificing national honor. It was equally clear that Great Britain's proposition, to give her two-thirds of Oregon, the free navigation of the Columbia, and all the valuable ports on the Pacific, could not be accepted. The extension of our settlements westward, the admission of new states, the spread of new principles, our increasing greatness as a nation—all of these had attracted the attention of the powers of Europe, and some of these had proposed a balance of power on the continent of North America to check our advance. Such interference could not be permitted on this continent, and if it were attempted, the United States must be ready to resist it at any and all hazards. In fact the time had come to reiterate the doctrine set forth by Monroe. The existing rights of European nations would be respected, "but it is due alike to our safety and our interest that efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the

world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall with our consent be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."

Joint occupancy terminated.—The President's message was warmly approved by the people of the United States.[27] Near the close of 1845, Pakenham offered to arbitrate the question of a fair division of the territory, but this was declined by the American government, and he then agreed to arbitrate not only the question of territory but also that of title. This, too, was rejected and both sides anxiously waited. The critical weeks which followed brought a heavy sense of responsibility to the American government. The President permitted the British authorities to learn that he would not refuse to place before the Senate, for their previous advice, a proposition for a boundary which should be based upon the forty-ninth parallel and DeFuca's Strait, but that he would not consent to open the Columbia to the free navigation of British subjects under any circumstances. This did not move Great Britain to action. She waited with much uncertainty until Congress assumed a less hostile attitude. That body had passed resolutions so harsh in tone that the British government felt their modification a necessary preliminary to a renewal of negotiations.[28] On April 23, 1846, Congress passed in a conciliatory form resolutions authorizing Polk to serve a year's notice whenever he thought it proper to do so, and five days later word was sent to McLane ordering him to notify the British government of the termination of joint occupancy at the end of twelve months. This brought immediate response from the British government. In giving the House of Lords his

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[27] For expressions from various newspapers throughout the nation *see* McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII. 418-421.

[28] Schafer, "British Attitude toward the Oregon Question," in the *American Historical Review*, XVI (1910-1911), 298, 299.

reasons for such swift action, Lord Aberdeen said:

> When I saw that the Senate and House of Representatives had adopted Resolutions of such a conciliatory and friendly description, I did not delay a moment, putting aside all ideas of diplomatic etiquette, which might have led me to expect that some other steps would be taken on the other side; but, without waiting a moment, I prepared the draught of a convention, which was sent by the packet of the eighteenth of May to Mr. Pakenham, to be proposed for the acceptance of the United States government.[29]

The boundary suggested by Aberdeen was the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude as far as the Gulf of Georgia, thence south and west through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, leaving the whole of Vancouver's Island to Great Britain. Provision was made for respecting the property rights of the Hudson Bay Company south of the forty-ninth parallel. The farms, lands, and other property of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company north of the river were to be confirmed by the United States government.

Question settled.—Polk sent the document to the Senate on June 10, 1846, accompanied by a message placing upon that body the responsibility of deciding whether to accept or reject the British proposal. Two days later, at "about six o'clock" in the evening, he writes, "the Secretary of the Senate called and delivered to me a Resolution of the Senate . . . advising me 'to accept the proposal of the British government,' accompanying my message to the Senate on the 10th instant, 'for the settlement of the Oregon question.'"[30] The final treaty of partition was concluded and signed by Buchanan and Pakenham on June 15, and three days later it was ratified by the Senate, the terms "being the

[29] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, LXXXVII. 1038. The text of the resolution as finally passed by Congress may be found in *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 720. It is also quoted in Chase, *History of Polk's Administration*, 48.

[30] Quaife (editor), *The Diary of James K. Polk*, I. 467.

CHAPTER XII

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE BASIN

Purpose governing Mormon migrations.—While interest in Oregon was still at white heat there began the Mormon trek which has no parallel in the westward expansion of the United States. Emigrants had gone to Oregon to do missionary work among the Indians, to acquire land, to open commercial intercourse with the Northwest, or to satisfy a love for adventure. None of these were the primary motives actuating the Mormons when they migrated to the basin of the Great Salt Lake. They sought a place where they might practise unmolested the teachings enunciated by their prophet, but intolerant opponents in every community where they attempted to establish themselves finally compelled them to seek a Zion in some more distant land. However, they were not to cross the plains until they had exhausted the patience of their neighbors in a few communities within the settled area of the United States, and had come under the direction of a new leader.

The migration from Ohio to Missouri.—The Mormon Church was founded in New York by Joseph Smith in 1830. Hostility to its members developed at once, and the following year found Joseph and his intimate followers seeking a home in Kirtland, Ohio. Here he built a house and sent his followers by twos into the West to preach the gospel. Any who were engaged in missionary work in the East were to tell all who should be converted to flee to the West. Missouri became the promised land which the faithful were to inherit, and in June, 1831, the prophet and his followers left Kirtland temporarily. They were to travel in pairs

over different routes spreading their faith as they went. Joseph and his immediate companions went by wagon, canal boat, and stage to Cincinnati, by steamer to St. Louis, and thence on foot to Independence, arriving at the latter place about the middle of July, 1831. Independence was chosen as the new home for the faithful, and arrangements were made for taking possession of the land. Having given minute directions which would assist his followers at Independence in laying out and constructing the new city and temple of Zion, Smith and ten elders returned to Kirtland. It was their intention to retain a footing in the latter place for five years more, and they desired to send new recruits to Missouri.

An uncongenial environment.—During the first two years of its existence the church in Missouri was exceedingly prosperous. Its members increased from a handful to approximately a thousand. They had purchased land and provided themselves with homes. They consisted for the most part of small farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics, and many of them were shrewd in the management of secular affairs. But the peace and prosperity which they enjoyed during this period terminated suddenly. It may have been due to the jealousy of their neighbors or to the indiscretion of the saints themselves, but it was more likely due to a combination of both.

Persecutions.—During the early months of 1833 plans were discussed for disposing of the Mormons, and in July about three hundred people met at Independence to devise means for driving them out, because, it was said, they were a menace to the community. "They blasphemously pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, to revelations, miracles, healing the sick, casting out devils, and other delusions; they are the dregs of society, held together by the acts of designing leaders, and are idle and vicious. They are poor. They

tamper with the slave and free negroes. They declare the Indian region to be theirs by heavenly inheritance."[1] These charges were denied by Parley P. Pratt, one of the Mormon leaders. He would admit that they were poor, but poverty was no crime. They had paid for the land they occupied. Their members were as good as their neighbors. They had not tampered with the negroes, and the county records would show that they were not addicted to crime. In regard to the Indian lands he said no violence or injustice was intended; but, if there were, "what record of robbery, murder, and treacherous betrayal could excel that already made by the people of Missouri and others in the United States for our example."[2] Denials, however, brought new charges. The people in Jackson County had determined that the Mormons should go and they were finally expelled from Independence. The persecuted sect then took refuge in Clay County and founded the community of Far West. They appealed to the governor of Missouri for protection in their new quarters but he recommended the courts as the surest and quickest way of attaining justice. The Mormons had no faith in Gentile courts and were becoming despondent when Joseph returned from Kirtland and renewed their spirit. He restored a semblance of order at Far West, but he could not still the accusing tongues. Even he was charged by some of his own traveling companions with "prophesying lies in the name of the Lord," and of misappropriating money.[3] He remained at Far West about a week and then returned to Kirtland.

The three of four years following the history of the Mormons in Missouri constituted a period of strife and

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[1] Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 98. *See also* Pratt, Parley P., *Autobiography*, Chapter XIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, 99.

[3] Mackay, Charles, *History of the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints* (1854). 101.

contention. Their numbers increased, but so also did the unrelenting vindictiveness of their enemies. The struggle became so bitter and so widespread that the whole people of Missouri were lined up either on one side or the other. The panic of 1837 did not spare the saints. In the autumn of that year Joseph's bank at Kirtland failed. Its worthless paper was scattered over the district, and the prophet received a revelation commanding him to return to Missouri and establish himself permanently among his people in the West. His enemies declared that he left Kirtland in the night without making provisions for meeting his obligations. When he arrived in Missouri he found the church in confusion. Not only were they having trouble with their neighbors, but internal contentions were under way. Joseph was soon taken and imprisoned by his enemies. Meanwhile these same enemies expelled the saints from Missouri. In the middle of winter, in December, 1838, and January, 1839, they were driven out into the prairies and forests without food and with inadequate protection from the weather. In this plight they arrived in Illinois.[4]

Reception in Illinois.—The people of Illinois had witnessed the struggle in Missouri and many of them felt deep sympathy for the unfortunate Mormons. Indeed, the former took a stand in favor of the latter upon their expulsion from Missouri. Quincy was particularly friendly. A committee was appointed to determine the facts, and in February, 1839, reported that the Mormons deserved the kind regard and sympathy of the people. Money was raised by subscription to provide immediate relief where it was needed, and many of the saints found employment which enabled them to begin retrieving their fortune. They were encouraged still further by the appearance of their leader at Quincy in the early spring of 1839. He had escaped

[4] *Ibid.*, Chapter IV.

from prison, eluded his pursuers, and once more joined his people. "His rude but touching eloquence, his confident appeal to Heaven, his magnificent promises, his tact and skill, and the joy of the true believers that he was once more among them, all combined to restore confidence."[5]

Advisability of a community settlement. — The Mormons found agents in Illinois who were ready to do business with them. Some of these claimed lands under questionable titles which they were eager to sell to the saints on almost any terms, but the latter were not sure that they desired to undertake community settlement again. The failure of their attempts in Ohio and Missouri had made many of them skeptical about the success of any new scheme which proposed a distinct Mormon settlement. At the meeting in Quincy where the subject was up for discussion Bishop Partridge and other members openly expressed doubts of the wisdom of such an undertaking, and when Smith appeared on the scene a few weeks later his followers had already begun to scatter to various places about Quincy.

Smith's plans for a settlement.—Others might become discouraged as a result of the persecutions and business failure of the past, but the prophet did not belong to their number. He had heard of the attitude taken by his discouraged brethren in the meeting at Quincy, and he immediately began working with energy to offset what they had done. He did not intend to have his flock scattered, and to prevent it he determined to get land and to bring them together again. Two days after his arrival at Quincy, April 24, he presided at a church council which voted to instruct him to visit Iowa with two associates and select a site for a settlement. Meanwhile the brethren who could afford it were advised to move to the little town of Commerce and await developments. The agents reached there ahead of the

[5] *Ibid.*, 127.

brethren and purchased two farms on May 1, 1839. Other land in the vicinity was acquired and Smith found himself ready to make another attempt at establishing his followers in a permanent abiding place.

Nauvoo.—The town of Commerce had been laid out on paper in 1834 by the owners of the property, and on its northern border the city of Commerce had been mapped. Both enterprises had failed. When the Mormon agents arrived there were two frame dwellings, a storehouse, and two blockhouses in the place. These were included in the purchase which they made. A little later Bishop Knight bought a part of the town of Keokuk, Iowa, a town called Nashville, six miles above Keokuk, and a part of the town of Montrose four miles above Nashville and across the river from Commerce. An additional forty thousand acres were purchased in the vicinity, a town was laid out where the village of Commerce had been, and the new settlement was named Nauvoo, in April, 1840.[6]

Its growth and contentment of its people.—Again fortune seemed to smile on the perseverance of the prophet. His people had been welcomed into Illinois both for economic and political reasons. The population of the state in 1840 was 467,183, and its debt was over fourteen million dollars. An increase in the population would mean a decrease in the individual portion of the debt to be paid by each citizen. Also the year 1840 was one in which party feeling ran high throughout the nation. Both the Democrats and Whigs sought recruits who could cast votes. Victory in the state of Illinois might be determined by the united support of the Mormons. Smith realized these things and he was shrewd enough to make the most of his advantage. Nauvoo grew more rapidly than any former Mormon settlement. The persecution they had received in Missouri

[6] Linn, William Alexander, *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901*, New York, 1902, 222-225.

[illegible]

[illegible] the Mormons all is peace [illegible] have heard [illegible] how happy [illegible] here! how happy [illegible] here in the [illegible] happiness; then why disturb the Mormons so long as they are happy and peaceable, and are

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[illegible] of these are quoted ibid., 227.

[illegible] "Da Tal Palo Tal Astilla," in the Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications*, 1917.

willing to live so with all men? I would say, 'Let them live.' "[9] And so probably would have said the people of Illinois, providing the Mormons had confined their ambitions and their interests to their own affairs and had observed the social customs of the community in which they lived.

Joseph Smith at the zenith of his power.—In his new "Holy City" on the bank of the Mississippi the Prophet had reached the climax of his earthly glory. He had been appointed mayor and he was the prophet and the president of the church and the general of the Nauvoo legion, both temporal and spiritual head of his people. His word was law, and for a brief period in his troubled career he enjoyed that supremacy which was the great object of his ambition. One would think, under such circumstances, that the ghosts of former experiences would have constantly hovered about Joseph and whispered caution in his ears. Shrewd as he was in some matters, in others he appears to have been tactless and utterly thoughtless of consequences. Perhaps he had begun to think himself immune from earthly dangers—or did he suppose it his duty to court them and play the role of martyr?

Smith aspires to the presidency.—The population of Nauvoo was almost entirely Mormon. Not infrequently the city, under the Prophet's influence, had assumed an attitude in its legislation which rendered it not only independent but even hostile to the state authorities. Governor Ford later said the system was "a government within a government, a legislature with power to pass ordinances at war with the laws of the state; courts to execute them with but little dependence upon the constitutional judiciary; and a military force at their own command to be governed by its own by-laws and ordinances, and subject to no state authority but that of the Governor."[10] The city denied the vali-

[9] Quoted in Mackay, *History of the Mormons*, 159, 160.
[10] Ford, *History of Illinois*, 265.

dity of the laws of the state, it was said, unless they were countersigned by Smith as mayor, and an ordinance was passed to punish any stranger in Nauvoo who should use disrespectful language in speaking of the Prophet.

Meanwhile his political ambitions expanded. Through the influence which he exerted over his people he had been instrumental in determining the election of governors and congressmen within the state of Illinois. He had visited Washington on an occasion and the interview which he had had with Van Buren tickled his egotism. The *Times and Seasons* for October 1, 1843, had an editorial entitled: "Who shall be our next President?" and urged the selection of Smith. The idea pleased Joseph because "it 'riled' his enemies in general, and his old Missouri persecutors in particular." He wrote letters both to Clay and Calhoun inquiring what course they would pursue toward the Mormons if elected, but their replies did not satisfy him, and on February 7, 1844, he issued an address to the American people in which he set forth his platform. The following May he wrote a stinging reply to Clay.[11]

Polygamy, division in the church, the Expositor.—By this time the Prophet's earthly career was nearing an end. His enemies in Missouri had not ceased to annoy him after he moved to Illinois, and in the latter state he had added to the number of those who had set themselves against him. In July, 1843, Joseph had received what is believed to have been his last revelation. This sanctioned polygamy, which had apparently been practised by some of the saints before they came to Nauvoo.[12] The promulgation of this new doctrine roused a sentiment against Mormonism amongst people who had been indifferent hitherto to the whole move-

[11] *See* correspondence *ibid.*, 165-167; and Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 251. A summary of the platform, Linn, *ibid.*, 252.

[12] Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 159, 160; for a brief discussion of the origin and practise of polygamy *see* Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, Chapter X.

ment. Many men who cared little about the religious and political views of these people became bitter enemies when it was known that their social customs permitted a practise which struck a severe blow at the country's sacred institution—the home. Among these were some of the members of the Prophet's own community. They differed so strongly on the subject that they decided finally to establish a newspaper in Nauvoo to be known as the *Expositor* for the purpose of attacking the new order of things. Its motto was, "The Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth," and its prospectus declared its purpose to be to accomplish the "unconditional repeal of the city charter—to correct the abuses of the unit power—to advocate disobedience to political revelations."[18]

Death of Smith.—The only number the paper ever issued in Nauvoo made its appearance on June 7, 1844. The Prophet acted quickly, and three days later the marshal of Nauvoo entered the building where the *Expositor* had been printed and destroyed the press. The editors fled to Carthage, Illinois, for protection where they secured a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Smith and others. News of what had happened spread quickly and the anti-Mormon sentiment, which had been strong, became aggressive and determined. Public meetings were held at various places to give expression to the feeling of indignation which spread throughout the state. At such a meeting in Warsaw, in Hancock County, a resolution was passed declaring that the time had come when the followers of Smith as a body "should be driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands, and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged, to the entire destruction, if necessary for our protection, of his adherents." At Carthage also the

[18] Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 290-297.

feeling was tense. Governor Ford apparently did what he could to still the excitement and insure a just enforcement of the law. Smith was arrested and placed in the Carthage jail. Here during the last days of June he was murdered by a mob, in violation of the pledged word of the governor of the state and of the principal officers of the troops. The Mormons doubtless were guilty of many indiscretions and one can see how their peculiar views might make them obnoxious to the average American community, but nothing they had done could possibly justify the dastardly conduct of the men who committed this heinous crime.

Renewed persecutions. — The leadership of the saints now passed into the hands of Brigham Young who proved himself more practical in the management of church affairs than had his predecessor. Under his able direction the confusion and internal strife following the prophet's death was allayed, Young's rivals for leadership in the church were expelled, and Nauvoo became more prosperous than ever. The construction of the temple and the Nauvoo house were carried on with vigor. In this way the murdered Prophet's revelation would be fulfilled, and his enemies would be shown the divinity of his mission and the power, wealth, and perseverance of his disciples. Renewed persecutions had brought their quota of converts from many quarters. Brethren living in the eastern states sold their property and moved to Nauvoo, and some of the more zealous members of the faith began to call the place the Holy City or the City of Joseph.[14] Enthusiasm ran high among the saints, and from their neighbors came low murmurings of renewed persecutions. Insults on one side and retaliations on the other led to skirmishes, battles, and the loss of life. At a meeting of delegates from nine counties surrounding Nauvoo it was unanimously agreed that Illinois could not have peace so long

[14] Mackay, *History of the Mormons*, 204.

as the Mormons remained within its boundaries, and the representatives pledged mutual support in bringing about their expulsion, even if force had to be used to accomplish it. Following a series of struggles and negotiations the saints agreed to withdraw from the state "as soon as grass grew and water ran" in the spring of 1846, provided they should be unmolested meanwhile and that they should be given an opportunity to dispose of their property.

Mormon migration through southern Iowa.—Early in the year 1846 the great Mormon migration began. Beyond the Rocky Mountains, or among them, they hoped to find some fertile spot far removed from their enemies, where, like the Pilgrims of old, they might build a state patterned on their own conception of moral and spiritual justice. They made their leisurely way through southern Iowa, frequently securing such provisions as they needed from the settlers and paying for them in labor. "We were happy and contented and the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon, reverberating through the woods, while the echo was returned from the distant hills."[16] Stops varying in length were made at Richardson Point, at Chariton River, and at Locust Creek; and Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah were laid out, named, and settled by some of the emigrants. The main body reached Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, in July, and a little later many crossed the river and established camps at Winter Quarters. In the vicinity others made temporary settlements on both banks of the river, and by autumn twelve thousand Mormons were there or on their way across the plains.

Mormons in the Mexican War.—About the time the Mormons left Nauvoo their agent in Washington was soliciting help from the national government. While

[16] Taylor, John, Letter in the *Millennial Star*, VIII. 114, quoted in Bancroft, *Utah*, 221.

still seeking such aid news came of Taylor's first two victories over the Mexicans. The Mormon agent, Elder J. C. Little, then addressed another petition to President Polk and offered the services of his people in the war with Mexico. The President accepted the offer and sent the elder west with despatches to Kearney, who was then at Fort Leavenworth, ordering him to raise a corps of five hundred men. In compliance with this order the troops were raised from the Mormons encamped at Council Bluffs about the middle of July. They accompanied Kearney overland to Santa Fé and thence to California, where they were mustered out of service, many of them finding their way back to their friends and families in the vicinity of Salt Lake.[16]

Movement into far West begins.—Throughout the winter of 1846 to 1847 the Mormons remained in their camps in southwestern Iowa and along the banks of the Missouri. The council had held meetings at intervals to discuss plans for further explorations, and in April, 1847, a volunteer company of young men was organized, headed by Brigham Young in person. It was made up of one hundred and forty men and three women, and equipped with supplies carried in seventy-three wagons. About the middle of the month this pioneer band began its long journey westward to select a site for their new Zion.[17] If none were found in

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[16] Bancroft, *Utah,* 238-245: The "Circulars to the Mormons," pointing out the terms and inducements to enlist, were distributed among the saints at Pisgah and Council Bluffs by Captain James Allen. He had been sent by Kearney. A copy of the document may be found in Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City,* 23.

[17] Frémont believed they chose the Great Salt Lake region as a result of his description of the country. When leaving there for the Columbia during his second expedition, he summarized the conditions: "I can say of it in general terms that the bottoms of this river (Bear River) and of some of the creeks which I saw form a natural resting and recruiting station for travelers, now and in all time to come. The bottoms are extensive, water excellent, timber sufficient, the soil good and well adapted to the grain and grasses suited to such an elevated region." *See Memoirs,* 239, 415, 416.

a reasonable time, the expedition was to select temporary quarters which might serve as a base for future explorations.

Route and order of march.—The Oregon trail extended along the south bank of the Platte, but Young followed the north bank. The ground was higher and offered better pasturage, and there was less danger from Indians. Then, too, the Mormons desired to avoid other emigrants, particularly those from Missouri. In some ways the order of march was like that of disciplined troops. The bugle roused them at five o'clock each morning and they assembled for prayer and had breakfast. Two hours later, at another call of the bugle, the day's march was begun and the company traveled about twenty miles. In the late evening the live stock was placed in a corral made by the wagons drawn up in such a way that an oblong enclosure was formed, with openings at both ends. Guards were stationed at these entrances, and the tents were placed on the outside near the wagons. At night the saints were summoned to prayer again by the bugle and at nine o'clock to bed. Sundays were given over to worship. They preserved order in marching and kept their guns ready for instant use.

Practical information collected.—Throughout the long journey information which might be of service to later emigrants was collected and carefully preserved. The country in the vicinity of the route traveled was carefully explored, and springs, grass, timber, and other objects which might be of service were noted.

An ingenious and accurate road-measurer was attached to a wagon, and a person designated to note the distances from point to point, and every feasible camping-ground was marked down—and a Directory for every rod of the road, admirably arranged and filled with useful informa-

tion, was published for the use of those who should follow.[18]

Arrival at Fort Bridger.—The little band reached Fort Laramie early in June, and halted for two or three weeks. Meanwhile they built ferryboats to cross the North Platte, dried meat for their journey over the mountains, and recruited their horses on the abundant grass in the vicinity. Soon after crossing the river they were overtaken by a company bound for Oregon who prevailed upon the Mormons to ferry them across the Platte, agreeing to compensate them with provisions. Following this profitable experiment a detachment of eight men was left by Young under the direction of Captain Grover, both as a means of obtaining supplies and money from the Oregonians and for the purpose of transporting the main body of the Mormons when they should arrive. The explorers then moved rapidly and a little south of what was known as the Oregon track, arriving at South Pass the latter part of June, about the time the emigrants usually crossed the Missouri. They skirted the Colorado desert and came into the Green River country. Here they met Elder Brannan who had sailed in the *Brooklyn* from New York for California with two hundred and thirty-eight saints the preceding February. The latter, the elder reported, were opening farms and raising grain on the San Joaquin River. After a brief halt the journey was resumed through the Green River country and Fort Bridger was reached. Thus far the advanced guard had not suffered severe hardships. The real difficulties of the trip were about to begin.

Bridger's account of the country.—Colonel Bridger gave a very discouraging account of the country into

[18] Gunnison, J. W., *The Mormons or the Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Conditions and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observations*, Philadelphia, 1860, 135.

which the Mormons were about to enter. The region was declared to be destitute of timber and vegetation of all kinds except sage brush. The Bear, Cache, and Willamette valleys were exceptions, but these were already occupied, either by the white man or the Indian. South of Salt Lake one would find good country also, he said, a country in which Indians were raising as good wheat and corn as had ever been produced in Kentucky, but he would give a thousand dollars to any one who would raise an ear of corn in the Great Basin.[19] However, the Mormons were determined to find out for themselves the conditions of the country. They had no guide, but they pushed on directly west over the rugged spurs of the Uintah range until they came to Echo Cañon near the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains. An attack of mountain fever held them here for a short time, but Young's impatience would not brook a long delay. He ordered Orson Pratt to cut through the mountains into the valley with the strongest members of the party. Following these directions the little band came to Emigration Cañon—a narrow defile that opens on the table lands overlooking Salt Lake. From Fort Bridger they had followed pretty close the route taken by the Donner party. In fact this route was evidently used extensively for several years.[20]

What accomplished in few weeks.—Near where the Mormons had halted two small streams flowed down from the Wasatch Mountains and made the location seem a promising one. They arrived here July 23, and at once began to prepare for a late planting. The ground was so hard and dry that plows were broken in trying to turn a furrow. The saints thereupon dammed one of the streams and turned the water out upon the soil to soften it. This was the beginning of

[19] Clayton, William, *Historical Record*, IX. 58, quoted in Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II. 173.

[20] McBride, J. R., *Route of the Mormons*, MS., 1, 2.

a system of irrigation which was used regularly thereafter.

We . . . have accomplished more this season—Woodruff wrote—than can be found on record concerning any twelve men since the days of Adam. We have traveled with heavily laden wagons more than a thousand miles, over rough roads, mountains, and cañons, searching out a land, a resting place for the saints. We have laid out a city two miles square, and built a fort of hewn timber drawn seven miles from the mountains, and of sun-dried bricks or adobes, surrounding ten acres of ground, forty rods of which were covered with blockhouses, besides planting about ten acres of corn, potatoes, and vegetables. All this we have done in a single month, and then returned to Winter Quarters all in one season, traveling over two thousand miles during the summer.[21]

Limited accommodations.—Within less than a month following the arrival of the pioneers a small force was sent back to meet the first division of the main body of the Mormons and guide them over the mountains to their new home. The latter consisted of 1,553 men, women, and children. They brought with them 2,213 cattle, 124 horses, 887 cows, 358 sheep, and a few hogs and chickens. They made the journey overland without serious difficulty, and arrived at their destination during the latter part of September. There was keen disappointment among them when they saw the scarcity of timber and the ground covered with white alkali and infested with lizards, rattlesnakes, and black crickets, but to return was out of the question and they set to work, determined to force a living from the desert. A few weeks later they were joined by other bands who had followed them across the plains. It was impossible for many of them to secure cabins for the winter, but they procured shelter by digging caves in the

[21] Woodruff, Wilford, *Journal*, MS., 78.

dry earth or by placing their covered wagon beds upon the ground and using these. In fact Howard Stansbury found the Mormons using the latter method during the winter of 1849. The wagons, "being covered, served, when taken off from the wheels and set upon the ground, to make bedrooms, of limited dimensions it is true, but yet exceedingly comfortable. Many of these were comparatively large and commodious, and, when carpeted and furnished with a little stove, formed an additional apartment or back building to the small cabin, with which they frequently communicated by a door." [22]

Salt Lake City.—Salt Lake City, or the City of the Great Salt Lake as it was called up to the time of its incorporation in 1851, was laid out on a magnificent scale. The streets ran at right angles and were a hundred and thirty-two feet wide with sidewalks twenty feet in width. The blocks were six hundred and sixty feet square and were divided into eight lots, each containing an acre and a quarter of ground. A city ordinance provided that each house should be placed back twenty feet from the front line of the lot, the intervening space being reserved for shrubbery and trees. Upon the square reserved for public buildings an immense shed was erected which would accommodate three thousand people. It was called The Bowery and was used as a place of worship until the construction of the temple. The houses were built of adobe or sun-dried brick, principally, making a very neat appearance and proving warm and comfortable during the winter months. As early as 1850 buildings of more desirable qualities were introduced, but they were few in number and multiplied slowly because of the scarcity of timber. As early as 1850, however, the wisdom of Brigham Young and his followers in selecting the location

[22] *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, 1855, 123.

for the city was evident. Stansbury was enthusiastic over the prospects.

> The irrigating canals, which flow before every door, furnish abundance of water for the nourishment of shade trees, and the open space between each building, and the pavement before it, when planted with shrubbery and adorned with flowers, will make this one of the most lovely spots between the Mississippi and the Pacific.[28]

The "starving time."—In March, 1848, Salt Lake City had a population of 1,671. There were 423 houses, and five thousand acres of land were under cultivation, one-tenth of which was planted in wheat. Young himself was among the number who had gone back to Winter Quarters on the Missouri in 1847 to guide the main body of the saints across the plains. This was done in the summer of 1848. The crops which had been planted in the spring were pretty nearly destroyed by the crickets, and the remnant that was saved provided inadequate supplies through the winter for the population with the summer's large accessions. The new arrivals brought the total number of people in the city to about five thousand. The winter was an exceptionally severe one, and fuel and food were both scarce. From February to July, 1849, three-quarters of a pound of flour was distributed daily to each person. In many instances families were reduced to digging the roots of the sego lily for food, and to removing the hides from the roofs of the houses to make a broth. The winter 1848 to 1849 has rightly been called the Mormons' starving time.

Relief.—From this distressing condition the colony was relieved by the discovery of gold in California. In the summer of 1849 the first gold-seekers arrived at Salt Lake, and the city of the saints soon became the half-way station on the route overland to the Pacific,

[28] *Ibid.*, 129.

and an important center of trade. Many an emigrant had overloaded his wagons with clothing, dry-goods, general merchandise, mechanics' tools and machinery, or had selected a heavy equipment instead of a light one, and by the time he reached the Mormon settlement was ready to discard all surplus weight. The emigrant's misfortune was the saint's opportunity. The gold-seekers, in "absolute disgust for their trains of merchandise and splendid emigrant outfits, gave the bulk to the Mormons at their own price." Sometimes wagons, cattle, and merchandise were received in exchange for a horse or mule outfit which could transport the gold-hunter more quickly to his destination.[24] The *Frontier Guardian,* in commenting on the conditions, said that pack mules and horses, "worth twenty-five dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest price. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city."[25] Flour brought twenty-five dollars a hundred pounds, and the wages of blacksmiths and wheelwrights rose to three dollars a day. Commodities which the Mormons produced sold at fabulous prices; those which the emigrants brought in from the states could be bought cheaper in Salt Lake City, in many instances, than they cost wholesale in New York. Money began to circulate. In October, 1849, the General Conference decided to organize a corporation to transport passengers and freight from the Missouri to California. The "Great Salt Lake Valley Carrying Company" was formed and proved profitable. The fare per passenger was three hundred dollars from Council Bluffs to Sutter's Fort in California, and the freight rate to Salt Lake City was twelve dollars and a half per hundred pounds.

[24] Tullidge, Edward W., *The History of Salt Lake City and its Founders,* Salt Lake City, 62.
[25] Quoted *ibid.*

Manufacturing introduced.—It was Young's ambition to make his people independent of the outside world as soon as possible, and in order to accomplish this he encouraged the introduction of manufacturing plants of various kinds. The General Conference of October, 1849, ordered the construction of a glass factory in the valley, and in a letter written in the same month and year to Orson Pratt who was in England, Young said the saints would have the material for cotton and woolen factories ready by the time men and machinery were provided to handle it, and Pratt was urged to send operatives and necessary fixtures as soon as possible. The summer of the following year Pratt urged the officers of companies in England "to seek diligently in every branch for wise, skillful, and ingenious mechanics, manufacturers, potters, etc." [26] By April, 1852, Young was able to announce that two potteries were in operation in the city besides a nail factory, a wooden bowl factory, and many grist and saw mills. A small woolen factory was under construction also.

Growth of industry.—Thrift, industry, and coöperation were Mormon characteristics. The mountain streams furnished water power which was rapidly utilized in the saw and grist mills that were constructed. Milldams were erected, roads and bridges were built, and canals were dug to meet the demands of the growing community. An "unfailing stream of pure, sweet water" flowed through the city, and "by an ingenious mode of irrigation, is made to traverse each side of the street, whence it is led into each garden spot, spreading life, verdure, and beauty over what was heretofore a barren waste." [27] The tithes due from all church mem-

[26] Quoted in Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 403.

[27] Stansbury, Howard, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, including a Description of its Geography, Natural History, and Minerals, and an Analysis of its Waters with an Authentic account of the Mormon Settlement, etc.* Philadelphia, 1853, 128.

bers could be paid in labor, and many emigrants helped to pay their transportation charges in the same way. Some of the public buildings were constructed by labor supplied from these sources, as also was forged and cast the machinery used in flour and lumber mills. The iron for these purposes and for making farm tools was taken from the hubs and tires of discarded wagons. When produce and money were brought to the tithing office later, laborers were employed and paid in clothing and food. Employment on the public works had been the means of giving many an influential business man his start in life.

Distribution of lands.—Brigham Young made provision for a generous distribution of the land. Five-acre lots were surveyed as garden plots for the mechanics in the suburbs of the city, and beyond were farms of from ten to eighty acres, the amount of land in each increasing as its distance from the center of the city increased. There was common cultivation during the first year, after which lands were assigned, "each man drawing for his portion of the general inheritance. To the leaders who had plural wives and large families, a proportionate holding was awarded."[28] Lots of ten acres each were reserved for the temple and for public parks. No charges were made for the first distribution of land except a nominal sum to pay the expense of surveying and recording. After the assignments were made there were some attempts at speculation, but the offenders were sternly rebuked by the spiritual leaders. The profiteer in land—the modern real estate shark—was not tolerated among the saints. If sales had to be made, the first cost plus the actual value of improvements was all that could be charged the purchaser. A record of all transactions was kept by the Register. The early Mormons followed the theory that "land be-

[28] Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II. 176, 177.

should be at Salt Lake City and that the powers should be divided among the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. The legislature was to be biennial and its members, in both houses, were to be elected by the people. Sessions were to be annual, the first one early in July, 1849, and regularly thereafter on the first Monday in December. Members of the lower house must be at least twenty-five years old and were to be elected biennially. Members of the senate were to be at least thirty years of age and were to be elected for a period of four years. An oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the state of Deseret was required of all members of the legislative assembly. The governor was to be elected for a period of four years, and there was to be a lieutenant-governor, a secretary of state, an auditor, and a treasurer. The chief justice of the supreme court and his associates were to be elected by the legislature and were to hold office for four years. Such inferior tribunals as were needed should be created by the legislature. The Mormons had learned the importance of having forces prepared for military service. A state militia including all the men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who were not exempt from military duty, was to be organized, equipped, armed, and trained immediately. Later the age requirement was changed so that the militia included youths under eighteen and a company known as "Silver Greys" who were over forty-five.

Boundaries.—The boundaries for the state of Deseret were extensive. They were drawn to include not only the present state of Utah, but all of Arizona, nearly all of Nevada, the whole of southern California, and parts of Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado.[32] The seaport of San Diego was included in order to make Salt Lake City more accessible to new converts who desired to move there. It must be remembered that the saints had

[32] *Ibid.*, 393-395.

energetic missionaries spreading their faith not only in the eastern states but in numerous foreign countries, and that facilities were provided for transporting them to the new Zion as economically as possible. It was believed that the trip by way of the isthmus to San Diego and thence overland to Salt Lake City would be easier than a journey across the plains.

Efficient government.—Officers for the provisional government were elected on March 12, 1849, with Brigham Young, President of all the Mormons, as governor. The lieutenant-governor was Young's first ecclesiastical councilor and the secretary of state was his second, and the bishops of all the wards became justices of the peace. Under such circumstances the intimate relationship which existed between church and state is perfectly obvious. However, the political machinery of the temporary state of Deseret worked efficiently even if it was administered by ecclesiastical officials. It operated consistently, vigorously, and equitably over all who came under its jurisdiction. Howard Stansbury testified to this both from personal experience and from observation. Upon looking about for twenty of his mules one "fine morning" he found them "safely secured in the public pound, for trespassing upon the cornfield of some pious saint," and they were not returned until he had paid the fine imposed by the magistrate, and compensated "the owner for the damage done to his crops." Appeals were frequently made to the Mormon courts by companies of emigrants passing through, "who, having fallen out of the way, could not agree upon a division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression, by those passing through their midst, were not made in vain; and I know of at least one instance in which the marshal of the State was

despatched, with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owners." [83]

Deseret seeks admission to Union.—When the legislature of Deseret assembled in July, 1849, plans were completed for seeking admission into the Union. A memorial was adopted by the legislature and signed by citizens, and Almon W. Babbitt was elected a delegate to Congress. A little later a plan was submitted which would have secured the admission of Deseret and California as one state with the understanding that they were to separate subsequently and form two distinct commonwealths, but nothing resulted from the proposal.[84] Babbitt arrived in Washington late in 1849 bearing the memorial and a copy of the constitution of Deseret. These documents were presented to the Senate by Douglas on December 27, and a month later were referred by that body to the Committee on Territories. At about the same time an "anti-Mormon or anti-Deseret" memorial was placed before the same body by Senator Joseph R. Underwood of Kentucky. This document claimed that the persons whose names it bore were the real representatives of the church of latter day saints. Among those who had signed it was William Smith, brother of the prophet, who had been expelled from the Mormon church at Nauvoo. This may have had something to do with hastening the atti-

[83] Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*, 130, 131.

[84] For the attitude taken by the officials of Deseret regarding the union with California, *see* the letter written by Young, Kimball, and Richards to M. Lyman, dated at Great Salt Lake City, September 6, 1849, quoted in Whitney, *History of Utah*, I. 408-410; or Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California*, 153, 154, note 2. A summary of the scheme may be found in Goodwin, *ibid.*, 160-163. The proposal was ignored by California.

tude of Congress, but that body would probably have refused to admit Deseret to the Union any way. However, the government of Deseret continued to function until Congress passed a bill providing for the organization of the territory of Utah.

Becomes Utah territory.—Among the compromise measures of 1850 was one providing for a territorial government for Utah. It did not provoke so much discussion or so much interest as did some other measures in that famous list. It passed the Senate September 7, 1850, and two days later passed the House and was signed by the President. The boundaries of the new territory were not so extensive as those of Deseret—California on the west, on the north the territory of Oregon, on the east the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude on the south. In selecting officers for the territory the President remembered the people most concerned. Brigham Young was retained as governor and other prominent Mormons were given important appointments. In consideration of this the saints named the first capital of the territory Fillmore, and the county in which it is located was called Millard.[85] Unofficial news of the formation of the territory reached Salt Lake City in January, 1851. A few weeks later, before he had received official notice of his appointment, Young took the oath of office. During the last days of March he addressed a special message to the legislature of Deseret suggesting certain steps which would facilitate the transition to a territorial form of government. These steps were taken, and on April 5 the legislature was dissolved. The state of Deseret was replaced by the territory of Utah.

Extension of settlements.—Meanwhile the Mormons were extending their settlements into the territory

[85] Whitney, *History of Utah*, I. 450, 451.

north and south of Salt Lake City. Within less than two years after the arrival of the first settlers the number of people had become larger than the number of city lots, and more than the land in the vicinity would maintain in comfort. Exploring parties were sent out in different directions as new territory was needed to support the increasing population, and when a site was selected, usually a small party of volunteers directed by an elder made ready the proposed settlement. This was the common method adopted, but some settlements were developed differently. Thomas Grover, for instance, drove his stock to a meadow land twelve miles north of Salt Lake City in the autumn of 1847, intending to pasture them there during the winter. Here others joined him in the spring and a permanent settlement was made. In the following year a site for a town was surveyed and called Centerville. Bountiful, near Centerville, was settled in the spring of 1848. The country included in the present city of Ogden was held as a Spanish grant by Miles M. Goodyear in 1841, and he built a fort near the confluence of the Weber and Ogden rivers. This claim was purchased in 1848 by a member of the Mormon battalion who came from California with a few thousand dollars in gold dust. It was one of the most fertile spots in the entire region and drew settlers rapidly both from among the Mormons and the Gentiles. The city of Ogden was laid out in August, 1850, by Brigham Young and others. The settlement grew rapidly, and during its early history it was protected from Indian attacks by a wall which was built at a cost of forty thousand dollars. Brigham City and Willard City, both north of Ogden, were settled a little later.[86]

Country south of Salt Lake very attractive.—The saints preferred the country south of Salt Lake City

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[86] Bancroft, *Utah*, Chapter XIII.

because there was a better water supply. In the spring of 1849, about thirty families settled on Utah Lake. The place was called Fort Utah. Precautions were taken to protect the community from the Indians, but hostilities broke out and the little fort soon found itself in a state of siege. Reënforcements were brought from Salt Lake City and the Indians were completely defeated. This freed Utah valley from hostile Indians until 1852. Provo City was founded in 1849. Evansville, about fifteen miles northwest of Provo City was settled over a year later, and in 1852 was incorporated under the name of Lehi. Pleasant Grove was laid out in the same vicinity. Payson, Nephi, and other settlements south of Utah Lake were made before 1853. The southern road to the gold fields of California made by the emigrants of 1849 passed through Nephi. Still further south Manti and Fillmore were established in 1850 and 1851 respectively. In the southwestern part of the present state of Utah Parowan was also settled in 1851. It attracted considerable interest because of the deposits of magnetic iron ore found in the vicinity. At the suggestion of Young himself, in March, 1851, a company was organized to go to California and form the nucleus of a settlement in the Cajon Pass, where they should "cultivate the olive, grape, sugar-cane, and cotton, gather around them the saints, and select locations on the line of a proposed mail route." [87] The purpose of the colony was to provide an outfitting post for the people who might come to Utah by way of San Diego. As a result San Bernardino was begun on the site where formerly had been established one of the way stations of the New Mexican-California traders of the 'thirties and 'forties. About three hundred of the saints under the leadership of Lyman and Rich bought the land and laid out the city in the same year in which the company was organized, and they remained the chief

[87] *History of B. Young*, MS., 1851, *Bancroft Collection*, 14 and 85.

element of strength in the community until they were recalled to Utah in 1857-1858.

Bibliographical Notes

Mormon Settlement in the Great Salt Lake Basin: There is an abundance of material on Mormon religion, but information on the settlement of the Great Salt Lake basin must be gleaned here and there from such general histories as McMaster's, from histories of Utah, and from journals of travelers. The following works will be found helpful: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886,* San Francisco, 1889; Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific States with Speaker Colfax,* Springfield, Mass., 1865; Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West; How We Won the Land Beyond the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; John William Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: a History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Conditions, and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observation: During a Residence among Them,* Philadelphia, 1860; William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons, from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901,* New York 1902; Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah: Including a Description of its Geography, Natural History, and Minerals, and an Analysis of its Waters: with an Account of the Mormon Settlement. . . . Also a Reconnaissance of a new Route through the Rocky Mountains, and two Large and Accurate Maps of that Region,* Philadelphia, 1855 (an unprejudiced contemporary account of the settlement); Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* Salt Lake City, 1886 (an earlier edition, 1850); Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah,* Salt Lake City, 1916; *Ibid., History of Utah Comprising Preliminary Chapters on the Previous History of her Founders, Accounts of Early Spanish and American Explorations in the Rocky Mountain Region, the Advent of the Mormon Pioneers, the Establishment and Dissolution of the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret, and the Subsequent Creation and Development of the Territory,* 4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1898; Anonymous: *California: Its Past History; its Present Position; its Future Prospects: Containing a History of the Country from its Colonization by the Spaniards to the Present Time . . . Including a History of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Mormon Settlements,* London, 1850.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA

Purpose of this chapter.—The earliest interest of the United States in California was purely economic. Through this interest Americans gradually became familiar with the country and began to settle within the territory. At first they yielded uncomplainingly to the laws and customs of the land, but as their numbers increased the compliance of the earliest immigrants gave way to a bolder policy which involved them in disputes with the local authorities. Meanwhile reports of this new land on the Pacific attracted an increasing interest among citizens of the United States where they were given wide publicity as time went by, and, combined with unsettled conditions on the frontier, brought home seekers to California in sufficient numbers to dominate affairs within the territory. Then came the discovery of gold in January, 1848, which made California the mecca for tens of thousands of people from all over the world. Out of the chaotic conditions following their arrival a state government evolved which had functioned in an orderly manner for several months when California was admitted to the Union on September 9, 1850. It is the writer's intention to trace these events briefly in this chapter.

In a former chapter attention has been directed to the early economic interests which Boston merchants manifested in the Pacific Northwest. That interest stirred the wrath of Spanish officials in Mexico, and the following instructions were sent to officers in California:

Should there arrive at the port of San Francisco a ship named *Columbia,* which they say belongs to General Washington of the American states . . . you will take measures to secure this vessel and all the people on board, with discretion, tact, cleverness, and caution, doing the same with a small craft which she has with her as a tender, and with every other suspicious foreign vessel, giving me prompt notice in such cases in order that I may take such action as shall be expedient.[1]

This order chronicled California's knowledge of the United States and led to the United States' interest in California. The expedition sent out by the Boston merchants was eminently successful as we have seen. Gray spent several months in collecting furs along the Northwest coast during the year 1789, and these were sold in Canton at large profits. In this way a prosperous fur trade was opened with China, and New England merchants participated with increasing zeal.

Beginning of regular commercial intercourse.—In its early stages this trade was carried on along the Northwest coast, but the greater abundance of sea otter in the California waters from San Diego northwards soon drew the fur hunters to the more southern territory. In October, 1796, one of these vessels arrived at Monterey, and with this incident begins a regular commercial intercourse between New England and California which, assuming various forms, was carried on until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century. It is true that the colonial policy of Spain forbade trade with foreigners, but the enforcement of such regulations, in so far as they affected California, was quite impossible. Spain was far away, and public sentiment in California was overwhelmingly in favor of trade with these indefatigable Yankees. They furnished the mission authorities with many essential supplies for which the latter not infrequently traded sea-otter furs.

[1] Pedro Fages to Josef Arguello, May 13, 1789, quoted in Bancroft, *History of California,* I. 445.

The New England trader increased his supply of furs by hunting along the great stretches of unfrequented shore or around the islands in neighboring channels. It was not possible for the more conscientious Spanish officials to prevent this because they had no boats with which to pursue the intruders. The skins thus obtained were carried to Canton and exchanged for silks, teas, lacquered wares, and other goods, which in turn were brought back to the islands or to the Russian settlements of Alaska or to California. Not infrequently they might be transported directly to Europe or to the United States.[2]

The whaling industry.—The knowledge which the United States acquired of California was not gained entirely from the fur traders who entered her ports and hunted the sea otter along her coasts. The New England whale fisherman found profitable employment in Pacific waters, and during the very early part of the nineteenth century, began to visit California harbors for supplies before undertaking the long homeward journey. These visits became more frequent as knowledge of the value of the hunting grounds was extended. According to Representative Bayles of Massachusetts this trade brought a million and a half dollars annually to New Bedford and Nantucket alone, and from New England and New York one hundred and twenty-nine vessels were employed in its prosecution.[3] The vessels which came into Monterey and San Francisco usually left four or five hundred dollars' worth of manufactured goods among the Californians which were brought for the purpose of trading for fresh supplies for the return trip.

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[2] Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California; an Account of the Growth of American Interest in California from 1835 to 1846.* In the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly,* XVIII, Nos. 1, 2, 3. Austin, 4.

[3] *Annals of Congress.,* 17th Cong., 2d Sess. (1822-1823), 414-416.

Hides and tallow; a trading scene.—A more direct and a more intimate relation between the United States and California was established when Bryant and Sturgis of Boston, with other interested persons, began regularly to seek hides and tallow from the Spaniards along the California coast after Mexico became independent of Spain. It was undertaken upon the recommendation of William Alden Gale,[4] who had been engaged in the fur trade along the coast in earlier years, and came to play a prominent part in the commercial life of the Californians, and it afforded a profitable trade for a few Boston merchants. One of these vessels engaged in trade along the coast was anchored in San Pedro harbor in 1829. Alfred Robinson, who was with it, has left a description of a scene which must have been common in the ports of California during these years:

> As we anticipated, our friends came in the morning, flocking on board from all quarters; and soon a busy scene commenced, afloat and ashore. Boats were plying to and fro—launches laden with the variety of our cargo passing to the beach, and men, women, and children crowding upon our decks, partaking in the general excitement. On shore all was confusion. Cattle and carts laden with hides and tallow, *gente de razon,* and Indians, busily engaged in the delivery of their produce, and receiving in return its value in goods; groups of individuals seated around little bonfires on the ground, and horsemen racing over the plain in every direction. Thus the day passed; some departing, some arriving—till long after sunset the low white road leading across the plain to the town, appeared a living panorama.[5]

First American settlers.—The first Americans to settle in California came on board these vessels. There were very few who stopped in the territory while the

[4] Gale established the first American business house at Monterey in 1824, according to Hittel, T. H., *History of California,* II. 73, 74.

[5] *Life in California, San Francisco,* 1891, 50, 51; Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast,* gives an excellent account of the hide and tallow trade.

country was in the hands of Spain, but the intentions of the traders were suspected by the jealous Spanish officials. By 1817 the Americans were believed to have in view other than commercial purposes. Sola said they came well armed, and avoided the presidios. They visited the smaller bays where they could land with impunity and come into contact with the people. If a struggle should arise Spain could not depend upon the Indians. They could easily be bought by the Americans. But Spain could not think of abandoning the province, not only because of its intrinsic value and the duty of maintaining the spiritual conquest which had been made, but because it was especially important at that time as a commercial frontier barrier to prevent the scheming and aggressive English and Russians from interfering in the trade of New Spain.[6]

Foreign influences; the waltz.—When California changed from Spanish to Mexican hands the bitter feeling against the Yankee was temporarily alleviated. The hostility against foreigners, particularly the English and Americans, was also modified when prominent men like Hartnell and Gale married into California families. But when Americans had arrived in sufficient numbers to begin to flaunt their literature and their amusements in the face of the Mexican population, particularly when some of the latter were inclined to adopt these, hostile sentiments began once more to rise against foreigners. The church officials objected to certain religious books of different sects which were brought into the territory, many of which were purely literary and scientific in character. But the padres had more tempting food for scandal when a new foreign dance was introduced into the province. This was the waltz. Indignation among the missionaries became so great that finally an edict was procured from the bishop of Sonora imposing excommunication upon all who

[6] Bancroft, *History of California*, II. 214, 215.

should indulge in this particular pastime, and in 1824 the edict was posted on the church door at Monterey. A dance had been arranged for the evening of the day the edict arrived, and guests had assembled when news of the admonition of the bishop was circulated. There was brief hesitation, a nod of approval from the Governor who was present, and the waltz went on.[7]

Smith's first journey overland.—While these Americans were courting the dangers of the seas in order to ply their trade, and some of them through force of circumstances or from choice were settling among the Spaniards and Mexicans in California, others were preparing to take the more hazardous journey overland. And in the latter movement, as in the former, the impelling force—the force which initiated the movement—was economic. Jedediah S. Smith, the senior member of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, has been credited with leading the first overland expedition into California. With a party of fifteen men Smith left the rendezvous near Great Salt Lake on August 22, 1826, for the purpose of exploring the country to the southwest, which was then unknown to American traders. Passing down the valley of the Great Salt Lake, probably, east of Utah he followed a general southwesterly course across the Sevier valley to the Virgin River, down which he made his way to the Colorado. Two days above the mouth of the Virgin he discovered a remarkable salt cave, the only incident of importance that happened on this part of his trip. Having crossed to the east bank of the Colorado, Smith followed the stream down to the Mojave Indians. He remained with them fifteen days to recruit his horses. Then again he crossed the Colorado and pursued a western course, experiencing great hardship and much suffering as he

[7] Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California*, 4 vols., San Francisco, 1885, II. 74, 75.

hunted his way over the desolate wastes of southern California. It was probably about the middle of October when he arrived at San Diego.[8] His presence aroused the displeasure of the Mexican officials, and it was not until the Americans in the colony had interceded for him that he was permitted to purchase supplies and depart. It was apparently expected that he would return over the route by which he had come, but Smith was not disposed to leave immediately a country which he had come so far to see. After some delay in the southern part of the territory he turned northwest and traveled approximately three hundred miles parallel with the coast. Several months were spent on this part of the journey, the time being utilized to advantage in trapping. The spring of 1827 found the party in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Merced and San Joaquin rivers. Early in May, Smith attempted to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains with his men, but the snows were too deep. Then he decided to leave most of the men in California while he should make his way to the rendezvous, expecting to return for them in the fall. Taking two companions and seven horses and two mules loaded with provisions and forage, toward the end of May he began his perilous journey. The mountains were crossed in eight days with the loss of only two horses and one mule,[9] the snow being barely sufficiently hard to support the weight of the animals. His exact route is not clear, but he probably crossed the mountains near Sonora Pass, traveling north of Walker Lake and crossing Nevada far south of the Humboldt. A journey of twenty days more

[8] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I. 283. Bancroft, *History of California*, III. 154, gives December as the month of his arrival.

[9] For a discussion of the various routes over which Smith is said to have passed on this expedition *see* Harrington C. Dale (editor), *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, 192, note 409. For the letter to Gen. Wm. Clark in which Smith gives an account of this expedition *see ibid.*, 186-194.

brought him to the southwestern corner of the Great Salt Lake. Proceeding up the western shore he reached the rendezvous toward the middle of June.

Smith's second journey to California.—About a month later, July 13, Smith started on his second trip to California accompanied by eighteen men. His object was to bring back the men he had left there. He followed the route by which he had traveled the previous year and went directly to the Mojave Indians. The Spaniards meanwhile had persuaded the Indians to prevent the Americans from passing that way. Of this Smith was ignorant, and expecting the same courteous treatment which he had formerly experienced at their hands, he was somewhat off his guard. In August while he was crossing the Colorado on a raft the Indians attacked the little band, killing ten men and capturing all the property and papers. Amidst intense suffering and great peril the survivors made their way to San Gabriel in nine and one-half days. Smith left two wounded companions here and started north to join his party. Upon arriving at Mission San José Smith asked permission to visit the governor at Monterey, but his request was denied and he was imprisoned. He was at last sent to Monterey under guard where he experienced trying difficulties. In the late autumn, through the intercession of the master of an American ship, he was freed and told that he must leave Mexican territory after he had secured necessary supplies.

An attack by Indians.—With the men who had survived the attack of the Mojaves and with the companions left in California the preceding year,[10] Smith prepared to depart. The Mexican officials had given him two months in which to leave the territory, and they had designated the general route he must follow. But the route chosen required him to cross the Buenaven-

[10] *Ibid.*, 285, note 3; Chittenden, *The History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I. 285, note 3.

tura (Sacramento) River which was impassable at the time because of high water. Smith determined to spend the winter in the neighborhood. Making his way slowly up the river he reached the principal fork where he spent several months, a circumstance from which the stream came to be known as the American Fork. On April 13, 1828, Smith resumed his journey, going northwestward to the coast. This he followed without experiencing any extraordinary hardships until he reached the Umpqua River. A large quantity of furs had been accumulated through considerable trapping on the way, but these were taken by the Indians at the Umpqua, fifteen of his men were killed, and Smith himself was separated from the other three who fled northward. The leader, in a destitute condition, made his way to Fort Vancouver where he found his companions. McLoughlin afforded every relief that he could to the unfortunate adventurers, even to providing a force to punish the Indians and to secure the property. For the latter service McLoughlin charged only the value of the men's time at the rate of sixty dollars a year. For horses that were lost on the trip he charged four dollars apiece. He then purchased the recovered property, the amount of the furs coming to about twenty thousand dollars. In March, 1829, Smith started East. Ascending the Columbia he followed the route used by British fur traders to their post among the Flathead Indians, a place he had visited in 1824. Thence he started south for the Snake River. He met Jackson, one of his partners, on the way, and a little later found the other, Sublette, at "Tetons on Henry Fork, the south branch of the Columbia." [11]

The explorations which he had made were notable in the annals of western history. He had been the first of whom we have any knowledge to travel southwest

[11] *Ibid.*, 287.

from Great Salt Lake to California, the first to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the deserts of Utah and Nevada, and the first to travel up the Pacific coast by land from San Francisco to the Columbia.

The Patties in California.—A month before Smith left his camp on the American Fork for his trip up the coast to the Columbia, Sylvester Pattie, a Kentuckian, accompanied by his son, James Ohio Pattie, arrived at Santa Catalina Mission in Lower California. Ten days later they were placed under guard and taken to San Diego, where they arrived on March 27, 1828. Besides the Patties the company included Nathaniel Pryor, Richard Laughlin, William Pope, Isaac Glover, Jesse Ferguson, and James Puter, the majority of whom became permanent residents of California. Here the Patties were imprisoned, and the father died a month later. Young Pattie remained in prison in spite of the efforts made by Americans to secure his release. Finally smallpox broke out in the missions, and Pattie says he struck an agreement with the officials whereby he promised to vaccinate the people of the territory with a small quantity of vaccine which he had, upon condition that he and his companions should be granted their freedom. Under this agreement the prison doors were opened early in 1829, and Pattie and his companions were given their liberty. For about a year longer he remained in California, and then returned to the United States by way of Mexico.[12]

Following Smith and the Patties came additional bands of trappers and adventurers led by such men as Young, Wolfskill, Walker, and others whose names are unknown. They wandered up and down the inland valleys and streams of California, coming and going,

[12] For a summary of the experiences of the Patties and an estimate of the value of James Ohio Pattie's *Personal Narrative* as edited by Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, 1833, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, *see* Bancroft, *History of California*, III. 162-172.

thoughtless of life, with no respect for Mexican law or Mexican officials, seeking out the passes in the Sierras as they crossed and recrossed them, and preparing the way for the flood of overland immigrants who were to follow.

Rumors of American plots.—While the total immigration into California by sea and by land was insignificant up to 1830 when compared with the movement in later years, it was sufficiently large to keep the suspicious Mexican officials alarmed. Rumors were beginning to circulate occasionally, and they usually had a disquieting effect upon the administrators of the law. One of these reached the ear of Echeandia in 1829, and he immediately forwarded it to his superiors at Mexico City. The Americans, it was said, were plotting to seize the port of San Francisco; and another rumor came from Mexico by way of England to the effect that California with Texas was about to be made over to the United States for a term of years as security for a large sum of money which was to be spent in preventing a Spanish invasion.[13]

Causes of the revolution of 1836.—Perhaps one reason for the extreme sensitiveness of Mexican officers in California came from an appreciation of the change that was taking place in the minds of the Californians themselves. A new generation was appearing on the scene. They were the first of the "native sons," and they were proud, jealous, and ambitious. They did not desire independence, but they did crave more generous and thoughtful consideration from the mother country. They believed that more time should be given to consulting the interest of the territory, and that no more Mexican officers should be sent to administer affairs in California. They had capable talent among

[13] Niles' *Weekly Register*, XXXVII. 87.

their own citizens—why should the home government decline to recognize it? Why not have Alvarado or Castro or Carrillo or Vallejo or Pico or some other young Californian selected for the governorship of the territory? The fact that due consideration was not given to these things by the home government engendered bitterness against Mexican authority. Some of the people were beginning to feel that the Mexican way of doing things was not the best way, and foreigners with selfish motives but sound arguments exerted themselves to prove that California had received from Mexico nothing but neglect and ill treatment. While the Californians were too shrewd to seek support from foreign nations for accomplishing their purpose, they were willing to utilize the foreigners in their midst in order to attain their ends. These were some of the motives back of the uprising of 1836, led by the American, Isaac Graham, in which foreigners took a prominent part.

Isaac Graham and the revolution of 1836.—Graham was a hunter who had come from Tennessee by way of New Mexico, arriving in California in 1833. He belonged to the rougher element which might be found in frontier communities and had no respect for things Mexican. Near San Juan he had opened a still which had become a favorite loafing place for foreigners in the community. Graham had promised to aid Alvarado in the impending struggle, and had no difficulty in raising a company of twenty-five or thirty men from among his companions. Most of them were sailors of various nationalities, with about one-half dozen American hunters. In the work of recruiting Graham was assisted by two Englishmen. It is difficult to estimate the services which they rendered, but they evidently constituted the most formidable part of the revolutionary force. Alvarado said that the company was of great use to him, that the leaders rendered effective

service, and that he had promised to reward them with lands.[14]

The Graham affair of 1840.—After Alvarado became governor, however, he seems to have lost the friendly feeling he may have had for the foreigners who had assisted him in accomplishing his purpose. As time passed he doubtless felt that the successful revolution which had been led by citizens of the United States in Texas might be duplicated in California, and this impression would be aggravated by perhaps an undue familiarity on the part of the same foreigners who had assisted him in 1836. Graham is said to have "boldly told him (Alvarado) to his teeth, that to him (Graham) he (Alvarado) owed his elevation."[15] Such experience would tend to make the Californian particularly susceptible to reports which circulated in the territory, to the effect that the Americans were planning an uprising. These rumors were so persistent that by April, 1840, about one hundred American and English residents in California who had no passports were arrested suddenly for engaging in a plot to overthrow the government. Their intention, it was said, was to declare the country independent of Mexico. Graham was considered the leader of the movement. With fifty of his companions, he was given a farcical trial at Santa Barbara and severe treatment by the officials in charge. They were then shipped to Tepic, where Barron, the British consul, and Alexander Forbes secured a pardon for most of the prisoners and a quick trial for the others which resulted in their acquittal. Some of them were fortunate enough to secure immediate indemnity for the loss and suffering which they had experienced, while the others returned to California to procure legal evidence against the government there. In this they were aided by a vessel of the United

[14] Bancroft, *History of California*, III. 459, note.
[15] Robinson, *Life in California*, 187.

States navy[16] under the command of Commodore Ja
in 1842.

Arrival of Sutter; establishment of New Helvet
—The period before 1840 was in no sense a period
immigration, but it was an era when a good many ca
who were to occupy prominent places in the later h
tory of the territory. Among these perhaps none d
serves more recognition than Johann August Sutter.
native of Baden, who had acquired citizenship
Switzerland and came to Monterey in July, 1839. Su
ter had a magnetic personality, was tactful, and coul
converse in English, French, and Spanish besides hi
native German. He came provided with letters o
recommendation from officials of the Hudson Bay Com
pany, from the Russian-American Company, and from
merchants at Honolulu. Alvarado was most favorably
impressed by him and invited him to become a Mexican citizen and select a tract of land in the interior to which he might acquire title within a year under Mexican law. He visited Vallejo at Sonoma and the Russian port at Ross, at both of which places he was courteously received. Sonoma, Napa, and Suisun valleys were recommended to him as desirable locations for settlement, but he declined these suggestions, apparently because he wanted to settle on a navigable river, but really because he wished to be some distance from Spanish officials and Spanish neighbors.[17] He had already determined to locate in Sacramento valley, and he had no objection to becoming a citizen of Mexico, providing he could advance his own interest by doing so. With two hired schooners and a pinnace, Sutter started from Yerba Buena for the Sacramento River early in August. After eight days he landed on the

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16 Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California*, 22.
See also Bancroft, *California*, IV. Chapter I and notes for a full discussion of the and for bibliographical material.
17 Sutter, *Personal Reminiscences*, MS. Bancroft Collection, 21-27.

south bank of the American, its tributary, and he determined to make his settlement there. With him came three white men, eight Kanakas, an Indian, and a bulldog. Here on high ground two temporary structures of grass and poles were built, and the settlement was called New Helvetia.

By the summer of 1840 Sutter had become acquainted with the western trappers who hunted in the Sacramento valley, and had shown diplomacy and tact in his relations with the Indians. On completing the requirements for his citizenship in August, he was appointed to represent the department of government at New Helvetia. He was given all the civil authority necessary for the local administration of justice, for suppressing criminal adventurers from the United States, repressing Indian hostilities, and preventing the illegal fishing and trapping carried on in that vicinity by the Hudson Bay Company. In the same year Sutter extended his possessions by purchasing Fort Ross from the Russians for thirty thousand pesos, and in 1841 he began the construction of a fort at New Helvetia. The area of the fort was five hundred by one hundred and fifty feet, and when completed was protected by adobe walls eighteen feet high with bastioned corners. By 1842 it had an armament of twelve guns, and Sutter had established himself on the Sacramento as "a veritable lord of the marches." [18]

No overland homeseekers before 1841.—The Americans in California at this time were insignificant as far as numbers go. In fact the entire foreign population in a total population of a little less than six thousand, excluding Indians, was about three hundred and eighty. Of the latter, approximately two hundred and forty had come before 1835, and one hundred and forty

[18] Fort Ross had been established by the Russians in 1812 at a point eighteen miles north of Bodega. It was situated on a bluff one hundred feet above the sea and was given a fortification of ten guns. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, Boston, 1911—268, 269.

during the next five years. Of these about fifty men who were settled in the territory are said to have come overland, and not more than a dozen of these had left their homes for the deliberate purpose of settling. The Sierras had been crossed at least twice: once by Smith on his return to Great Salt Lake in 1827; and again by J. R. Walker, a native of Tennessee, who had resided for many years on the frontier in Missouri. Walker had been on an exploring expedition to Santa Fé, and in 1833 led a company of about forty trappers from Great Salt Lake to Mary or Ogden (Humboldt) River, and thence over the Sierras by an unknown route into California, returning across the mountains through Walker's Pass in 1834.[19] The men who had come overland and settled had made their entrance into California over the southern route by Tucson and the Gila. But there had been no company of immigrants before 1841.

Conditions leading to immigration of homeseekers.—The panic of 1837 brought economic distress to the entire nation, and perhaps in no section was there more prevailing unrest than along the frontier beyond the Mississippi. The discontent was particularly marked between 1839 and 1841, and the people willingly gave attention to reports of other lands. It must also be borne in mind that the frontiersmen were normally emigrants—"emigrants by profession," and rumors which had begun to circulate, even at this early date, about California's "cloudless skies" and fertile soil stirred a sympathetic response in their restless natures. These rumors came through various channels; from New Mexico and Oregon, with which places overland communication was common, through articles reprinted by local papers from the eastern press, and from the

[19] On the population *see* Bancroft, *California*, IV. 117, 264; on Walker's explorations, *ibid.*, III. 389-392, and Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (author's revised ed., N. Y.), Chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX.

mouths of nameless wandering trappers of whom nearly every frontier community possessed its quota. These reports had all the effect of the elaborately prepared and highly colored advertisements in current magazines. If there were no exaggerated drawings from the pens of commercial artists which visualized life in the midst of orange groves in sunny California, free from all the ills that flesh is heir to, at any rate there were among early trappers men who were skilled in playing upon the sensitive imaginations of a discontented people.

Robidoux's account of California.—Among the most effective of these appears the French trapper, Robidoux. He was in the little town of Weston, Platte County, Missouri, when feelings were tense. Letters had come from John Marsh of Mt. Diablo fame and others which had fanned the emigrating spirit in the community, and the people eagerly plied Robidoux with questions. He had been to California and had returned to their very midst! He was by all odds the best man to give them the information they sought. A meeting of the people of the town was called and Robidoux agreed to attend and answer questions. California, he declared, was "a perfect paradise, a perpetual spring." When questioned regarding the danger from chills and fever, a danger from which these people particularly desired to be free, he said: "There never was but one man in California who had the ague. He was from Missouri and carried the disease in his system. It was such a curiosity to see a man shake with the chills that the people of Monterey went eighteen miles into the country to watch him." And the chronicler of these events confides to his readers: "He was a calm, considerate man, and his stories had all the appearance of truth!"[20]

[20] Bidwell, Hon. Jno., *California, 1841-1848, An Immigrant's Recollections of a Trip across the Plains, and of Men and Events in Early Days, Including the Bear Flag Revolution*, MS., Bancroft Collection, 5-10.

Emigration discouraged by Weston merchants.—The meeting undoubtedly strengthened the determination of these people to go to California. An organization was formed, committees were appointed, and a pledge was drawn up binding the signers to dispose of their property, and purchase suitable outfits for a trip across the plains and over the mountains. About five hundred signed the pledge. It looked for a while as if the entire population of the town and surrounding community would move to California where "hospitality . . . was unbounded." Consternation seized the business men of the town and they began an active campaign to defeat the movement. The idea of such a change was ridiculed, and the dangers of a trip over the plains and through the mountains were magnified. The men who had instigated the plan were denounced and accused of wilfully misrepresenting the climate and resources of California. About this time it happened that some letters written by Farnham were being published in the papers of New York, and at the suggestion of Weston merchants these were reprinted in local papers and distributed throughout the community.[21] Excitement cooled. Another public meeting was called and another committee appointed and directed to correspond with people in California and with others who might desire to go. Apparently the second meeting was intended to counteract the effect of the work of the merchants and to keep up the spirits of those who had agreed to emigrate. It proved impossible, however. The enthusiasm quickly passed.

Sentiment elsewhere and a company formed.—While the people of Weston were experiencing these extremes of sentiment, the desire to migrate was taking a slower but firmer hold on the people along the frontier towards the south. In Missouri and Arkansas small

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[21] *Ibid.*, 8, 9.

companies were forming under the direction of courageous leaders. It is difficult to determine the number. At St. Louis one was organized under the leadership of Josiah Belden, a native of Connecticut who had lived in New York, Louisiana, and Mississippi before coming to Missouri. This company received additions at Independence on its way to the rendezvous on the Kansas River. Other small groups were headed by Robert Rickman, John Bartleson, and probably by Joseph B. Chiles. A party including Charles Weber, who was to become the founder of Stockton, did not join the company until several days after the start, and still another was too late to join it at all.[22] Near "Sapling Grove," Kansas—at the Kansas River camp, about nine miles from the Missouri line—the company was organized. Talbot H. Green was elected president, Bidwell was chosen secretary, and John Bartleson was appointed captain. Besides the company of forty-eight commanded by Bartleson, there were seventeen others who were to go to Oregon. The California expedition had no member who was familiar with the country through which they were to pass. It was therefore fortunate for them that members of the Oregon party had employed Fitzpatrick, an experienced mountaineer and guide, who was practically commander of the entire expedition as long as he remained with it. From him members of the California company gained much practical information during the weeks the two expeditions were together.

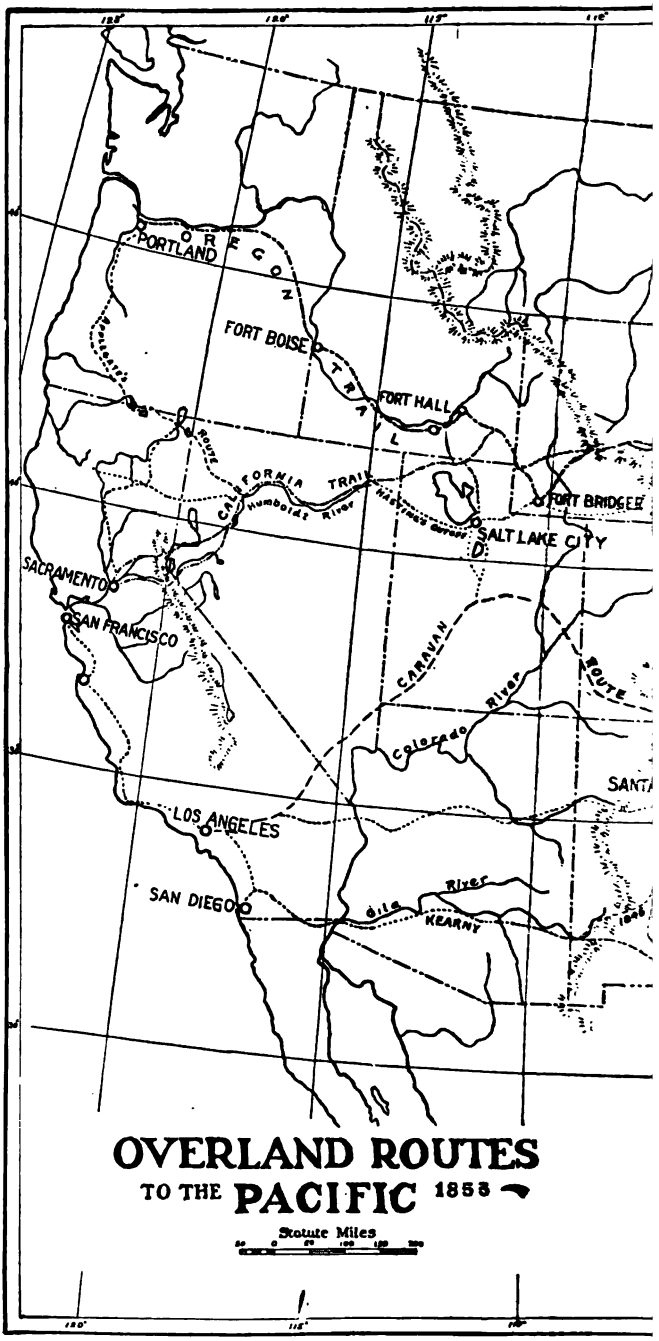
Crossing the plains.—The organization having been perfected, on Wednesday, May 19, 1841, the company broke camp and started off in single file. The missionaries with four carts and one wagon took the lead, and were followed by eight wagons drawn by horses and mules, the rear being brought up by five additional wagons drawn by seventeen yoke of oxen. They fol-

[22] Bancroft, *California*, IV. 264 ff. and notes.

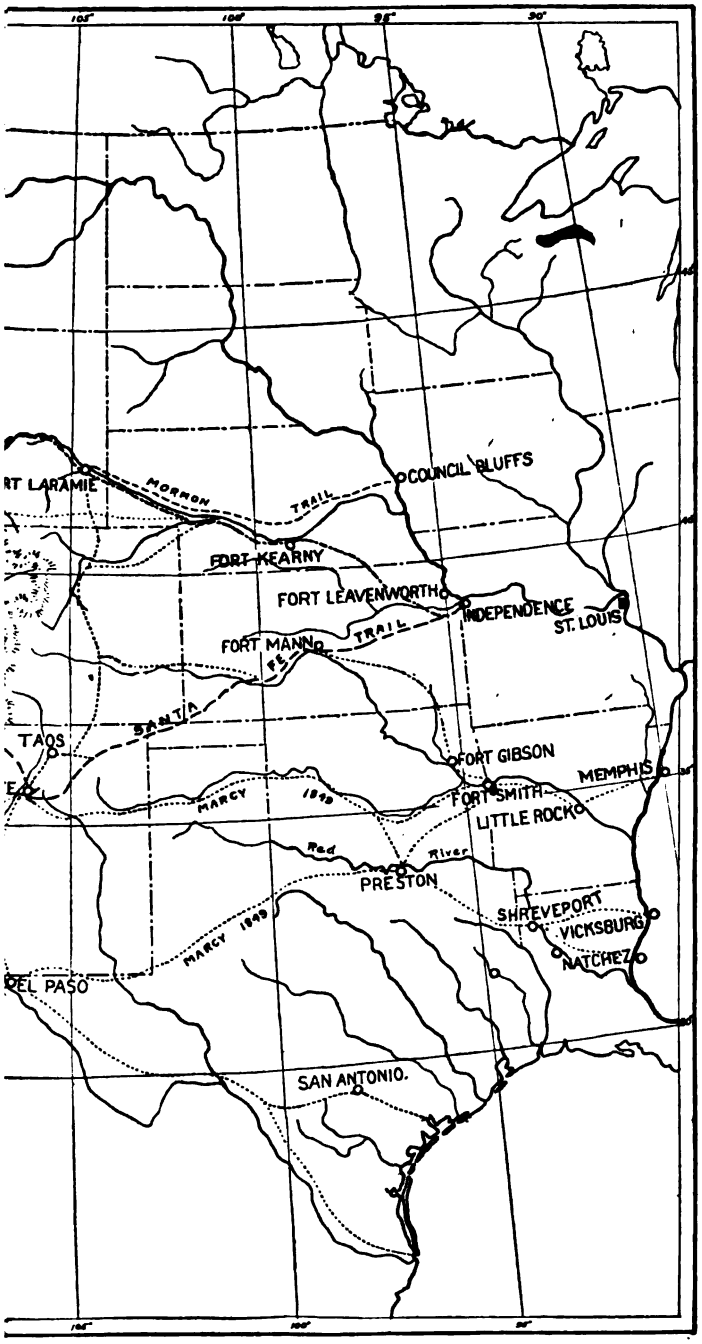
lowed the right bank of the Kansas River through rolling prairies interspersed with black walnut, elm, and hickory, traveling at the rate of about fifteen miles a day. On the twenty-third they were detained a short time in order to recover some oxen that had strayed from camp, and again on the twenty-sixth to repair two broken wagons. Without further misfortune they crossed the Kansas River, probably in the vicinity of the present site of Wamego, and continued westward to the Big Blue. They crossed the stream and turned northward toward the Platte River, covering that part of the journey at the rate of about twenty miles a day. On the twenty-first they met three wagons loaded with furs and robes going from Fort Laramie to St. Louis. During the morning of the first of June they met a band of friendly Indians who returned a gun and a horse stolen the day before, and who accompanied the expedition to the Platte River which they reached about noon, and "enjoyed a heavy shower in the afternoon and in the evening a wedding." [28]

High prices in the mountains.—From this point the company turned westward, following the south bank of the Platte. On the fifth of June they passed a number of boats loaded with furs. These belonged to the American Fur Company and were on their way to the eastern markets. Three days later the party made a camp in a valley at the junction of the North and South Forks of the Platte where the ground was covered with the bones of dead animals and where great herds of buffalo could be seen over the plains. About fifty miles west of the junction they forded the South Fork, crossed over to the North Fork, and ascended the north bank of that stream to Fort Laramie, at which place they arrived on the twenty-second of June. Two days were spent here at the fort of the American Fur Company. Recrossing the North Platte, probably at Fort Laramie,

[28] Bidwell, *A Journey to California in 1841.*



OVERLAND ROUTES TO THE PACIFIC 1853


105°
100°
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RT LARAMIE
MORMON
TRAIL
COUNCIL BLUFFS
FORT KEARNY
FORT LEAVENWORTH
INDEPENDENCE
ST. LOUIS
FORT MANN
TRAIL
SANTA
FE
TAOS
FORT GIBSON
MEMPHIS
MARCY
1849
FORT SMITH
LITTLE ROCK
Red
River
PRESTON
SHREVEPORT
VICKSBURG
NATCHEZ
MARCY 1849
EL PASO
SAN ANTONIO.

they ascended the river for more than one hundred miles and again crossed it to the Sweetwater. While following up the latter stream they put in a supply of buffalo meat to last them over the mountains, met a trapping expedition from Fort Laramie, and spent two days trading with them. Prices were exorbitant. Gunpowder was a dollar a pint; lead, a dollar and a half a pound; blankets, eight to fifteen dollars; sugar, one dollar per cupful; tobacco, two and a half dollars a pound; and other things accordingly. Having secured such supplies as they could afford, the emigrants crossed the mountains through South Pass, struck the headwaters of Big Sandy Creek, descended that stream to Green River, and continued down the latter to Black Fork, where they camped on the night of the thirty-first of July. Guards were posted to protect their livestock against the ravages of the Blackfeet Indians, and the next day they followed the Black Fork of the Green River to its source, and crossed to Bear River, continuing along the latter stream to Soda Springs.

This part of the trip seems to have been thoroughly enjoyed by members of the little band. It was the early part of August, and the sky was clear and the weather perfect. Rugged mountains of almost every shape extended their rocky summits into the western sky, receiving the first rays of the sun in the early morning, probably while the emigrants ate their breakfasts of cold buffalo meat, bread, and coffee, and standing cold and still against the horizon long after the evening glow had disappeared and the travelers had gone to sleep.

Division of the company.—At Soda Springs the company divided. Fitzpatrick, with the Oregon party, continued northward to Fort Hall, having vainly endeavored to persuade the others to abandon their trip to California. The California division waited at Soda Springs for the return of four of their number who accompanied Fitzpatrick to Fort Hall for the purpose

of procuring provisions and a guide, but the men returned without having obtained either. They did, however, get some vague directions and general advice interspersed with some uncanny "ifs." There was a desert to the south in which they might lose themselves if they went too far in that direction; towards the north there was a maze of cañons and cliffs; and somewhere between these was a certain stream known as "Mary's" or "Ogden" (Humboldt) River, which they were advised to search out and follow. To wander too far to the south meant death from thirst in the desert; to stray too far north meant a similar fate from starvation among the cliffs and cañons; to steer a middle course between these two alternatives, if they found the stream in that section, meant the possibility of prolonging their journey into the region of uncertainties! These were the conditions under which the California party, composed of thirty-two men, a woman, and one child, left Soda Springs, without a guide, for the purpose of settling in territory which then belonged to Mexico.

Making a California trail.—The company broke camp as their men returned from Fort Hall, and proceeded down Bear River until the water in that stream became too salty for use. The route to the Humboldt is not clear. They probably followed the northern shore of Salt Lake, using such water as they could find in pools by making it into strong coffee, groping along the northern and western borders of Great Salt Lake Desert, traveling in a general southwestern direction, "hunting their way among rocks and gullies and through sage brush," both men and animals half famished from thirst, until the twenty-sixth of August. On that day their courage was strengthened by the discovery of an Indian trail leading north toward the mountains. They followed this and soon found a supply of water and grass. On September 9 the explorers returned and reported that "St. Mary's" was about five

days' journey toward the west. The emigrants eagerly quickened their pace in the direction of the river.

The company soon learned that the country was too rough for wagons, and they were abandoned, together with such other things as could not be carried on the backs of animals. No member of the expedition, however, had had experience in loading pack animals, and the mules and oxen were just as inexperienced in carrying loads. Packs would turn, and old mules that appeared "too skinny" to travel under ordinary cicumstances would run and kick, and oxen would buck and bellow, much to the amusement of the emigrants.

Along the Humboldt River.—After traveling west probably just north of Franklin Lake in Nevada, crossing the East Humboldt range of mountains, and passing in the vicinity of the little town of Evans, bearing a little north of west as they proceeded, they came to the "St. Mary's" where it turns toward the northwest, on the twenty-third of September. Their information led them to expect the stream to flow toward the southwest, and after following the river for eight days they began to fear they were becoming involved in that northern region against which the trappers of Fort Hall had warned them. A feeling of great relief was experienced when they found on October 2 that the river turned southwest. They passed through a barren region, finding no game and probably little food for the animals, as the country had been recently burned over by the Indians. The oxen became too weak to bear the loads, but they were still driven on for food, the supply of buffalo meat having given out before the company reached "St. Mary's" River. They arrived at the sink about October 7.

Again the exact route is difficult to determine. The company traveled southwest from the sink of "St. Mary's" or the Humboldt River, probably passing Humboldt and Carson lakes, striking Walker River

where it turns south before emptying into Walker Lake. They ascended that stream to the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, arriving at the latter place on October 16. Members of the expedition were sent out to find a passage through the mountains, and after an absence of a day and night reported that "the mountains were barely passable." When this report was made some members of the company began to murmur. They thought it would be better to return to Fort Hall before the snows overtook them. A vote was taken, and they decided to continue the journey.

Crossing the Sierra Nevada Mountains.—About the middle of October the little band started across the mountains, hunting their way through valleys between peaks, passing through forests "the pine of which were, many of them, twelve feet in diameter," along dry beds of streams, dodging boulders and scaling mountains until they reached the divide. "A frightful prospect opened before us. Naked mountains whose summits still retained the snows of perhaps a thousand years. . . . The wind roared, but in the deep, dark gulfs which yawned on every side, profound silence seemed to reign." [24] The supply of beef gave out and a mule was killed. On October 29 Hopper, their most experienced mountaineer, gave up all expectation of reaching California, but this was the darkness preceding the dawn. On the next day they discovered a stream flowing west and their hopes were revived. It was the Stanislaus River. They descended the north bank for a distance and crossed to the south. To follow the stream was apparently impossible on account of boulders and cañons so the emigrants, footsore and weary, worked their way down, keeping a general westerly direction, until they reached the vicinity of the present site of Sonora. They were fortunate enough to kill a coyote here and their drooping spirits were revived for a final effort. In the

[24] *Ibid.*

twilight of an evening about the first of November they glided ghostlike from the shadows of the mountains to the plains below. They were near the present site of Knight's Ferry, and laid themselves upon the ground to sleep, little dreaming that they were in what was to become known as the state of California.[25] Next morning they woke early and discovered a belt of timber off to their right. Although only about ten miles distant, it took them, in their weakened condition, all day to reach it, but reach it they did in the early evening, and found themselves again on the Stanislaus. Game was abundant and their sufferings from lack of food were at an end. Within a few days they arrived at Marsh's ranch at the foot of Mt. Diablo. Marsh notified the sub-prefect of their arrival and, after some unpleasant experiences and delays at San Jose and Mission San Jose, they were granted temporary passports by Vallejo and permitted to go their respective ways. Some found employment at Sutter's Fort and others scattered to various parts of the territory.

Another party overland by southern route.—Another party came to California over the southern route during 1841. It is known as the Workman-Rowland company. A few people had arrived at the rendezvous on the Kansas River too late to join the Bartleson-Bidwell expedition in May, and had gone over the Santa Fé trail to New Mexico. They found much excitement here over rumors of plans to embroil that country in Texan troubles. Workman, Rowland, and others were believed to be involved in the plot, and this may have had a great deal to do with the emigration to California. They left Abiquin in September, crossed the Colorado,

[25] Belden, Josiah, *Statement of Historical Facts on California*, MS., Bancroft Collection, 11-14, and Hopper, Charles, *Narrative*, MS., Bancroft Collection, 3-5. Bidwell and these have been my authority for the overland route. Bidwell's account is more complete, and doubtless more accurate, since it is based on a journal which he kept. The three agree, however, on the main points.

and pursued the same route which the Mexican traders had been following for a number of years. A flock of sheep was driven along for food, and the company arrived at San Gabriel early in November, having experienced few hardships. Two members of the expedition brought their families on this trip and others did later. About half of the company (there were twenty-five) came in search of permanent homes.[26]

A prophecy.—In 1838 Alexander Forbes said in commenting upon the future of California:

> There is another restless and enterprising neighbor from whom they (the Californians) will most probably soon have to defend themselves, or rather submit to, for although the frontiers of North America are much more distant than the Russians yet to such men as the back settlers, distance is of little moment, and they are already well acquainted with the route. The North American tide of population must roll on southward and overwhelm not only California, but other more important states. This latter event, however, is in the womb of time. . . .[27]

Interest not in California 1842-1846.—And the time was nearer perhaps than even Forbes may have imagined. Immigration into California during the next four years was not particularly heavy. It will be remembered that interest during this period centered largely on Oregon and Texas. The emigration of 1842, and particularly that of 1843, was directed toward the Pacific Northwest. During the presidential election of 1844 the eyes of the entire nation were turned toward the Columbia and the Rio Grande. The acquisition of Texas was negotiated in 1845, and during the following year the forty-ninth parallel was extended across the

[26] Wilson, Benjamin D., *Observations on Early Days in California and New Mexico*, MS., Bancroft Collection. Bancroft, *California*, IV. 276-278.

[27] Forbes, Alexander, *California, a History of Upper and Lower California from Their First Discovery to the Present Time*, etc., London, 1839, 151, 152.

mountains to the Pacific, thereby adjusting the claims of the United States and Great Britain in that section. With these circumstances in mind, if one remembers also the remoteness of California, the difficulties of the overland journey, and the fact that the territory was indisputably Mexican soil, he may well be surprised at the number of emigrants who came during these years.

Overland immigration of 1843. — Lansford W. Hastings had crossed the plains in 1842 with the first important expedition of prospective settlers who came to Oregon. In the following year he led fifty odd people from Oregon to California, about one third of whom turned back with a company *en route* to Oregon from California. The only overland expedition apparently that came from the United States in 1843 was organized by Joseph B. Chiles who had gone out with the Bartleson company in 1841, but had returned to the settlements. Chiles left Independence in May with his party and followed the well-known route to Fort Hall. At Fort Laramie or in its vicinity the emigrants employed Joe Walker as a guide—a man who had been to California on a former occasion, as we have seen. Food had become scarce by the time the company reached Fort Hall, and it was determined that Chiles and a few followers should go down the Snake or Lewis River to Fort Boíse with the expectation of securing provisions there, and make their way over a new route to Sutter's Fort. From the latter place they would send aid to their comrades. Only the first part of the programme was successfully carried out, the small band entering California over an undefined route from Fort Boise by way of the Malheur and Pitt rivers.[28]

Route.—Walker was to bring the remainder of the party and the wagons over the southern route by which

[28] Frémont, *Report on an Exploration of the Country Lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains on the Line of the Kansas and Platte Rivers, House Doc. No. 166*, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., 165, 166 and 247.

whom came to California.[32] From widely different communities along the frontier small parties were formed that met and combined with others on their way to the rendezvous near the big bend of the Missouri. At the latter place frequently new groupings were made or old combinations would be enlarged through additions from new arrivals or through transfers from one group to another. Changes were made also along the line of march.

The best known of these parties is the so-called Donner party. The original expedition was formed in Sangamon County, Illinois, by George and Jacob Donner and James Reed, in April, 1846. When it left Independence in May it had become a part of a larger company of two or three hundred wagons. The party to which the name "Donner" has been applied was formed in the vicinity of Fort Bridger a few months later. The leaders from Sangamon County and a few companions withdrew from the main company intending "to avoid many hardships by taking the cut-off south of the lake," a route which had been partly explored by Frémont a few years earlier. Thirty-six men, twenty-one women, and thirty children, five of them infants, formed an expedition under the captaincy of George Donner. Other immigrants refused to join them, and by following the traveled route reached California in safety. Months were spent by the Donner party—from the 28th of July until about the middle of September—in making the "cut-off." This was the beginning of numerous bitter experiences which were to prove fatal to so many of the company. After passing around the southern end of Great Salt Lake they finally came to the Humboldt and followed the California trail. Stanton, one of their number, had been sent ahead to Sutter's Fort to procure supplies. On October 19 they met him

[32] Bancroft, *California*, V. 526, 527.

returning near the present town of Wadsworth, Nevada. Sutter had sent them a generous supply of dried beef and flour, and two Indian guides. Had they pressed forward the mountains might have been crossed in time, but they decided to rest their cattle a few days near the present site of Reno.

The tragedy of the Donner party.—On October 23 the company resumed their journey. At Prosser Creek, three miles below the present site of Truckee, they ran into six inches of snow. On the summit they found the snow to be five or six feet deep. The seriousness of their position was too obvious. On a cold, drizzly night in the early part of November, after they had tried in vain to break through the snowdrifts, they came together and agreed upon a plan of action. The mules and cattle were to be slain on the morrow and the meat was to be divided among the members of the party. The wagons and supplies were to be left at the lake which has since borne the name of the prominent members of the company, and the entire party was to cross the mountains on foot. During the night a heavy storm came on and the snow deepened. Day after day it fell. The mules disappeared and nearly all the cattle perished. Many of them were buried alive beneath the branches where they had sought shelter, and their bodies were found by driving sharpened sticks into the snow through the foliage around the tree-trunks. These were recovered, the meat stripped from the bones, and stored away for future use. A cabin was found standing near Donner Lake which had been built by the Stevens company, and other crude structures were hastily built and covered with brush and hides. November passed and December came, but time brought only death for relief. As Christmas was approaching a volunteer party of fifteen men and women, the "forlorn hope," started across the mountains on hastily improvised snowshoes to seek relief. They had supplied them-

selves with rations for six days. At Christmas time, when they had been without food for four days, they reached the "camp of death," and were snowbound for a week. Four of their number died and were eaten. Another four died a little later. The others reached the settlements after thirty-two days of toil and suffering, and relief parties began to form. Four of these went out at intervals from February 5 to April, 1847. The last relief party sent out found only one of the four they had expected to rescue, and he had maintained himself on the dead bodies of his former companions.[83] Forty-eight of the original eighty-seven survived the tragedy, and of these several lived for many years.

Overthrow of the Spanish regime.—In the spring of 1846, while the Donner party was preparing to cross the plains, war began between the United States and Mexico. On July 7 following, Commodore Sloat landed a force at Monterey, raised the American flag over the custom house, and posted a proclamation declaring California annexed to the United States. The feeble opposition that raised its head at various places, particularly in the south, was soon stamped out, and California became permanently a part of the United States. Meanwhile the War Department issued orders to General Kearny, who commanded the land expedition to New Mexico and California, authorizing him to establish a civil government in the territory conquered. Local officers who were in authority and who proved themselves to be friendly to the United States were to be retained in their positions, and their salaries were to be provided from import duties. When Kearny arrived in California near the end of 1846, he found that Stockton (who had succeeded Sloat) and

[83] McGlashan, C. F., *History of the Donner Party, A Tragedy of the Sierra,* is the best general work on this subject. Patrick Breen, *Diary,* MS., Bancroft Collection, is the best on events at Donner Lake. Bancroft, *California,* V. 530-544, follows McGlashan.

Frémont had already taken charge of affairs in that province. The controversy which developed between Kearny and these officers was settled in favor of the former in February of the following year. With the general recognition of Kearny as governor, California settled down under the military authority of the United States, an authority which was to continue until it was turned over to the officers of a state government which had been organized under the direction of General Riley, the last ruler of the military régime.

During the period between the arrival of the Donner party and the discovery of gold, overland immigration to California was comparatively insignificant. This, then, is an appropriate place to take a cursory glance at the population and the location of settlements before taking up the gold rush.

Population and location of settlements.—It would not be possible to give the exact population of California at this time. Even the estimates may be far from accurate. Bancroft thinks the total, excluding Indians, was probably fourteen thousand, of whom six thousand, five hundred were foreigners.[34] Of the number of different nationalities represented in the territory by 1848, it is possible to speak with more certainty, but not with absolute assurance. We may be confident, however, that many nations were represented in California before the gold rush,[35] including all the leading and practically all the smaller nations of Europe, besides many islands of the Pacific. The majority were living with the Spanish-Californians in the towns along the coast. San Diego, Los Angeles, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Jose, and San Francisco each had its quota of Americans, some of whom had married into prominent California families and occupied posi-

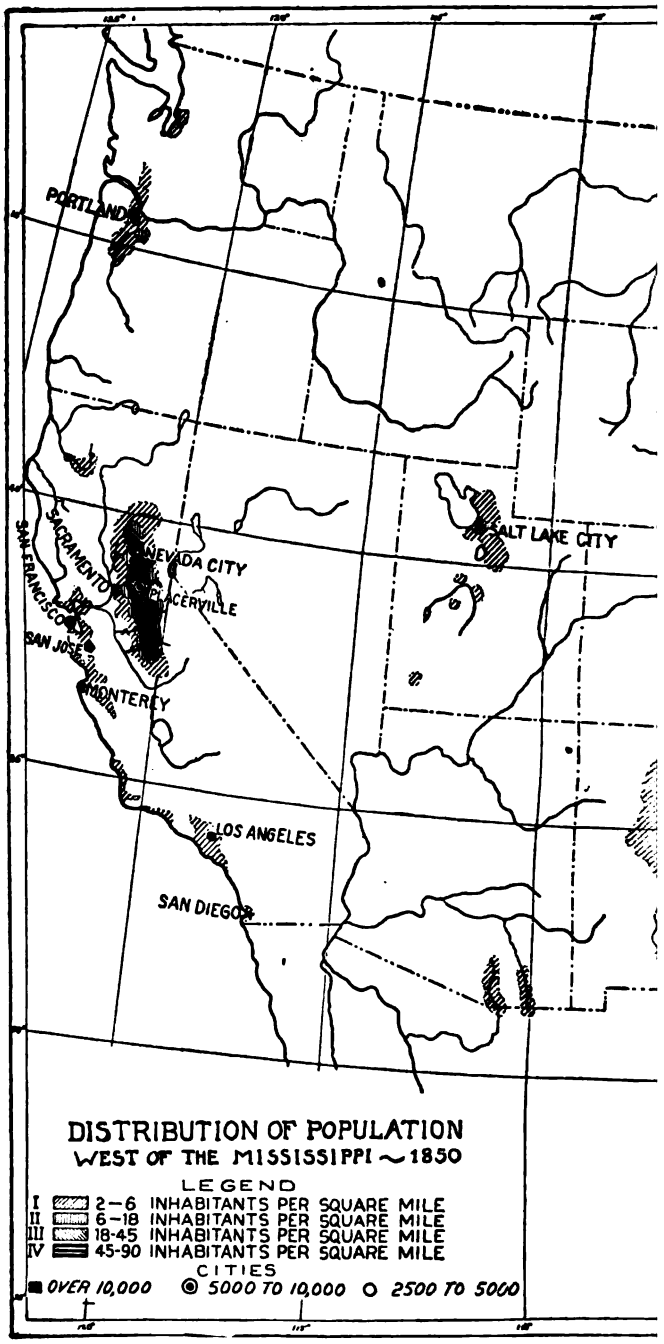
[34] Bancroft, *California*, V. 643.

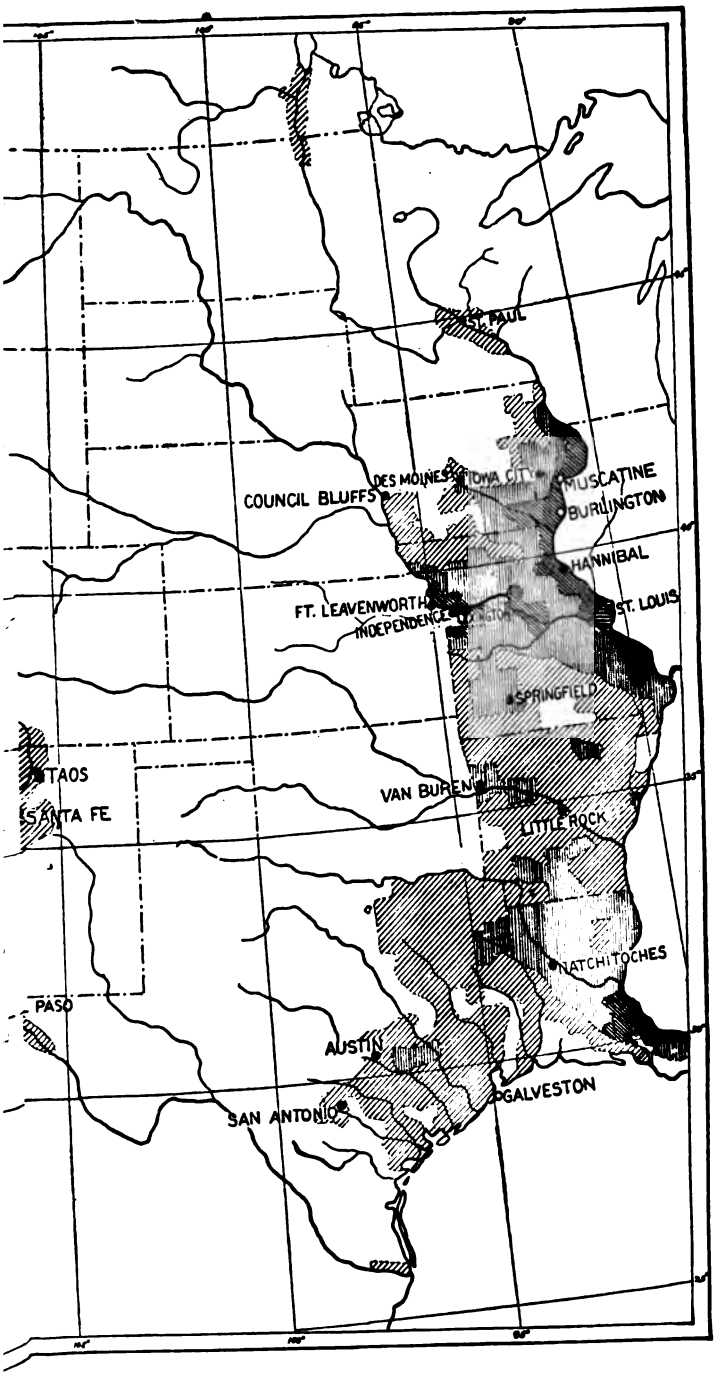
[35] Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California*, New York, 1914, 60.

tions of influence in the community. A few foreigners had begun to occupy the inland valleys. John Gilroy, a Scotch sailor, had established himself on a ranch where the present town of Gilroy stands. Thomas W. Doak, supposed to have been the first American settler to come to California, was in the vicinity of San Jose. Sutter was near the present city of Sacramento and, in December, 1847, reported a white population of two hundred and eighty men in the district. Charles M. Weber was on a ranch near French Camp doing his best to induce settlers to occupy the country around him. A temporary settlement called New Hope, or Stanislaus, had been made by the Mormons on the north bank of the Stanislaus River, near its mouth, in 1846. By the spring of 1847 there were ten or twelve of these thrifty people located there, but the floods and a call from their brethren at Salt Lake broke up the colony a little later. A few settlements had been made north of the present city of Stockton. Settlers had occupied parts of Napa and Sonoma valleys for several years, and even farther west, near the ocean shore, home seekers had found a place.[86] Some of these recently established settlements were to be deserted and others were to be promoted by the events of '48 and '49.

Report of gold discovery.—Gold was discovered at Coloma on the south fork of the American River on January 24, 1848. During February other places in the vicinity were found to contain the same precious material, and the news was dubiously received at Monterey. By the month of May all doubt was removed, and the people of San Francisco began to move to the mines. A few weeks later Governor Mason's soldiers began deserting. Larkin forwarded official news of the discovery on June 1, and this reached Washington about the middle of September. A little later a second

[86] For a detailed account of settlements in central and northern California *see* Bancroft, *California*, VI. Chapter I.


PORTLAND
SALT LAKE CITY
SACRAMENTO
SAN FRANCISCO
NEVADA CITY
PLACERVILLE
SAN JOSE
MONTEREY
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI ~ 1850
LEGEND
I 2–6 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
II 6–18 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
III 18-45 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
IV 45-90 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
CITIES
OVER 10,000
5000 TO 10,000
2500 TO 5000


ST. PAUL
DES MOINES
IOWA CITY
MUSCATINE
COUNCIL BLUFFS
BURLINGTON
HANNIBAL
FT. LEAVENWORTH
INDEPENDENCE
ST. LOUIS
SPRINGFIELD
TAOS
SANTA FE
VAN BUREN
LITTLE ROCK
NATCHITOCHES
PASO
AUSTIN
GALVESTON
SAN ANTONIO

official messenger, bearing a box of gold, was sent East by Governor Mason, and this was placed on exhibition in the war office in Washington during the last of November or the first of December. Mason made a tour of the gold mines in the early part of the summer of 1848, and sent a report to the Adjutant General at Washington on August 17.

Official's report of what he saw in gold fields.—In this report he said that on his way from San Francisco to Sutter's Fort by way of Bodega and Sonoma he found mills lying idle, fields of wheat open to cattle and horses, houses vacant, and farms going to waste. At the Fort all was bustle and confusion. The only two employees Sutter had were receiving ten dollars a day. Merchants were paying him one hundred dollars a month rent per room, and a two-story house in the Fort was rented as a hotel at the rate of five hundred dollars a month. Twenty-five miles farther up the American River, at a point known as "Mormon diggings," he found the hillsides dotted with canvas tents and bush arbors, and about two hundred men were washing gold in the full glare of the hot sun, some with pans, others with close-woven Indian baskets, but the majority with a rude machine known as a cradle. Proceeding another twenty-five miles up the south branch of the American River, he found about four thousand people working with great success along the river, in the dry beds of streams, and on the mountain sides. A small gutter was pointed out to him, not over a hundred yards long, four feet wide, and two or three feet deep, where two men had obtained recently seventeen thousand dollars' worth of gold in seven days. Another small ravine in the same vicinity had produced twelve thousand dollars' worth of gold. "Hundreds of similar ravines, to all appearances, are as yet untouched. I could not have credited their reports had I not seen, in the abundance of the precious metal, evidence of their truth. Mr. Neligh,

steamship company, and were waiting for transportation to the Golden Gate. The *California* was supposed to provide accommodations for little over one hundred; more than four hundred were received on board, some of them paying a thousand dollars or more for steerage tickets. By the time the second vessel, the *Oregon,* arrived in March, the crowd had doubled. About five hundred were taken on board, and conditions had grown no better when the *Panama,* the third vessel, arrived in May.

The entrance of the *California* into the Bay of San Francisco on February 28, 1849, was an incident memorable in California history, and among the forty-niners, in later years, none were more proud of the perilous experiences of those early days than the ones who came on the initial trip of one of the steamers, the *Panama,* the *Oregon,* or, better still, the *California.*[39]

Immigration by land.—Many places within North America were not dependent upon vessels for transportation and were equally excited over the discovery of gold. From these places the people came overland. Burnett thought that at least two-thirds of the population of Oregon capable of bearing arms came to California in the summer and autumn of 1848.[40] Before the spring of 1848 about four thousand came from Mexico, principally from Sonora. In the spring of that year thousands of people from the United States began to assemble at Fort Smith, Independence, and Council Bluffs on the Arkansas and Missouri rivers, preparatory to crossing the plains. Bayard Taylor believed that thirty thousand people completed the trip.

> From the first of May to the first of June company after company took its departure . . . till the emigrant trail from Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri, to Fort Laramie,

[39] Bancroft, *California,* VI. Chapter VIII.
[40] Burnett, *Recollections of the Past,* MS., I. 325.

at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, was one long line of mule-trains and wagons. The rich meadows of the Nebraska, or Platte, were settled for the time, and a single traveler could have journeyed for the space of a thousand miles, as certain of his lodging and regular meals as if he were riding through the old agricultural districts of the middle states.[41]

Overland routes of 1849.—Throughout the years 1849 and 1850 emigrants continued to enter California from all parts of the frontier. To those who came from the southern states a choice of many roads was open. They might go from New Orleans by steamer to Powder Horn on Matagorda Bay. A road extended thence west through Victoria and San Antonio to El Paso. From the last named place it was possible to go up the Rio Grande to Santa Fé and follow the old Spanish trail round the north bank of the Colorado, crossing the Virgin River to the Mojave River and desert, and through Cajon Pass to Los Angeles; or by General Kearny's line of march through Arizona and along the Gila to the Pacific coast; or again by Colonel Cook's route across the Sonora tableland to Yuma, and thence to the Pacific. Another frontier post of departure was Fort Smith, on the western border of Arkansas, from which place the traveler could continue west by one of three possible routes. The most southern route passed through the Choctaw and Chickasaw countries for about one hundred and eighty miles, crossed the Red River by ferryboat at Preston and ran through the border settlements of northern Texas for one hundred and fifty miles, finally connecting with the extreme southern route at El Paso. The middle route ran almost directly west from Fort Smith along the south bank of the Canadian River to Santa Fé and Albuquerque in New Mexico. The journey from these

[41] Taylor, *Eldorado*, II. 35.

boldt overflowed and compelled the travelers to go by way of the barren uplands which lengthened the journey and starved the animals. So many of the latter perished in the sink that the effluvia from the putrefying bodies spread the cholera through the ranks of the enfeebled crowds.[43] The sufferings were perhaps unparalleled in the annals of overland emigration in America.

Dissatisfaction with existing political conditions.—Meanwhile the all-absorbing topic of gold did not prevent the people of California from making unfriendly comments on the existing political régime in the territory. The military governors had adopted the diplomatic scheme of ruling the country through the Mexican political machinery which they had found functioning lamely at the time of the conquest. This was appreciated by the Californians. The immigration of 1849, however, had increased the Anglo-American population out of all proportion to the native element in the country, and the former had little sympathy for the feelings of the latter and no respect for their political institutions. Furthermore, the Americans were made more impatient by the apparent indifference of their own government at Washington. The treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo had been signed in February, 1848, and accepted by the Senate in March following, but Congress made no provision for the government of the new acqusition at that session. This the people in California might be expected to overlook. They did it very impatiently. In fact, when Congress met in December, 1848, and adjourned again in March, 1849, without enacting regulations for the government of the territory, the people had already become aggressive on their own behalf.[44]

State government organized.—General Riley became military governor of California in April, 1849.

[43] Bancroft, *California*, VI. 154, 155 and notes.

[44] Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California*, 61-70.

He had determined soon after his arrival to permit the people to form a government, but he was equally determined to take the initiative in such a move. In May, 1849, he received authentic news that Congress had adjourned without providing territorial government, and on June 3 following, he issued a proclamation calling a convention to meet at Monterey on August 1 for the purpose of drawing up a plan of government. It was the early part of September before a sufficient number of delegates had arrived to begin work. The convention was in session from September 3 until October 13. During that time it determined the boundaries for the proposed state, drew up a creditable constitution forbidding slavery, and fixed November 13 as the day upon which the men of the territory might pass on what had been done. On the day indicated, the constitution was adopted, and officers were chosen for the Lower House of Congress and for the state government. The latter began to function on December 15, 1849. The first legislature was in session until April 22, 1850, during which time it chose United States senators, and enacted the laws necessary to bring order out of the chaotic conditions existing in the territory.

Admission into Union.—While these things were going on in California, congressmen at Washington were trying to find some plan for an amicable settlement of the slavery controversy—a controversy which had been aggravated by the Mexican cession. Foote offered a resolution in the Senate on December 27, 1849, as follows: "That it is the duty of Congress, at this session, to establish suitable territorial governments for California, for Deseret, and for New Mexico."[45] In his famous compromise resolutions introduced into the Senate on January 29, 1850, Clay said that "California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be ad-

[45] *Journal of the Senate*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 34.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MEXICAN CESSION

The public interest aroused over California through the incidents related in the early part of the preceding chapter finally compelled the attention of the government at Washington and led to the acquisition of territory from Mexico in 1848 and in 1853, which rounded out the possessions of the United States on the Pacific coast. It is the purpose here to trace these events briefly.

Texas and California.—In 1835 the administration at Washington probably made its first attempt to acquire the harbor of San Francisco.[1] These early negotiations formed a minor part of the temporary scheme for acquiring Texas. In 1829 Anthony Butler succeeded Joel R. Poinsett as minister to Mexico, and for six months the former was permitted to prosecute his designs unmolested. Bribery was to be the weapon he would use, and his communications to the Department of State from the beginning indicate that he desired to have his government sanction any of the tortuous paths of diplomacy his own crooked nature might find most congenial. He asked to return to the United States early in June, 1834, for the purpose of having a personal interview with the President on matters of vital importance. Jackson at last gave his consent, and a year later Butler landed in New York "with a still more extensive scheme of bribery in his head than any he had so far suggested, and in his pocket a note signed by Hernandez, a priest standing close to Santa Anna."[2] Butler

[1] For a discussion of the statement sometimes made that there were earlier attempts to acquire California, *see* Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California*, 12, 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14.

addressed a letter to Forsyth, the Secretary of State, a few days after his arrival, and enclosed a note from the Mexican priest. The latter had promised to bring about a cession of certain territory provided a sum of five thousand dollars was placed in the hands of the priest. Butler recommended that this sum be provided and placed at the disposal of Hernandez. It would result not merely in the acquisition of Texas, Butler said, but "would only be the first of a series which must at last give us dominion over the whole of that tract of territory known as New Mexico, and higher and lower California, an empire in itself, a paradise in climate . . . rich in minerals and affording a water route to the Pacific through the Arkansas and Colorado rivers."[3]

First official attempt to acquire California.—This letter was written on June 17, 1835. On August 1 following any interest which may have been roused in California as a result of Butler's epistle was increased by the receipt of a letter from William A. Slacum, a purser in the United States navy, to President Jackson. It was the latter communication, according to John Quincy Adams, "which kindled the passion of Andrew Jackson for the thirty-seventh line of latitude from the river Arkansas to the South Sea, to include the river and bay of San Francisco, and was the foundation of Forsyth's instruction to Butler of August 6, 1835, authorizing him to offer five hundred thousand dollars more than he had received authority for before."[4] These instructions included the first official attempt of authorities in Washington to secure from Mexico any part of her territory on the Pacific. Forsyth said the chief object should be to obtain possession of San Francisco Bay. This, the President had been informed, would afford the most

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[3] Quoted in Reeves, J. S., *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 73, 74.

[4] *Memoirs*, XI. 348.

convenient harbor for the numerous whaling vessels in the Pacific.[5] No additional territory was sought, and this proposal intrusted to Butler was not submitted to the Mexican government. The American representative thought it would be unwise to make the offer to purchase the harbor of San Francisco at the time, but it was barely possible that certain commercial privileges for American ships might be secured. However, Butler was not to have the credit for obtaining even this concession. He received notice of his recall a few months later, and left Mexico.

Further attempts during Jackson's administration.—Apparently nothing was done immediately after Butler's summary dismissal to carry out the instructions contained in Forsyth's despatch of August 6, but before his term of office expired Jackson made two further attempts to secure Mexican territory on the Pacific. Santa Anna arrived in Washington about the middle of January, 1837, following his liberation by Houston. He came to request the mediation of the United States between Mexico and Texas. Jackson would attempt the rôle of mediator providing Mexico would, among other things, "extend the line of the United States to the Rio Grande—up that stream to latitude thirty-eight north and then to the Pacific including north California." For this concession the United States would agree to pay three and a half million dollars.[6] On January 24, 1837, Wharton, the Texan minister in Washington, wrote John Forsyth, Secretary of State, that Jackson insisted "Texas must claim the Californias on the Pacific in order to paralyze the opposition of the North and East to annexation" by giving them a harbor on the Pacific coast. "He is very earnest and anxious on this point of claiming the Californias and says we

[5] Forsyth to Butler, August 6, 1835, in *House Ex. Doc., No. 42*, 25th Cong., 1st Sess., 18, 19.

[6] Cleland, *Early Sentiment for Annexation of California*, 17.

must not consent to less. This is strict confidence. Glory to God in the highest."[7]

Interest in California maintained.—However, Jackson did not succeed either in acquiring California or in persuading Texas to claim it. The panic broke with all its fury following the accession of Van Buren to the presidency in 1837. This with the strained relations between the United States and Mexico during the period would prevent attempts to purchase even if Mexico had been willing to sell, but interest in California increased as time passed. When news of the rebellion of 1836 reached the United States it was accompanied by rumors of a possible union between an independent California and Russia, which would mean the extension of the Czar's power from the bay of San Francisco to the Columbia River. The interest and writings of Hall J. Kelley were confined largely to the Oregon country, but he believed California should become a part of the western possessions of the United States. During this same period interest in California was increased by the appearance of Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast,* and Forbes's *California: a History of Upper and Lower California.* In 1840 occurred the Graham affair which has been noted already. The delay on the part of the Mexican government in paying some of the claims made by Americans who were arrested at the time created comment and was later made the subject of official protest. During the latter part of 1841, as a result of the request of California merchants along the coast, the Secretary of the Navy in his annual report recommended an increase in the government's squadron in the Pacific, and later sent Commodore Jones to command the enlarged fleet.[8] All of these things together with overland immigration kept alive and extended the interest of the people of the United States in California.

[7] *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence,* I. 193, 194.

[8] Cleland, *Early Sentiment for Annexation of California,* 18, 23.

Waddy Thompson's recommendations.—With the accession of Tyler to the presidency following the death of Harrison the United States renewed its efforts to get control of Alta California. Powhatan Ellis had urged the purchase of certain ports of the Pacific because of the increase of American commerce and the growing importance of the whale fisheries. A more definite movement for acquiring the territory was set on foot with the arrival in Mexico of Waddy Thompson in April, 1842. In his first communication to Webster he expressed the belief that Mexico would cede both Texas and California to the United States in return for a cancellation of American claims. Of the two, however, California was the more desirable. It was "the richest, the most beautiful, and the healthiest country in the world. Our Atlantic border secures us a commercial ascendancy there; with the acquisition of Upper California we should have the same ascendancy on the Pacific." The possession of the harbors of San Diego and Monterey would give the nation necessary ports for her whaling vessels, and by opening internal communication with the Arkansas and other western streams the trade of India and the whole Pacific Ocean might be secured. Not only would California be an asset from a commercial point of view, but he was persuaded that it would be of immense value in an agricultural way, and that in time it might be expected to become the "granary of the Pacific." It was "a country in which slavery is not necessary, and, therefore, if that is made an objection let there be another compromise. France and England both have their eyes upon it." And concluding, he said:

> I am profoundly satisfied that in its bearing upon all the interests of our country, agricultural, political, manufacturing, commercial, and fishing, the importance of the acquisition of California cannot be overestimated. If I

could mingle any selfish feelings with interest to my country so vast, I would desire no higher honor than to be an instrument in securing it.[9]

A few days later Thompson wrote the President in a similar vein, and requested him to read the despatch which he had sent to Webster. He felt confident that he could procure Upper California, and if accomplished it would be by far the most important event in the history of the United States. He besought the President for special instructions on the subject, "both as to moving on the matter and the extent to which I am to go in the negotiations and the amount to be paid." Like Jackson, he believed the people of the North could be reconciled to the acquisition because of their large fishing and commercial interests there.

Be pleased also to have me pretty strongly instructed on the subject of our claims or leave the responsibility to me. Procrastination, the policy of all weak governments, is peculiarly so with this, and they are very poor and will never pay us one farthing unless pretty strong measures are taken.[10]

Webster's reply to Thompson.—These letters were written during the last of April and the early part of May, 1842. Webster replied on June 27 following. Thompson was given full liberty to approach Mexico on the subject of ceding a part of her territory on the Pacific. A part or all of the claims which the United States held against Mexico might be settled in this way providing the latter was willing. Not only did Webster desire the harbor of San Francisco, but he expressed the belief that if this were ceded the province of California would naturally accompany the port. Thompson was not to make too much of the latter point. In fact he thought it might be more diplomatic and useful if the

[9] Quoted in *ibid.*, 28, and in Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II. 45, 46.
[10] *Ibid.*, 28, 29.

American minister should at that time emphasize the convenience and benefit of San Francisco harbor itself, and imply that it was the chief thing desired by the United States. The exercise of tact and moderation was urged, and Thompson was especially warned against giving the impression that the United States was eager to conclude the purchase. It would be much better to leave the impression among Mexican officials that the United States was willing to settle the claims in this way simply to accommodate Mexico. The cession must be spoken of rather as a convenience to Mexico, as a mode of discharging her debts. By no means give countenance to any extravagant expectations. Avoid all premature commitments, content yourself with sounding the government, endeavor to hear more than you say, to learn more than you communicate; and apprise us promptly and regularly of all that may occur on the subject.[11]

A few months later an incident occurred which interrupted negotiations. This was the seizure of the port of Monterey by Commodore Jones who was in command of the Pacific squadron. Jones thought he had reliable information that war had begun between the United States and Mexico and that California was about to pass into British hands as a result. He moved to Monterey at once and seized the town without experiencing any opposition from the Mexican officials stationed there. He was convinced almost immediately of his error and surrendered the town with a formal apology to the officials, and sailed away.[12] The incident aroused bitter feeling in Mexico and resulted in Commodore Jones's being recalled and relieved of his

[11] Webster to Thompson in *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols. (National Edition), Boston, 1903, XIV. 611, 612. *See also* Cleland, *Early Sentiment for Annexation of California*, 29; Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 102.

[12] For a detailed account of this incident *see* Bancroft, *California*, IV. 298-329, and the reference given there.

command temporarily, and to Mexico were offered apologies for what had been done. The affair roused some severe criticism in the United States which was reported in Mexico, and increased the feeling of hostility there to such an extent that Thompson felt it necessary to inform his government that it was " 'wholly out of the question to do anything as to California and after recent events there it would be imprudent to allude to it in any way,' the only possibility of securing territory at all lying in a cession of San Francisco some time in the future when Mexico should find herself unable to pay the awards of the American claims." [18]

Proposed Tripartite Agreement.—Tyler's desire for California led to an attempt to acquire it through sounding Great Britain upon its acquisition at about the same time that Thompson was corresponding with Webster on the subject. This was to be done by an arrangement among the three powers of the United States, Mexico, and Great Britain. Webster instructed Everett, the American ambassador at London, to make overtures to Her Majesty's government in an informal way for the purpose of settling the Oregon question, "and the matters in dispute between Mexico and the United States by a tripartite arrangement which should, as one provision, embrace a cession to the United States of the port of San Francisco on the coast of California." The idea had come to form an important place in the plans of the administration by the beginning of 1843. The Mexican government was to be approached by Thompson, and the subject was also brought to the attention of the Mexican minister at Washington, Almonte. It was understood that England favored the proposal and an outline to serve as a basis for negotiations was sent to Everett by Webster. According to these terms: (1) Mexico was to cede Upper California

[18] Cleland, *Sentiment for Annexation of California*, 31; Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 103.

to the United States; (2) the United States would pay —— millions of dollars for the cession; (3) of this sum, —— millions of dollars were to be paid to American claimants against Mexico; (4) the remainder to be paid to English creditors or bondholders of Mexico; and (5) the Oregon boundary was to be settled along the line of the Columbia.[14]

Both the President and his Secretary of State believed the tripartite arrangement would satisfy all sections of the country, and the former was particularly anxious to have the admission of California included in any treaty that might be drawn up as a result of the negotiations. Tyler discussed the subject with Webster and manifested a desire to send him on a special mission to England, a diplomatic undertaking which the Secretary of State expressed a willingness to undertake if by doing so he could settle the Oregon question and obtain California. However, Congress did not take kindly to the suggestion of a special mission, and the President then endeavored to persuade Everett, the British ambassador, to accept the new embassy to China in order to make it possible for Webster to accept the place in England and carry through the cherished scheme under discussion. To this suggestion Everett did not agree, and at about the same time Thompson's communication arrived informing the administration that it would be unwise to approach Mexico on the cession of any territory. Webster felt that he had accomplished all that it would be possible for him to achieve and retired from the cabinet.

Following the death of Webster's immediate successor, Hugh S. Legare, within a month after he had come into office, the cabinet was reorganized and in July, 1843, Abel P. Upshur became Secretary of State. A few months later, February 28, 1844, Upshur was

[14] Webster to Everett in *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols. (National Edition), Boston, 1903, XVI. 394.

killed by the explosion of a cannon on board the ship of war *Princeton,* and John C. Calhoun became head of the Department of State.

Breach between Mexico and England.—Meanwhile the relations between Mexico and England became strained and the communications sent to the State Department by Waddy Thompson again discussed the possibility of acquiring California. His despatch of September 28, 1843, informed the Secretary of State that the strong bond of friendship which had existed between England and Mexico was giving place to resentment which had manifested itself in an open insult to the British flag. Five days later the American minister reported an interview with Santa Anna in which the latter had said that an outbreak of hostilities between Mexico and Great Britain seemed probable, in which case the Mexican people would expect the United States to protect California. In a still later communication, October 14, Thompson again referred to the subject, and predicted that in case of hostilities actually beginning between the two countries Mexico would cede California to the United States to prevent England from seizing it.

> You will remember [Thompson said] that it was the fear of the seizure of Louisiana by England that induced Bonaparte to cede it to us. The acquisition of California will be of little less importance. . . . There is no prospect whatever of such a cession but in the event of a war between Mexico and England. Then nothing would be easier.[15]

Duff Green as special agent.—Calhoun had succeeded Upshur as Secretary of State early in 1844. Nothing was accomplished by him toward acquiring California, but in the fall of that year he sent his friend,

[15] Cleland, *Sentiment for Annexation of California,* 32-35, and references given there.

Duff Green, as his special agent to coöperate with Ben E. Green, Duff Green's son, in attempts to acquire Texas, New Mexico, and California. Green was soon convinced that there was not the slightest possibility of gaining the consent of Mexico to cede any part of her territory to the United States. Despite the chaotic conditions in Mexico and the bitterness of factional strife there, the principle was maintained that to sell any part of the public domain to the United States would be treason. In fact it would be worse than folly to expect a party in Mexico to surrender any portion of Texas or California. The faction bold enough to attempt it would certainly be overthrown and its leaders shot. Public sentiment would not support a party that would attempt it.

Polk's policy of expansion.—Jackson and Tyler had failed, but such was not to be the record of James K. Polk. The last named came into the presidential chair with a well-defined program. It was not dictated to him entirely by his party, nor were his political associates and advisers responsible for formulating it. The last part of it in particular was the President's own, and his single term in office witnessed the completion of the entire program. The four measures upon which he had set his mind were (1) the reduction of the tariff; (2) the establishment of a subtreasury; (3) the settlement of the Oregon question; and (4) the acquisition of California. Polk then came into office with a positive and definite policy of expansion. He had been there but a short time before he unfolded his plan for acquiring California to the members of the Cabinet.

Parrott's mission.—Diplomatic relations with Mexico had been suspended when Polk came into office. The Mexican minister at Washington, Almonte, had left in a huff because of the alleged hostile attitude of the United States toward his country as indicated by the annexation of Texas. Meanwhile the United States

minister in Mexico, William Shannon, had requested and received his passports, together with a severe condemnation of the attitude of the United States toward Mexico. These strained relations, however, did not prevent Polk from immediately inaugurating plans for acquiring New Mexico and California. On April 3, 1845, Almonte left New York for Mexico. On board the same ship was Dr. William S. Parrott, who went as the secret agent of the President for the purpose of reopening diplomatic relations with the Mexican government. Parrott had practiced dentistry in the City of Mexico several years earlier, and subsequently had failed in a business engagement there as a result of which he held a claim against the Mexican government. The President, however, probably knew nothing of this at the time Parrott was appointed. He was instructed to reach the President and other prominent officials in Mexico and endeavor, by the use of every honorable means, to convince them that the true interest of their country required a restoration of friendly relations between the two republics. If he became convinced of the willingness of Mexico to receive an envoy from the United States, then, but not until then, was he to disclose his own official character. "While you ought not to conceal that the reunion of Texas with the United States is already decreed and can never under any consideration be abandoned, you are at liberty to state your confident belief that in regard to all settled questions, we are prepared to meet Mexico in a liberal and friendly spirit." The United States was ready to send a minister to Mexico "as soon as they receive authentic information that he will be kindly received." [16]

[16] Quoted in Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 268, 269. Reeves thinks that Polk's selection of Parrott was a strange one. He had urged claims against Mexico for a supply of English ale, "in a manner that disgusted Thompson, as the records of the State Department would have shown. Thompson's comment on Parrott's claim was that it had grown more enormously than 'Jonah's gourd.'" *Ibid.*, 270.

Parrott's report.—Parrott was persuaded from the first that Great Britain exercised an undue influence over Mexican affairs and that there was danger of California's falling into the hands of that nation. Early in June he got into indirect communication with the Mexican government and reported that no one believed war would be declared against the United States on account of Texas. The Mexican people were foolish and presumptuous, he said, but hardly enough so to force the administration "to adopt a measure which if persisted in might ere long endanger the national existence of their country." This was his report of July 12, 1845. On August 26 following, he informed Buchanan, the Secretary of State, that a new cabinet had been formed by Herrera which was more in sympathy with Herrera's views, and that no war would be urged on account of Texas. The desire to receive a commissioner from the United States had been publicly manifested, "and every vessel that arrives at Isla Verde is said to have one on board. I have reason to believe that an envoy from the United States would not only be well received, but his arrival would be hailed with joy. An envoy possessing suitable qualifications for this Court might with comparative ease settle *over a breakfast* the most important national question, while such as we have lately had here would make matters worse." [17]

Slidell to be appointed Minister to Mexico.—John Black and F. M. Dimond, United States consuls at Mexico City and at Vera Cruz respectively, also informed the administration that the Mexican government desired to reëstablish diplomatic relations. Polk discussed the subject with members of his cabinet, and at a regular meeting of that body on September 16 it was unanimously determined to send a minister to Mexico, but "it was to be kept a profound secret that such a step was contemplated, for the reason mainly that if

[17] Quoted in *ibid.*, 271.

it was known in advance in the United States that a minister had been sent to Mexico, it would, of course, be known to the British, French, and other Foreign Ministers at Washington, who might take measures to thwart or defeat the objects of the mission." [18] At the same meeting it was agreed that John Slidell should be offered the mission.

Polk had said to the cabinet, according to his *Diary,* that one great object of the mission was to adjust a permanent boundary between the United States and Mexico, and that in doing this Slidell would be instructed to purchase Upper California and New Mexico. A better boundary, Polk thought, would be the Del Norte (Rio Grande) from its mouth to El Paso and thence west to the Pacific, the territory north and east of that line to be ceded to the United States. The cost of such a boundary was of secondary importance. It might be acquired for fifteen or twenty million, but the President was willing to pay forty million if necessary to acquire it. The next day the President wrote Slidell a confidential letter informing him that it was the intention of the government to appoint him and requested him to be ready to depart on the Mexican mission on a day's notice.

Meanwhile Parrott's mission in Mexico had become known, and the Mexican government under Herrera was denounced for tolerating him, and was accused of engaging in treason. On November 1, *El Amigo del Pueblo,* a Mexican newspaper declared:

> This vile government has been and is in correspondence with the usurpers. The Yankee Parrott and the American consul at Mexico are those who have agreed with the government for the loss of Texas, and this same Parrott has departed for the North to say to his government to send a commissioner to make with our government an igno-

[18] Polk's *Diary,* I. 34.

minious treaty on the basis of the surrender of Texas and we know not what other part of the republic.

Parrott was characterized as a shameless sharper and adventurer, and was accused of having revealed the information regarding his mission before leaving Mexico.[19]

Slidell's formal appointment had been held up temporarily following the cabinet meeting of September 17. Parrott's mission ended October 18, and he carried with him to Washington a note from Black, the American consul, which was emphatic in its assurance that the Mexican government was inclined to adjust the questions in dispute between the two republics. Meanwhile despatches came from Commodore Connor, who commanded the naval forces in the Gulf of Mexico, expressing similar views. On November 10, 1845, the day following Parrott's arrival in Washington, Buchanan sent Slidell his appointment as "Envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico," together with his instructions.

Slidell's instructions.—"To counteract the influence of foreign Powers, exerted against the United States in Mexico and to restore those ancient relations of peace and good will which formerly existed between the Governments and the citizens of the sister republics will be the principal object of your mission." The subject of claims against Mexico was reviewed at some length, and Slidell was informed that it would be his "duty, in a prudent and friendly spirit, to impress the Mexican government with a sense of their great injustice toward the United States, as well as the patient forbearance which has been exercised by us." This could not be expected to continue much longer unless these claims were settled in a satisfactory way as soon as possible. Of course Mexico could not settle them. She

[19] Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 273.

was in no position to do so. They would have to be assumed by the American government. "Fortunately, the joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 1, 1845, 'for annexing Texas to the United States,' presents the means of satisfying these claims, in perfect consistency with the interests as well as the honor of both republics. It has reserved to this government the adjustment 'of all questions of boundary that might arise with other governments.' This question of boundary may therefore be adjusted in such a manner between the two republics, as to cast the burden of the debt due to American claimants upon their own government, whilst it will do no injury to Mexico."

Then follows a discussion of the respective rights of Texas and Mexico to territory involved in the dispute over the Texas boundary. In considering the question, the Mexican government was informed that the "independence of Texas must be considered a settled fact, and is not to be called in question." This accepted by Mexico, Slidell was to point out to that nation the advantages that might come, both in relief from difficulies and from expense in protecting so remote a territory, if the boundary could be adjusted so that the settlements in the "long and narrow valley of New Mexico or Santa Fé" would be included within the limits of the United States. If Mexico manifested a willingness to surrender New Mexico to the United States, Slidell was "authorized to offer to assume the payment of all the just claims of our citizens against Mexico, and, in addition, to pay five millions of dollars." A still more desirable boundary "would be an extension of the line from the northwest corner of New Mexico, along the range of mountains, until it would intersect the forty-second parallel." If Mexico rejected these, the American minister was to offer to pay all the just claims of citizens of the United States providing the southern republic recognized the boundary Texas had estab-

lished December 19, 1836: the Rio Grande from its mouth to its source, thence north to the forty-second parallel.

It is scarcely to be supposed, however, that Mexico would relinquish five millions of dollars for the sake of retaining the narrow strip of territory in the valley of New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, and thus place under two distinct Governments the small settlements closely identified with each other, on the opposite banks of the river.

There was another subject which would demand the particular attention of the American minister. "From information possessed by this Department it is to be seriously apprehended that both Great Britain and France have designs upon California." The United States was vitally interested in such a possible transfer. If any such design exists, "you will exert all your energies to prevent an act which, if consummated, would be so fraught with danger to the best interest of the United States."

Buchanan then calls Slidell's attention to the great importance of San Francisco Bay to the United States. Its advantages were striking and too obvious to require enumeration.

If all these should be turned against our country, by the cession of California to Great Britain, our principal commercial rival, the consequences would be disastrous.

The Government of California is now but nominally dependent on Mexico, and it is more than doubtful whether her authority will ever be reinstated. Under these circumstances, it is the desire of the President that you shall use your best efforts to obtain a cession of that Province from Mexico to the United States. Could you accomplish this object, you would render immense service to your country and establish an enviable reputation for yourself. Money would be no object when compared to the value of the

acquisition. Still the attempt must be made with great prudence and caution, and in such a manner as not to alarm the jealousy of the Mexican government. Should you, after sounding the Mexican authorities on the subject, discover a prospect of success, the President would not hesitate to give, in addition to the assumption of the just claims of our citizens on Mexico, twenty-five millions of dollars for the cession. Should you deem it expedient, you are authorized to offer this sum for a boundary, running due West from the southern extremity of New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, or from any other point on its western boundary, which would embrace Monterey within our limits. If Monterey cannot be obtained, you may, if necessary, in addition to the assumption of these claims, offer twenty millions of dollars for any boundary, commencing at any point on the western line of New Mexico, and running due West to the Pacific, so as to include the bay and harbor of San Francisco. . . . Of course when I speak of any point on the western boundary of New Mexico, it is understood, that, from the Del Norte to that point, our boundary shall run according to the first offer which you have been authorized to make. I need scarcely add, that, in authorizing the offer of five millions or twenty-five millions or twenty millions of dollars, these are to be considered as the maximum sums.

A treaty might be concluded if he could accomplish any of the objects specified. The delicacy and importance of his mission was emphasized. The people to whom he was sent were proverbially jealous, and the intrigues of foreign powers had irritated them against the United States.

To conciliate their good will is indispensable to your success. I need not warn you against wounding their national vanity. You may probably have to endure their unjust reproaches with equanimity. It would be difficult to raise a point of honor between the United States and so feeble and degraded a Power as Mexico. This reflection

will teach you to bear and forbear much for the sake of accomplishing the great object of your mission.[20]

Significance of the instructions.—Parrott's mission and Slidell's instructions taken together, Reeves declares, prove, in the first place, that the Mexican war was not the result of the annexation of Texas, and, in the second, that Polk reopened diplomatic relations with Mexico for the purpose of purchasing California. New Mexico should be included. Slidell's instructions provide the keynote to Polk's aggressive policy of expansion. This was to be accomplished by peaceful means. The claims against Mexico which had been discussed since Jackson's administration were to provide the foundation for the plan, and the joint resolution under which Texas was annexed furnished the excuse for initiating the subject. The claims could not be paid in cash by Mexico; the boundary of Texas was unsettled. What more natural than to suggest that the claims be paid in land through an adjustment of the boundary of Texas?[21]

Slidell reaches Mexico.—With Buchanan's instructions in his possession, Slidell hastened on board a man-of-war and sailed immediately for Vera Cruz, arriving there on November 30, and at once set out for Mexico City. He was to meet bitter disappointment. Herrera's government had reached the lowest point of efficiency and responsibility. "Every morning it looked for a revolution, and every night for a mutiny. Its one idea was to hold on until the assembling of Congress on the first of January, in the hope that something favorable might then occur; and it found this last resource threatened by its reasonable and pacific policy in regard to the United States."[22] Slidell was made to feel imme-

[20] Buchanan to Slidell, November 10, 1845, in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 71, and in J. B. Moore (editor), *Works of James Buchanan*, VI. 294-306.

[21] *Ibid.*, 274, 275.

[22] Smith, *The War with Mexico*, I. 95, 96.

diately that his arrival was premature. A little later a franker attitude was taken toward him by Mexican officials. The council of state, which was a permanent body of nobles, expressed the belief that the United States wished to restore friendly relations between the two republics and avoid war. The American government was attempting to introduce a minister into Mexico against the will of the latter. It would be an unparalleled humiliation if Mexico were to receive a regular American minister before she received satisfaction for the outrage and injury inflicted upon her. "In other words, Mexico had promised to receive Slidell, but it did not comport with her interest and dignity to fulfill the agreement." This decision determined his rejection, and on December 20 he received official notification of it and withdrew under an escort to Jalapa, a city on the Vera Cruz road not far from the coast. Here he waited for instructions from his government. During the first days of the new year, January 4, 1846, Paredes (the new executive) swore to defend the integrity of Mexican territory. The Herrera government which had manifested a willingness to be friendly was replaced by the administration of Paredes which rode into office on the back of the opposition.

Failure of his mission.—Meanwhile Slidell's request for further instructions reached Buchanan, and the Secretary of State ordered the American minister to remain in Mexico and to do whatever he could to reopen negotiations. If he thought it wise he was to let Paredes know that his financial difficulties could be relieved by the United States if his government would arrange matters satisfactorily with the republic of the north. Slidell was to make another formal request for a hearing and was to do everything he could honorably to avoid a rupture. On March 1, 1846, Slidell tried once more to secure his reception by the Mexican govern-

ment, but his overtures were rejected, and, completely disgruntled, he left the field in which he had expected to accomplish so much for his government and for himself.

The President hoped to gain a settlement with Mexico through diplomatic negotiations. "It is the earnest desire of the President," Bancroft had begun his confidential communication to Commodore Sloat who commanded the Pacific fleet, "to pursue the policy of peace; and he is anxious that you, and every part of your squadron, should be assiduously careful to avoid any act which could be construed as an act of aggression." And in closing, he had repeated: "You are enjoined to do everything consistent with the national honor" to avoid war. Commodore Connor, who commanded the Gulf fleet, received similar orders. However, Polk prepared to use compulsion if it should become necessary. The disposition of the military and naval forces was therefore in accord with his diplomatic policy. Taylor was ordered to cross the Sabine River into Texas in May, 1845, in order to protect its pending annexation, and that General advanced to Corpus Christi. Connor was ordered, in the event of war, to dislodge the Mexican troops "from any post she may have east of the mouth of the Del Norte; take possession of Tampico; and, *if your force is sufficient,* will take the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, it being the determination of the President to preserve peace if possible; and if war comes, to recover peace by adopting the most prompt and energetic measures." The Pacific fleet was strengthened by the addition of vessels from the Mediterranean and East India squadrons, and Sloat was ordered to seize San Francisco Bay and any other Pacific ports he could hold in case he heard that hostilities had begun between the United States and Mexico.[28]

[28] Bancroft to Sloat, June 24, and Bancroft to Connor, July 11, 1845; *H. R. Ex. Doc. 60,* 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 231-233.

Instructions to Larkin.—Thomas O. Larkin, the most prominent American merchant at Monterey and the United States consul in California, reported the condition of that province to Secretary of State Buchanan in the summer of 1845. The people of California, he said, were apathetic and in some cases even disloyal to Mexico, and there were indications that France and Great Britain had designs on the province.[24] A short time after the receipt of Larkin's report Buchanan forwarded a communication to the United States consul at Monterey. This was dated October 17, 1845. The instructions contained therein outlined a policy which was clear and consistent. The President and his advisers hoped there would be no war with Mexico. The acquisition of California was one of the important objects of the administration, but it was hoped that this could be done through purchase. Furthermore Polk and his officials desired to secure with California the coöperation and good will of its inhabitants. It would be better if the Californians could be induced to declare themselves independent of Mexico.

> In the contest between Mexico and California [Buchanan wrote] we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power, as a sister Republic. This government has no ambitious aspirations to gratify and no desire to extend our federal system over more territory than we already possess, unless by the free and spontaneous wish of the independent people of adjoining territories. The exercise of compulsion or improper influence to accomplish such a result, would be repugnant both to the policy and principle of this government. But whilst these are the sentiments of the President, he could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European Power. . . .

[24] Larkin to Buchanan, June 6, 1845, and July 10, quoted in Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 278.

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> In the contest between Mexico and California [Buchanan wrote] we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power, as a sister Republic. This government has no ambitious aspirations to gratify and no desire to extend our federal system over more territory than we already possess, unless by the free and spontaneous wish of the independent people of adjoining territories. The exercise of compulsion or improper influence to accomplish such a result, would be repugnant both to the policy and principle of this government. But whilst these are the sentiments of the President, he could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European Power. . . .

[24] Larkin to Buchanan, June 6, 1845, and July 10, quoted in Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 278.

Whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and independent States of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico just cause of complaint. Their true policy for the present in regard to this question, is to let events take their course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them without their consent either to Great Britain or France. This they ought to resist by all the means in their power, as ruinous to their best interests and destructive of their freedom and independence.

In addition to your Consular functions the President has thought proper to appoint you a confidential agent in California; and you may consider the present despatch as your authority for acting in this character. . . . You will take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents thereby assuming any other than your consular character.[25]

Gillespie's mission.—It would require several months for the instructions to Larkin and Sloat to reach them by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands. For this reason duplicates of the despatches were sent through Mexico in the care of Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie of the United States marine corps, who permitted it to be understood later that he had also been charged with important verbal communications. He delivered Sloat's orders, but committed to memory the instructions to Larkin while on the voyage to Vera Cruz, and destroyed the paper—probably because Sloat had a cipher code while Larkin had none.[26] Gillespie came recommended by the administration. "He is a gentleman," Buchanan had written Larkin, "in whom the President imposes entire confidence. He has seen these instructions and will coöper-

[25] Buchanan to Larkin, October 17, 1845; Moore, *Buchanan*, VI. 275-277.
[26] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II. 169.

ate as a confidential agent with you, in carrying them into execution." The Lieutenant of Marines, it appears, also brought a message to John C. Frémont, who was supposed to be somewhere on the Pacific coast when Gillespie left Washington.

The Bear Flag.—Gillespie arrived in Monterey April 17, 1846, just six months after the date of the instructions he brought to the American consul. He spent two days with Larkin and then started for San Francisco Bay and Sutter's Fort, arriving at the latter place April 28. Supplying himself with men and horses he moved north in pursuit of Frémont whom he joined on the western shore of Klamath Lake in Oregon on May 9.[27] The combined expeditions then returned down the Sacramento valley and established camp at the Bear and Feather rivers. A report was brought here that Vallejo was sending a hundred and seventy horses south to General José Castro, and rumor declared they were to be used to expel foreigners from the land and to erect a fort on Bear River. On June 9 a dozen men commanded by Ezekiel Merritt started in pursuit and at dawn of the following day surprised the Mexicans in charge and seized the horses. These they took back with them to Frémont's camp, arriving there on the morning of the eleventh. It was then determined to take Sonoma which was the only Mexican settlement of any importance north of San Francisco Bay. On the afternoon of the same day Merritt left camp with twenty-nine men for the purpose of executing this plan. Others joined them along the way and early Sunday morning, June 14, they roused the little village and made prisoners of Mariano Vallejo, his brother Sal-

[27] The mission of Gillespie has been frequently discussed. *See* Bancroft, *California*, V. 26-29, 85-89; Royce, *California*, 129-150; Richman, *California*, 307-312, and notes; Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II. Chapter XXXIV; and Frémont's latest version printed in his *Memoirs*, 488-490, and in "The Conquest of California," published in the *Century Magazine* for April, 1891, XLI. 917-928.

vador, his brother-in-law, Jacob B. Leese, and his secretary, Victor Prudon. The prisoners were sent to Frémont who ordered them confined in Sutter's Fort, though disclaiming any part in the Sonoma affair. Meanwhile the leaders of the revolutionary movement debated, consumed quantities of *aguardients,* and agreed to declare California an independent republic. A flag was constructed by William L. Todd, in the upper left-hand corner of which was drawn a five-pointed red star fifteen inches in diameter, and facing the star was a bear. Below the star and the bear was the emblem "California Republic." William B. Ide who had succeeded to the command drew up a proclamation declaring the government formed to be "a just, liberal, and honorable" one which should secure to its citizens "life and property; detect and punish crime and injustice; encourage virtues, industry and literature; foster agriculture and manufactures, and guarantee freedom to commerce." [28]

Sloat appears.—The appearance of Commodore Sloat on July 7, 1846, put an end to all schemes for establishing a California republic. He had reached Monterey on the second, but Larkin had persuaded him to delay action for five days. At the end of the period he landed two hundred and fifty men, raised the American flag over the custom house, fired a salute, and posted a proclamation declaring California annexed to the United States. On July 9 the flag was raised at San Francisco and Sonoma, and two days later at Sutter's Fort. On the twenty-third Sloat placed Stockton in command, and six days later sailed for home. There was some desultory fighting in California during the next few months, but all opposition was at last stamped out and by the treaty of Cahuenga on January 13, 1847, the conquest was complete.

[28] The proclamation is quoted in Bancroft, *California,* V. 152, note. For an account of the Bear Flag revolt *see ibid.,* 145-190, and reference given therein.

It is necessary now to turn back to the activities of the administration in Washington in order to trace the movement of events leading to the declaration of war against Mexico, the conquest of other Mexican territory, and the conclusion of peace.

Wilmot proviso and anti-slavery sentiment.—We have said that Polk had a sincere desire to settle the Mexican problems peaceably. This is shown by an examination of the despatches sent to diplomatic, military, and naval officials during the period preceding the outbreak of the war. However, all efforts at peace failed and in May, 1846, war began between the two countries. On August 4 following, the President asked Congress for two million dollars to be used for carrying on negotiations. On Saturday morning, August 8, a bill was introduced appropriating two million dollars "for the purpose of defraying any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." Through Jacob Brinkerhoff of Ohio, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania was induced to offer an amendment to the bill which read as follows:[29]

> Provided, that, as an express and fundamental condition of the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.

The proviso was discussed freely, and the bill with this attached finally passed the House by a vote of eighty-five to seventy-nine. It was taken to the Senate on Monday morning, the last day of the session. Congress was to adjourn at noon for the convenience of cer-

[29] Adams, *Memoirs*, XII. 270.

tain members who took the train for Baltimore.[20] The bill was brought up and a motion made to strike out the Wilmot proviso. This was opposed in a speech by Davis of Massachusetts which was prolonged until the hour of adjournment. The next session began in December and another effort was made to put through the proviso, but it could not be done. The proviso was significant, among other things, as the sequel to the "bargain of 1844," and it afforded anti-slavery men in all parties an opportunity to express their opposition to annexing any more slave territory. James Russell Lowell expressed the sentiment of the latter group in the fierce satire of his *Bigelow Papers:*

> They may talk o' Freedom's airy
> Tell they're pupple in the face,—
> It's a grand gret cemetary
> Fer the barthrights of our race;
> They jest want this Californy
> So's to lug new slave-states in
> To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
> An' to plunder ye like sin.

Success of United States troops.—While Congress was in the midst of sectional discussion and Polk was expressing in his *Diary* [21] his views on the subject of the Wilmot proviso, the American troops were carrying out the President's plan of winning a peace as soon as possible. Taylor won easily over the Mexicans in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and then crossed the Rio Grande and defeated them again at Monterey. Santa Anna had been permitted to pass through the lines by the President's order, but took the side of the patriot and organized a new army with which he made a vain attack upon Taylor at Buena Vista in February, 1847. Meanwhile Kearny had led

[20] Persinger, "The 'Bargain of 1844' as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1911, I. 189-195.
[21] II. 75, 76.

is troops to Santa Fé, which was taken without firing gun, and a civil government was established. He ıen made his way to California where he arrived in .me to take a small part in completing the conquest of hat territory. Scott landed at Vera Cruz in March, 847, and without difficulty fought his way steadily cross the mountains and into the valley of Mexico.

Proposals to annex all of Mexico.—Late in October ıews of the decisive victory of American arms reached Washington and gave rise to an active agitation to incorporate into the Union the whole of Mexico.[82] Those who were opposed to the administration asserted that this was the intention of the President, and the fact that Robert J. Walker, his Secretary of the Treasury, advocated such a policy increased their suspicion. During the months of December, 1847, and the early weeks

[82] For a discussion of this subject *see* E. G. Bourne, "The Absorption of Mexico," in *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 227-242. There was considerable discussion in the public press of the day apparently demanding occupation of the country. In Niles' *Weekly Register*, LXXIII. 113, the Baltimore *American* comments on the subject and quotes from the New York *Sun*, which in turn had quoted the Washington *Union:* "Though late in the season, we are happy to welcome the government organ to a share in the admiration of a beautiful country, which we expressed five months ago. . . . God has not made a more magnificent land than Mexcio. It is a paradise blessed with every variety of climate, every capacity of soil, and almost every species of fruit and flower on the face of the earth." And "if you look beyond her beauty to her wealth, behold the cotton, wheat, maize, indigo, and cochineal fields, a source of wealth inexhaustible. Look, too, at her forests of mahogany, rose, zebra and satin woods—at her dye woods richer than the treasures of India. Or if the *Union* will penetrate still further, let it look down into those mines of Potosi, Zacatecas, and Durango. Look at the gold and silver glittering there in masses that want for the pick of the Saxon. . . . Mexico is truly a magnificent country, over and under the soil bursting with everything the heart can desire. We have seen this for years, and the *Union* now sees it. Four years ago, too, we saw and urged the advantages of a ship canal or railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and five months ago we saw and urged the necessity of occupying that beautiful country, Mexico.

"The *Union* now sees and urges all this. Better late than never, we welcome the *Union* and the whole press of the Union to share our admiration. Let them repeat it until it becomes a common theme, and we shall see the Aztec and American eagle clasping wings, and our Yankee boys swapping knicknacks with the Americanized Rancheros for gold."

of January, 1848, a number of resolutions were introduced into Congress in favor of or opposed to the policy of all of Mexico. Of the latter a number were introduced by southern Whigs and gave illustration to the point that the interests of slavery and expansion were not identical. Calhoun of South Carolina was opposed to it, while Dickinson of New York, a Democrat of the Hunker type, and Hannegan of Indiana were among its strongest supporters. On December 15, Calhoun had offered a resolution, "that to conquer Mexico or hold it either as a province or to incorporate it in the Union would be inconsistent with the avowed object for which the war has been prosecuted; a departure from the settled policy of the government; in conflict with its character and genius and in the end subversive of our free and popular institutions." [33]

In discussing them a few days later Cass made the assertion that "no man in this nation" was "in favor of the extinction of the Nationality of Mexico." "Why, you can hardly read a newspaper," Calhoun exclaimed, "without finding it filled with speculation upon this subject. The proceedings which took place in Ohio at a dinner given to one of the volunteer officers of the army returned from Mexico show conclusively that the impression entertained by the persons present was, that our troops would never leave Mexico until they had conquered the whole country. This was the sentiment advanced by the officer and it was applauded by the assembly, and endorsed by the official paper of that state." In his speech delivered January 4, 1848, he made his statement stronger. At that time, he said, there was "a party scattered all over every portion of the country in favor of conquering the whole of Mexico. To prove that such was the case, it is only necessary to refer to the proceedings of numerous large pub-

[33] Quoted in Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 234. *Cong. Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 26.

ic meetings, to declarations repeatedly made in the public journals, and to the opinions expressed by the officers of the army and individuals of standing and influence, to say nothing of declarations made here and in the other House of Congress." [84]

Reasons for failure of proposals.—What then prevented the annexation of all Mexico in 1847 to 1848? Bourne, in concluding his essay on the subject, gives four reasons why it failed: (1) The growing realization that territorial expansion and the extension of slavery were involved so inextricably with each other that every accession of territory would precipitate a slavery crisis powerfully counteracted the natural inclinations of people toward expansion which inclinations are so clearly revealed to-day. (2) The fact that the members of Congress who met in December, 1847, had been elected over a year earlier, before the great military victories of 1847 had begun to undermine the first revulsion from a war of conquest, gave the control of the House to the Whigs, who as a party were committed against conquest and annexation. (3) There was the opposition of President Polk, who controlled the policy of the government. (4) There was not time for the movement to gain sufficient headway to overcome these obstacles.

While Polk had opposed annexing the whole of Mexico, he had expressed a desire at an earlier period to take over more territory than was acquired. On June 30, 1846, near the end of an animated discussion between Buchanan and Walker at a cabinet meeting, Polk expressed himself as follows on the subject:

As to the boundary which we should establish by a Treaty of Peace, I remarked that I preferred the twenty-

[84] Quoted by Von Holst, III. 343. The speech may be found in Calhoun's *Works*, IV. 396-424. *See* Niles' *Weekly Register*, LXXIII. 334. Bourne, 235-237, gives a number of instances bearing out Calhoun's assertion. *See also* Smith, *War with Mexico*, II. 243-246.

sixth degree to any boundary North of it, but that if it was found that that boundary could not be obtained I was willing to take thirty-two degrees, but that in any event we must obtain Upper California and New Mexico in any Treaty of Peace we would make.[35]

Trist's appointment and instructions.—Shortly after Scott had taken command of the troops in a move against Mexico City from Vera Cruz the President had appointed a special agent to accompany the army and negotiate a peace at the earliest opportunity. Nicholas Philip Trist, a Virginian, and chief clerk of the State Department, was selected for the mission. He was a man with but little training in diplomatic experiences and one who lacked the essential characteristics of patience, tact, and judgment. He received from the Secretary of State, Buchanan, an official letter, which considerably restricted his discretionary powers, and the project of a treaty together with a statement that under no circumstances should peace be concluded without the cession to the United States of New Mexico and California and the recognition of the Rio Grande as the southwestern boundary. What Slidell had been authorized to do before the outbreak of the war now became an ultimatum, thanks to the success of the army. According to his instructions Trist was authorized to pay in addition to the claims not more than twenty millions for the cession of New Mexico and Upper California, and an additional amount not to exceed five millions for Lower California. For the right of transit and passage across Tehuantepec he might pay an additional five millions. The project accompanying Trist's instructions contained eleven articles covering the points just mentioned. As soon as the treaty was ratified by Mexico, according to the third article, information should be given the military and

[35] Polk, *Diary*, I. 496, 497.

naval commanders of both sides and hostilities should be suspended immediately. This was the President's idea of "conquering a peace." [36]

Scott and Trist.—Trist reached Vera Cruz on May 6, 1847. Immediately there began a bitter correspondence between him and General Scott which came near wrecking the cause in which both were interested. Knowledge of the disagreement reached the President, and under date of June 12, 1847, he wrote in his diary:

> It appears that General Scott has taken offence because Mr. Trist was sent to his Head Quarters as a commissioner invested with Diplomatic Powers and full authority to conclude a Treaty of peace. He desired to be invested with this power himself. . . . It is clear from this despatch, as well as one of previous date enclosing a letter from Gen'l Scott to Mr. Trist, that he would not coöperate with Mr. Trist in accomplishing the object of his mission, the conclusion of an honorable peace.[37]

Trist recalled.—It was not long, however, before Polk heard more of the dispute through other channels and determined to recall Trist.

> Mr. Trist is recalled because his remaining longer with the army could not, probably, accomplish the objects of his mission, and because his remaining longer might, and probably would, impress the Mexican government with the belief that the United States were so anxious for peace that they would ultimately conclude one upon the Mexican terms.

Mexican commissioners and their instructions.—Trist received and acknowledged his recall, and prepared to return to the United States, but was finally

[36] Buchanan's letter of instructions and the project in *S. Ex. Doc. No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 81-89.

[37] Polk's *Diary*, III. 57. The correspondence between Trist and Scott may be found in *S. Ex. Doc., No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 154 ff.

persuaded by Scott[88] and the Mexican commissioners to remain and conclude a treaty. The Mexican commissioners with whom he was to carry on negotiations were instructed to endeavor first to procure the immediate retirement of the American army to points north of the Rio Grande and Gila rivers. Second, they were to try to induce the United States to submit its pretensions with respect to Mexico to a congress of representatives from all American nations, and agree to abide by the decision of such a congress. Or, as a substitute for this plan, an effort might be made to have the subject submitted to friendly powers for arbitration. But these directions were included in order to pay tribute to appearances. More serious instructions followed. The commissioners were to ask that the boundary be established along the Rio Grande from its mouth to a point two leagues north of El Paso, thence to the source of the Gila River, down that stream to the Colorado, and to the Pacific along a parallel north of San Diego. Some strong, friendly power was to guarantee the boundaries and the territory ceded was to be organized into states or territories immediately. Additional demands would require the protection of all property held for religious purposes, would recognize the validity of land grants made by Mexico, would have the United States assume all claims of American citizens against the southern republic, and would expect the United States to pledge itself to annex no more Mexican territory. As soon as the treaty was signed Amer-

[88] Scott and Trist had become friendly by this time and Polk was convinced that the latter had been made the tool of the former. "Though he had in a previous despatch acknowledged the receipt of his letter of recall from the Secretary of State, he announces that he had reopened negotiations with the Mexican authorities and had resolved to conclude a treaty with them. His despatch is arrogant, impudent, and very insulting to his government, and even personally offensive to the President. He admits he is acting without authority and in violation of the positive order recalling him. It is manifest to me that he has become the tool of Gen'l Scott and his menial instrument, and that the paper was written at Scott's instance and dictation." Polk, *Diary*, III. 300, 301.

ican troops were to be withdrawn, captured artillery and munitions of war were to be restored, and the custom-houses were to be at once returned to the Mexican authorities.

These were the principal matters included in the general instructions. In separate documents the commissioners were required to endeavor to get the line of the Nueces, instead of the Rio Grande. This point was to be yielded only in case the treaty would fail by requiring it. The amount to be required from the United States for the cession of territory was to be not less than thirty million.[39]

Treaty concluded.—The official conference between Trist and the Mexican commissioners began in the City of Mexico on January 2, 1848. The American representative explained that the line of the Rio Grande and the inclusion of San Diego in the California territory ceded to the United States constituted a *sine qua non.* He further informed the commissioners that this government would not pay more than fifteen million dollars for the territory included in the cession Mexico would be expected to make. There was discussion and delay which annoyed Trist, and again it looked as if a satisfactory settlement could not be made. Pressure was exerted upon the Mexican President, Pena y Pena, by the commissioners and the British *chargé d'affaires,* which resulted in instructions going finally to the commissioners authorizing them "to sign the treaty with the least possible burdens upon the country, in view of the melancholy circumstances in which it is situated." [40] And at Guadalupe Hidalgo, the seat of the famous shrine of the virgin of Guadalupe, the treaty was signed according to the terms insisted upon by Trist.

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[39] Rives, *U. S. and Mexico,* II. 603.

[40] Quoted in *ibid.,* 612. *See* Chapter XLIX for a full account of the treaty negotiations; Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk;* and Smith's *War with Mexico,* II. Chapters XXVII, XXXII.

Gila River boundary in the project.—In the fourth article of the project which Trist carried with him to Mexico the boundary which he was instructed to obtain was to follow the middle of the channel of the Rio Grande to the southern line of New Mexico, "thence westwardly along the southern boundary of New Mexico to the southwestern corner of the same; thence northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch; and thence in a direct line to the same, and down the middle of said branch and of said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado, and the middle of the Gulf of California, to the Pacific Ocean." [41]

Gila River as route for railroad.—The boundary outlined in article five of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided that the Gila River line as indicated in the project should be definitely established as the boundary line between the two republics in that section.[42] However, Buchanan had, as early as July, 1847, begun to suspect that such a line was not the best one to settle upon. Accordingly he wrote to Trist suggesting an "important modification" of this line:

> and this is, to run it along the thirty-second parallel of north latitude from the Rio Grande to the middle of the Gulf of California . . . or, if this cannot be obtained, to run it due west from the southwest angle of New Mexico to the middle of the gulf. Either of these lines would include within our limits the whole course of the Gila. From information derived from Major Emory, the valley of that river presents a favorable route for a railroad to the Pacific; but this would sometimes pass on one side and

[41] *S. Ex. Doc. No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 86.

[42] For the treaty concluded by Trist *see ibid.*, 38-64. The line from the mouth of the Gila to the Pacific was of course made direct in the final treaty instead of including Lower California as provided in the project.

sometimes on the other of the bed of the stream. For this reason it is deemed important that the whole valley of that river should be included within the boundary of the United States.[43]

Six days later the Secretary of State again addressed Trist on the subject:

The more I reflect upon the subject, the better am I convinced of the importance of running the boundary line between the Rio Grande and the Gulf of California, along the thirty-second parallel of north latitude. We cannot learn that the boundaries of New Mexico have ever been authoritatively and specifically determined; and difficulties might hereafter arise between the two governments in ascertaining where the southwestern angle of New Mexico is situated. A conversation with Major Emory since the date of my last despatch, has convinced me still more of the importance of this modification.[44]

Commissioners and their difficulties.—Trist did not secure the modification suggested, however, and that part of the boundary extending along the Gila remained as outlined in Buchanan's project of 1847, and as embodied in article five of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidlago. This same article of the treaty of 1848 provided that the United States and Mexico should each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who should meet at San Diego within a year of the date of the exchange of the ratification of the treaty for the purpose of running the boundary from the Pacific to the mouth of the Rio Grande. The joint commission from the two countries met at San Diego on July 6, 1849, a few days after the time stipulated by the treaty. From the beginning the work was hampered by partisan politics in the United States and by bickerings among the commissioners themselves.[45] There was considerable delay and diffi-

[43] Buchanan to Trist, July 13, 1847, in *ibid.*, 90.
[44] Buchanan to Trist, July 19, 1847, in *ibid.*, 91.
[45] For information on this part of my subject I am under obligation to

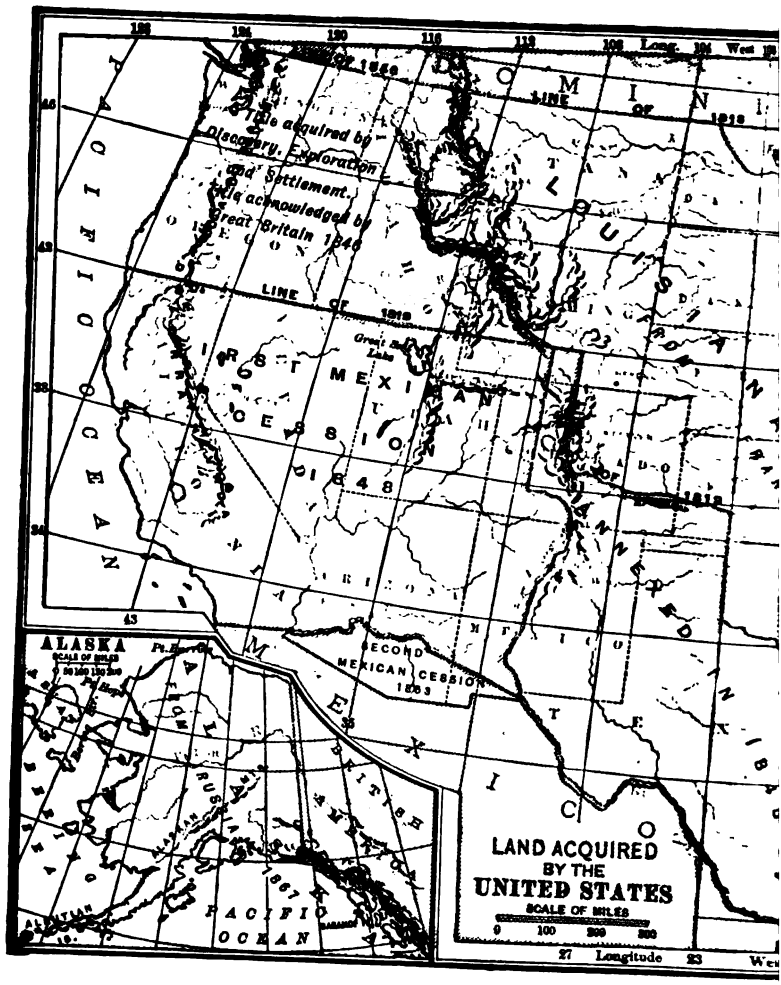
culty in determining the initial point on the Rio Grande, and not until December 25, 1850, could the commissioners agree upon a compromise. This provided that the southern boundary of New Mexico should extend three degrees west of the Rio Grande along the parallel of thirty-two degrees and twenty-two minutes. Congress refused to accept the compromise, however, and legislated the commission out of existence.

Route for railroad endangered.—In fact the subject was complicated by two circumstances. In the first place it was believed that the compromise settled upon by the commissioners would sacrifice the only practicable southern route for a Pacific railway. In the second, the inhabitants and officials living in the disputed territory were in a dangerous mood. Conditions were not improved by raids of filibusters from 1848 to 1853. These the United States would not or could not restrain.

Peaceable settlement determined upon.—However, the situation had its hopeful aspects. The administrative officials in Mexico fully understood the seriousness of involving their country in another war with the United States, and they were in great need of money. Then, too, the strenuous opposition in the United States which the recent war had produced there was fresh in the memory of political leaders and would cause them to shrink from involving their country in another struggle with Mexico, lest they should endanger the solidarity of their party and possibly imperil the Union itself. These conditions in the two countries would influence the leaders to establish a peaceful settlement if it could be accomplished. In fact Santa Anna had already determined to settle the difficulties peaceably if he could, and had given a commission to negotiate the treaty to J. N. Almonte on July 26.

James Gadsden and his instructions.—The United

Dr. James Fred Rippy, whose valuable thesis on *The Relation of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1860,* is still in manuscript form.



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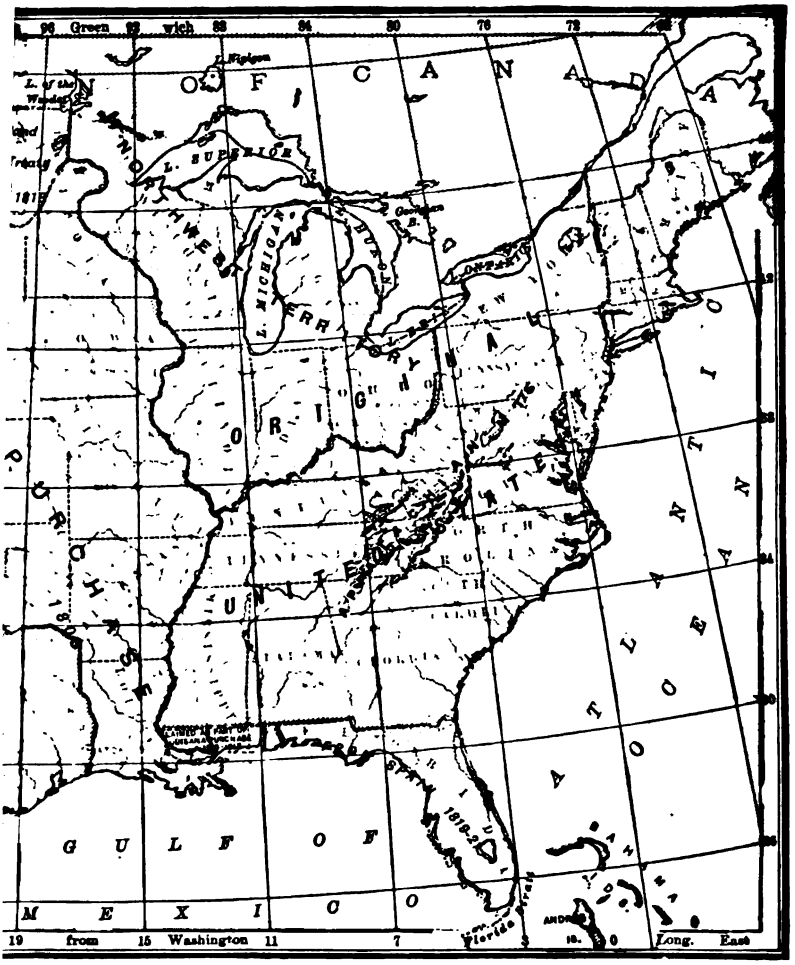
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States selected as its agent to adjust the outstanding difficulties a southerner by the name of James Gadsden. His letter of appointment was dated May 24, 1853, and he received other communications dated July 1, 15, and 16. The instructions given must have been complete and detailed.[46] He was directed to make no effort at that time to renew negotiations regarding the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and probably he was authorized to pay fifteen or twenty millions of dollars for Lower California, Sonora, and a portion of Chihuahua together with a release from further responsibility for the Indians of the Southwest.

Treaty is drawn up.—With his instructions in hand Gadsden arrived at his destination in August and immediately entered upon his duties. The two things in which he was probably most interested were the acquisition of territory and a route for a southern Pacific railway, but the Mexican Minister of Relations was persistent in his demands for a settlement of Indian difficulties. Gadsden's efforts to carry out his purpose were hampered still further by reports to the effect that the United States was concentrating troops on the southwestern frontier and by the threatened invasion of filibusters from California. The latter report particularly caused much uneasiness in Mexico. Gadsden promised to place this matter before his government at once and assured the Mexican officials that the President would take action to stop such raids. A correspondence then began in regard to a settlement of the outstanding questions. By the middle of December, after numerous conferences, a project was drawn up by the American minister and a completed draft was agreed to by the last day of the year. With this in his possession Gadsden reached Washington during the early weeks of 1854.

[46] Dr. Rippy says the contents of these letters are not fully known, but they probably related primarily to the questions of a new boundary and to indemnities for Indian depredations. *Ibid.*, Chapter VII.

Amended and accepted by Senate.—The treaty was laid before the Senate in February by President Pierce with a request that it be ratified, but it met with strong opposition from some of the members of that body. In fact amendments were made to it by the Senate, and these were accepted by the government of Mexico. However, it was the last of June, 1854, before Congress passed legislation to carry the provisions into effect, and on the same day ratifications were exchanged. As accepted by the two countries the treaty fixed the boundary line as it now exists. The United States gained the Mesilla valley or an addition of about 45,535 square miles of territory for which it paid ten millions of dollars. The agreement also abrogated article eleven of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which provided that the United States should protect Mexico from the incursions of Indians.

The Gadsden purchase was the last addition of territory acquired adjacent to the United States. It included the route along the Gila River which had been in great demand in order to enable the projected Southern Pacific railroad to build its roadbed entirely upon American soil. At first it was incorporated with the Territory of New Mexico, but was later divided between that territory and Arizona.

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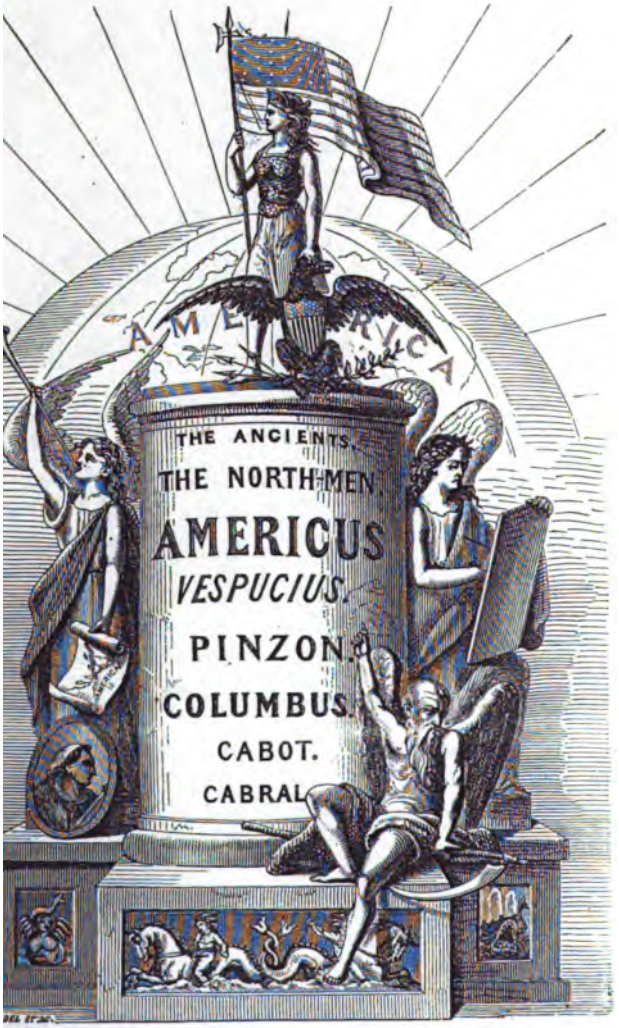
AMERICA
THE ANCIENTS.
THE NORTH-MEN
AMERICUS
VESPUCIUS.
PINZON.
COLUMBUS.
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CABRAL

A HISTORY

OF THE

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMI

OF THE SO-CALLED

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BY

AARON GOODRICH

"As the most obscure soldier of an army may sometimes by a fiery arrow destroy fortress of the enemy, so may the weakest man, when he makes himself the courageous truth, overcome the most solid ramparts of superstition and error."

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS, AND AN APPENDIX.

NEW YORK:
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549 & 551 BROADWAY.
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TO THE MEMORY

OF THE

PATRIOT, SCHOLAR, JURIST, STATESMAN, AND FRIEND,

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD,

WHO,

DURING A LONG AND EVENTFUL LIFE,

SUFFERED PATIENTLY, AND LABORED EARNESTLY AND WISEI

FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HIS RACE,

THIS WORK

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY AARON GOODRI(

A few months before his lamented death, while this wor. in progress, HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD *had kindly perr dedication to himself, but, in the interval which elapsed completion, the nation was called to mourn the loss of o greatest sons, and the author that of a revered and belove It is, therefore, as a tribute to his memory, that this volu scribed.*

he most precious of all commodities; gold constitutes treasure, ossesses it has all he needs in this world, *as also the means of* ı *from purgatory, and restoring them to the enjoyment of para-* MBUS's letter to the sovereigns, July 7, 1508.)

---

mon saw that through laying on of the apostle's hands the Holy ren, he offered them money, saying, 'Give me also this power, msoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.' But ıto him, 'Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast the gift of God may be purchased with money.'"—(Acts viii.

PREFACE.

In giving the present work to the public, in sendin
a single champion against a host of opponents, many
are the flower of literary chivalry, the author is aware
reception will not be altogether a friendly one; he has,
devoted several years of thought and study to the subj
is now imperfectly treated, and the deeper he has di
the secrets of unpublished or forgotten history, the m
have become his convictions that some proclamatio
truth should be made, some protest entered against th
propagation of a falsehood under the name of history.

If, in his attempt to do this, he should appear too
attach himself to one side of the case, too severely to
and to dwell too particularly on the errors and crim
hero, on the partiality and inaccuracy of historians,
remembered that for three centuries only one side of the
been presented, the one laudatory of Columbus; that d
that time nothing has been left unwritten which could e
enthusiasm and admiration of the reader in his behalf:
have hitherto been written solely to praise him; the w
pears, therefore, as the self-constituted counsel for the
side, the vindicator, however inadequate, of the truth of
he would show the injustice which has been done to wor
who lived when Columbus lived, whom the latter and h
cates ruthlessly assail, and would prove that what has
been termed the history of a great man is but a gild

ılchre, fair without, but within full of rottenness and
bones.

ıttempt he departs widely from the plan of any for-
of the discovery of America; he treats some subjects
ıe first blush appear irrelevant, or at any rate far-
heir association with the inscription on the title-page;
assured that upon reflection the reader will find no
ıched which has not a direct bearing on the state-
ıined in the life of Columbus, the facts revealed, or
which is inevitably deduced from these facts.

ɔf genius, human greatness, cannot, it would seem, be
or too enthusiastically extolled; the historian should,
ıar in mind that justice more than enthusiasm is his
ɔwever small a portion of the history of humanity his
ɔmbrace, however ardently he may be enamored of
he should see to it that he does not commit injustice
individual, land, race, or age; that he sacrifices no
ɔlates no worthy name to the shrine which he would

ıception of the higher moral duties of the historian is
ntertained; the learning of antiquity is ignored that
ıf modern times may be inflated, great names of all
justly thrust into oblivion or condemned to ignominy,
one or more of their contemporaries may be made to
the greatness and virtue which belonged to a gener-
ımples of this will rise innumerable to the mind of
and thinker.

y lands, in many races, humanity has risen to the
elligence, then sunk again into the insignificance of
nd superstition. As centuries have succeeded centu-
great calendar of time, races and nations in regular
re had their childhood, their manhood, their old age:
ood, simple and credulous; their manhood, vigorous,
as things of this world can be, perfect; their old age,
ı them into the puerility of childhood without its hope

and promise; with some, old age has terminated in m
actual death and extinction, but as each falls into this s
inevitable dotage, another race, youthful and vigorous,
up, which must tread the same path, attain substanti
same perfection, and decline into the same insignificance
without thought did the wise man of the Hebrews declare
his race was at the height of its strength and glory, that
no new thing under the sun; the hopes, aspirations, en
plans, and projects, which to the youth appear a part of l
and his generation, individualizing it and him especiall
all been experienced and projected before him, by h
grand- and great-grandsires; even so, the science, learni
civilization which appear to pretentious modern times es
to distinguish them, and to prove the law of progressi
been discovered, achieved, attained by the remote nation
tiquity, in what are termed dark and prehistoric ages.

The injustice done is not altogether willful; the pre
surrounded as with an atmosphere by its great thoug
achievements, while in the past these are only represen
isolated results or obscure traditions: what wonder, then, t
men of the present should regard the times in which th
the age in which their race attains its perfect manhood, a
ing with more thought and brain, throwing greater lig
nearer grasping perfection, than those gone by, each of w
its turn looked with like self-gratulation on its own attai
and with like misconception and injustice on those of its
cessors?

It is with a conviction of this great fact, with a beli
there is no new thing under the sun, that races and nati
inevitably in turn, and in turn as inevitably fall, that the
while endeavoring to sink the so-called Christopher Colu
his just level in the estimation of posterity, and raise t
those of his contemporaries whose fame was sacrificed to
the fictitious glory with which he has been endowed, a
deavors to rehabilitate the memory of past generations

ıts have been ignored or denied for the especial ag-
ent of modern times. Hence the chapters on the An-
the Northmen.

riter may therefore ascribe a twofold object to his

place in its true light the character of a man the
› of whose connection with the history of America has
ıified; in whom have been incorporated, at the sac-
stice and truth, the thoughts, deeds, and glory which
ar greater measure to his contemporaries.

enter a protest, however feeble, against the spirit
, which would incorporate in modern times all the
of past ages, and arrogates to itself the honor of in-
discovering sciences and arts which had been carried
perfection as human intelligence will permit, before
d history of the world began.

his twofold object in view, seeking ever the guidance
ınd truth, the author has written the present work.
or failure cannot alter his convictions that the cause
›used is a righteous one, and that it is worthy a far
than his, not only to rehabilitate those who have been
ntemned, but also to cast down idols which have be-
bjects of base and ignoble, because blind and unthink-
ip.

AARON GOODRICH.

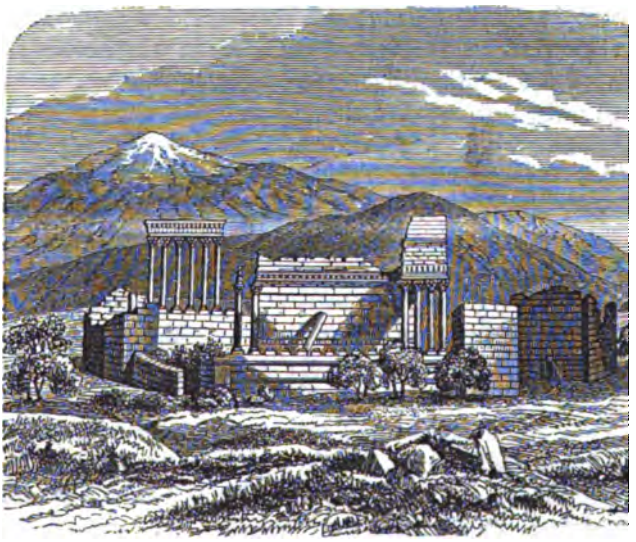
MINNESOTA, *July* 6, 1873.

LIFE OF COLUMBUS.

CHAPTER I.

ARCHITECTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ANCIENTS.

It has been too much the custom of modern writer
parage the achievements of the ancients, that they may
magnify the deeds and exploits of those in whose intere
write; hence we are taught that, in ancient times, the



BAALBEC.

for promulgating knowledge were small, the ideas ent
of astronomy and the form and size of our planet prin
a ridiculous extent; the ships rude in construction and u

:oast; while many of the phenomena of Nature, which ı daily use, were totally unknown. How unjust are ıings we will endeavor briefly to expose.

ıiversally admitted that one branch of knowledge leads vitably to another; that the whole vast array of sci- arts move in a circle, linked hand-in-hand, as it were, ınother; when, therefore, we find a nation or people ɔly preëminent in one or more of these, we may, should ing and achievements have fallen into oblivion, natu- that in other branches they equally excelled.

modern traveler visits the fallen cities of Asia, and id the ruins of Babylon, Nineveh, Tadmor in the and even in their decay, he can scarce imagine an ɔeople inhabiting such noble structures, still less plan- erecting them; these fallen stones and prostrate col- heir colossal size and beauty, put to shame the fairest lern architectural monuments. We allow that here the :he past were preëminent, we concede them perfection :aordinary, yet deny them the knowledge of even the ttainments of less civilized nations. Let us, however, view their achievements, not only in architecture, of ng proof exists, but in geography, astronomy, naviga- ıs study somewhat the facts which have been handed s, obscured by superstitious constructions, metaphori- ical language, and that inevitable and too often im- veil which the mighty hand of Time casts over all ɔn, following the laws of cause and effect, let us arrive, , at a more just appreciation of the mighty nations preceded us.

rliest architectural monument of which we find any that of the Tower of Babel; though, indeed, Josephus, f the learning and achievements of the sons of Seth, They studiously turned their attention to the knowl- ɜ heavenly bodies and their configurations. And, lest ıce should at any time be lost among men, and what ɔreviously acquired should perish, ... they erected ns, the one of brick and the other of stone, and en- ɔn each of them their discoveries, so that in case the ır should be dissolved by the waters, the stone one ive to teach men the things engraved upon it, and at

the same time inform them that a brick one had forme also erected by them. It remains even to the present da land of Siriad."[1]

This interesting account of the antediluvian Siriadic excepted, the Tower of Babel remains first in the list o chitectural efforts of the ancients. The Hebrew tradi most probably given us but an erroneous idea of the re ductive to the undertaking; we contend that it is too n rule among modern writers upon antiquity, to take for the superstition, and, we may almost so express it, infa norance, of what they term the primitive races. Scie search has proved the world to be far older than biblica would lead us to suppose; the so-called primitive rac then, have had an earlier origin, and have attained a n vanced stage of civilization, than is generally accorde tradition tells us that Babel was intended to become a for the worship of Baal, which worship was that of t moon, stars, light, heat. Astronomy was long a study East; we have read how, even in an antediluvian pe sons of Seth had made and recorded their discoveries, know that the Hindoos were at an early age far advance science. The flat plains and clear skies of Babylon are ad adapted for observatories, and the learned men inhabitin passing their lives in the contemplation of the heavenly might easily be supposed to worship these by the unenli masses, who, in their ignorance, might adopt the appar gion. We know that to this day the enlightened Per so-called worshiper of the sun, when accused of such an reply, not without some contempt for the ignorance of th tian, that in paying respect to the Deity he turns tow sun, the greatest of his works, but no more thinks of w ing that orb than does the Christian devotee the emblem decorate his churches.

If the Tower of Babel was, as we believe, intended astronomical observatory, or gnomen, the confusion w sulted in the abandonment of the enterprise is not dif account for; the most learned men of the land and countries round about must have been assembled to supe

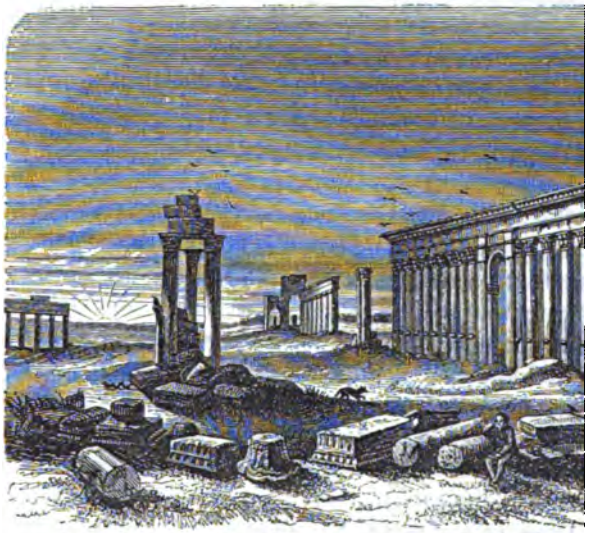
[1] It has been said that Josephus here confounds Seth with the Egyptia Sesostris.

n,[2] and what more probable than that these same
en, each eager for the adoption of his own peculiar
ld desire them carried out at the expense of those
Hence disagreement, contests, division, and the final
ent of the work; the diverse languages spoken by the
different countries, which were unintelligible jargon
rant, might easily have been believed by the masses
used the dispersal, and would account for the tradi-
usion of tongues. The vast pile amid the ruins of
alled Birs Nimroud, is supposed by many curious an-
to be the remains of this once famous tower; Nimrod,
embellish the metropolis of his vast empire, is said
mpleted it, raising it to the height of seven hundred

eat city of Babylon, the oldest and largest of which
y account, is itself now but a vast and chaotic heap of
rodotus has, however, left us a detailed and vivid de-
f its splendors as well as of the greatness of its
Fifty miles square, surrounded by a wall eighty-
through at the base, and, though three hundred and
gh, so broad at the summit that four chariots could
st, one hundred gates of massy brass giving entrance
rst aspect of this city must have been imposing indeed.
ites the Father of History, "its internal magnificence
atever has come within my knowledge." May we
he sentiment, even at the present stage of *advanced*
? Where shall we now find such a palace as that of
ezzar, six miles in circumference, entered by gates of
ass and adorned with statues of gold and silver? Here
anging-gardens, styled even by the Greeks, that most
l artistic nation, one of the wonders of the world; an
ountain four hundred feet high, terraced on all sides;
trees of the forest grew upon these terraces, fountains
adorned them; the massive stone pillars and arches
them were protected from the action of moisture
oil by sheetings of lead and zinc, the soil was irri-

[2] "aschal Chronicle," written in the fourth century, we find the following:
me of the construction of the tower, a certain Indian of the race of
de his appearance, a wise man, and an astronomer, whose name was
nd it was he that first instructed the Indians in the science of as-

gated by means of hydraulic machinery which drew u
the Euphrates. The magnificent Temple of Belus,
Belus of the Greeks, was one of the chief among
buildings of Babylon, and indeed the beauties of th
would occupy more space than our brief chapter will
have all disappeared. "*Babylon is fallen. The b*
Chaldees' excellency is laid low;" a few ruined moun
place where once she stood; the stones of her migh
superb temples have builded cities which in the days
were not known; those uncouth mounds have in
somewhat to demonstrate how far more advanced



TADMOR.

edge and civilization two thousand years ago than
modern ages would care to have known. Here were
of exquisite transparency, ornaments of fine earthe
baster, and marble, and, still greater the discovery, t
ing-lens, which is called a modern invention.

How many other great ruins might we not name,
testify to the greatness of the past! Baalbec, with
umns, so light and graceful against the eastern sky,
holder cannot realize that they are formed of stones si
huge masses fallen around; glorious old Thebes, whe

t for more than four thousand years, and whose uments were conveyed by the greatest of modern adorn the greatest of modern cities; Tadmor in the -famed Palmyra of the Greeks and Romans, built the wise man of Israel—the beautiful words of Voltemplated its ruins may well apply to the many the East: "Here once flourished an opulent city; eat of a powerful empire. A busy crowd once cirse streets now so solitary. Within these walls, ıful silence now reigns, the noise of the arts, the ınd festivity, incessantly resounded; these piles of egular palaces; these prostrate pillars adorned the mples; these ruined galleries surrounded public a numerous people assembled for the sacred duties the anxious cares of subsistence; here Industry, oyment, collected the riches of all climes; here the e was exchanged for the precious thread of Serica; of Cashmere for the sumptuous tapestry of Lydia; he Baltic for the pearls and perfumes of Arabia; ohir for the tin of Thule.

ght remains of its vast domination but a doubtful nembrance! To the tumultuous throng which cir- these porticoes, has succeeded the solitude of pulence of a commercial city is changed to hideous palaces of kings are become a den of wild beasts; the area of the temple, and unclean reptiles and s inhabit the sanctuary of the Most High."

with the glorious cities of the past, thus must it hose of the present; even so shall the traveler yet litude where now are London, Paris, and become vast pile of ruins which was once the great Cathe- ıe—Time must annihilate all. With what admira- with awe do we not, then, gaze at the gigantic ooking the plains of Jizeh (Gish)! Here Time has s, during four thousand years, to destroy, and the d has been preserved through all these ages, per- us the great moral lesson of our own insignifi- ıt what we term progress may sometimes be retro-

ies it was believed that the Great Pyramid, like

many of the other more modern pyramidal structures w
found in the valley of the Nile, was destined as a place
ture for Egyptian kings, but the curious researches
learned men in this century have opened a wider and
interesting field for the antiquarian, and have demonstr
this vast monument was raised to be an eternal stan
weights and measures, also for an astronomical observa
perfectly are the statements made, in support of this t
accordance with the measurement of the pyramid, that
possible to regard as accidental such wonderful concurre

That the Great Pyramid was not intended for a rece
the dead is evident from various facts, the foremost of
that no hieroglyphics or inscriptions are found within or
It is well known that the Egyptians never entombed t
without some such inscription being placed on the mon

When the Great Pyramid was in its original state, t
say, when each of the angular sides, rising from a pe
tangular base, and joining in a perfect point at the sum
covered with polished beveled casing-stones, it present
fect geometrical figure, its height being to twice its ba
diameter of a circle to its circumference. This assert
made by Mr. John Taylor in his remarkable work on t
mid, has since been confirmed by the learned research
Piazzi Smyth, Royal Astronomer of Scotland; it wa
dicted by many professed antiquarians and Egyptologi
in their measurement of the base of the pyramid, had
make allowance for the heap of rubbish which has acc
on the rocky platform upon which it is built, as also to
with any certainty how far the marble casing which o
ered the pyramid extended beyond its present limits; th
culties were finally removed by the finding of the socke
the solid rock base, wherein the corner-stones of the
were set, and the important discovery, by Colonel Howa
of two of the white marble casing-stones, *in situ*, a d
which, besides enabling the pyramid to be measured corre
permits us to form some idea of its external appearance in
tine perfection—smooth, polished marble "shining re
afar" in a sloping plane, the workmanship as exquisite a
an optician, the joints so fine as to be almost imperceptib
close observer, and this with stones nearly five feet hi

and twelve feet long; the cement joining these two
ı firm and solid as it was four thousand years ago.
' other casing-stones have been found, efforts to sun-
ıt the joints have resulted in the breaking of the mar-
'ithout accomplishing the object.
he above discoveries, every attempt to measure the
ıs served to bring a nearer result, to prove the per-
:he plan; and, if there are yet some fractional differ-
ıed geometricians avow that the more perfect their
ıeasurements, the more perfect the result shows the
é pyramid to be.* The self-conceit of the modern
ınce must receive a slight shock when he is forced to
the facilities for making perfect measurements were
: thousand years ago than at the present day. When
academicians visited Egypt in 1799, they found, much
ɔnishment and admiration, that the orientation of the
he correspondence of its four corners with the four
ɔints) was exact within a fraction, and nearer ap-
xactness than any modern orientation; and it has since
that the fractional difference they noted diminishes
ɔerfection of calculation is employed, and would per-
y disappear should modern science be able to dis-
ıeans employed by the builders of the pyramid to fix

ɣth, perhaps the most learned of modern writers on the subject,
ı theoretical science no doubt both can compute and actually has com-
ortion to a far greater degree of closeness, to three hundred places of
instance; but modern science is unfortunately very unequal. Some
ıts are pursued to an excessive extent, past all visible use, while the
ɔthers to Nature and art is left in a sadly crude condition; and with
zing the proportion now spoken of in a building, the moderns have
any thing at all equal to the accuracy of the Great Pyramid. . . .
urement of the pyramid, the moderns have had an advantage over
ıilders of it; and how have they come off in the trial? Why, it has
ıat the exactness of the pyramid has improved under every advance
ı the measures applied to it; and whether the differences of modern
eir first stage of coarseness, differed from each other by several degrees
ɣ by several minutes, and latterly by a few seconds only, the pyramid
found in the mean position among them, like the bull's eye in the
ɣet, though the bullet-holes of bad shooters might be found more fre-
ɔints of its circumference; and whose marks, therefore, seen by them-
ive subsequent visitors exceeding trouble in concluding precisely what
had been firing at."—(Prof. SMYTH, "Our Inheritance in the Great
ɔ. ii., p. 25.)

orientation. The fractional inexactness which occurs urements may also be the result of the different stan measure employed at the present day from those of tl tians four thousand years ago, which appear to have be more minute. Prof. Smyth, after a succession of i calculations, declares that the standard measure employe building of the Great Pyramid was an inch, this pyram being $\frac{1}{500,000,000}$ part of the earth's axis of rotation, ar one-thousandth part the same as the present Engli Should this wonderful assertion be correct, and to us pears no reason to doubt its exactness, what a perfect of measurement is here handed down to us, and with vantage might it not be adopted! It is superior eve French metre, which is declared to be $\frac{1}{10,000,000}$ of the of the earth's meridian, science having shown that mu tion may exist in the shape of that meridian, but fixing measure by the earth's axis at once gives us a perfect an able standard.

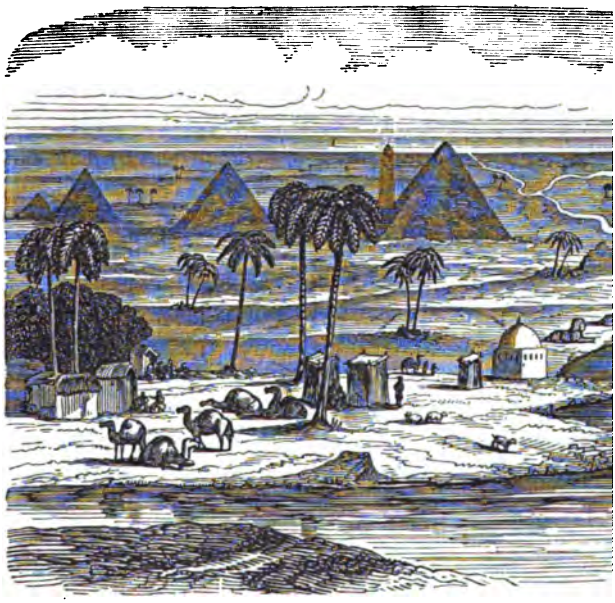
The Great Pyramid, then, considered in its extern after its completion, presented an exact geometrical sol (about seven hundred and sixty feet broad at the base vertical height about five hundred feet), perfect in ori perfect in workmanship, polished and smooth as glass stood for three thousand years, a sealed and wondrous to the beholder, exciting in the ardent imagination of visions of unheard-of wealth, secrets, spells long forgot cealed within its walls; yet its silent majesty was long r perhaps because a subterranean entrance or descending which existed in this as in other pyramids, was consi early ages as the only entrance, and prevented curio sooner beginning the work of destruction, which has, modern times advanced only too rapidly.

In 820 A. D. the Caliph Al-Mamoun, his cupidity e the legends aforesaid of hidden treasures, determined the pyramid; the subterranean entrance was now tot cealed by sand; the workmen of the caliph therefore be lessly to quarry into the polished marble surface of the n Long and laborious was the task; at last, aided by the a falling stone, they reached a narrow passage, the subterranean one through which the Romans and ot

lownward into the building; but the stone which had
a part of the polished ceiling of this passage, revealed
ıother, ascending instead of descending; a portcullis
ıich, though evidently intended to be raised, was too
ıe present workers to move, obstructed their advance;
ey therefore quarried an entrance into the passage;
ectedly revealed, this led them to what is now termed
Gallery, which ascends at an angle of 26°, and is one
d fifty feet long, twenty-eight feet high, built of hard,
elopean stone; from this gallery the eager seekers for
lieving they had now reached the goal, emerged into
hamber, which was thirty-four feet long, seventeen
nineteen high, built of polished granite so exqui-
ed and cemented that the joints could hardly be per-
the closest inspection; yet the blocks thus finished
ge that eight roofed the apartment, eight floored it,
ed the ends, and sixteen the sides; but beauty and
vere alike lost upon the eager horde that first broke the
l silence which for thousands of years had reigned in
recess: they had hoped to find treasures untold with-
, and it contained nothing save an empty stone coffer
id! They abandoned the chamber in disgust.
rk of destruction on the outside of the pyramid com-
o hundred years later; the exquisite marble casing-
much of the solid masonry were carried away, and
build many edifices in the city of Cairo. The vast
ıough desecrated and shorn of all its pristine beauty,
s a mystery, reminding the traveler that "Time sad-
eth all things and is now dominant, and sitteth on a
d looketh into Memphis and old Thebes, while her
ion reclineth semi-somnorous on a pyramid, gloriously
, making puzzles of Titanian erections, and turning
into dreams. History sinketh beneath her cloud.
er, as he passeth amazedly through these deserts, ask-
who hath builded them, and she mumbleth some-
what it is he heareth not."[1]
er days those who visited the Great Pyramid, the
Porphyry Chamber, the empty coffer, began to con-

[1] emarks on Mummies," Sir Thomas Browne: Wilkins's edition.

sider more deeply into the matter. True it had long cepted as a fact that the pyramid was built to receive fully-embalmed body of some great Egyptian king; l why was the coffer (the only object in the chamber without inscription? Why was the chamber ventilat mirably-constructed air-holes, which demonstrated the of the builders that it should be visited with impunity questions, indeed, remained unanswered. The riddle solved till, within the last twenty years, a school of m



PLAINS OF GISH.

represented indeed but by the smallest numbers, who a the Great Pyramid was built for the noble purpose of p an unalterable standard for weights and measures. Ve have been the results of the investigations which en can, however, but briefly mention a few.

It was found that the English measure for wheat quarter, was exactly one-fourth of the cubic contents fer. The chamber is exquisitely constructed to furthe experiments; protected on all sides from heat and co hundred and eighty feet of solid masonry, the te

ıvariably 68° Fahr., or 20° Centigrade, being one-
distance between the freezing and boiling points of
e temperature of the country, we know, has not
e vegetation being the same as that described by
The porphyry coffer is hewn out of one solid rock,
ı struck it gives forth a bell-like sound. Here, then,
l measure of capacity may become a standard meas-
ht; the filtered water of the Nile, drawn up from a
this cool, invariable temperature, would serve the
does distilled water at the present day; the standard
capacity would therefore be the interior of the coffer,
ıdard measure of weight the weight of its contents
a temperature of 20°, the coffer at the same time
ıe earth's mean density with great exactness. We
y spoken of the measure of length, the inch, as if to
belief that this was the standard. Over the last
ads to the king's chamber are five lines, drawn par-
present the pyramidal cubit, each cubit fifty inches,
10,000,000 of the earth's axis of rotation.
he measurement of time forgotten. The three years
ndred and sixty-five days, and our leap-year of three
d sixty-six, the twelve months of the year, the seven
week, are all typified, not in figures or hieroglyphics,
simple overlapping or grooving of the polished stones
ry, antechamber, and king's chamber. If all this be
coincidence, then verily is accident more wonderful
ought! Further proofs are not wanting in support
ory. The ancient Saxon chaldron, a measure for
nce the English are said to derive their *quarter*
esents one-fourth of the contents of the chaldron)
g resemblance in dimensions to the pyramidal coffer,
ery possibly have been transmitted from that source.
on that the coffer was destined for some such purpose
we ascribe to it, is evidently prevalent in the East.
Bey, of Constantinople, writes of this chest: "De-
the Aryans in the sanctuary of the first pyramid, as
their standard metric system."
t functions of the pyramid were evidently still more
The sun's rays, obstructed by its sides and apex, cast
the sandy plain, which, as they wax and wane, indi-

cate the hours of the day. The plain of Gish formed dial, superior to the small metallic one proportionately t here the heavenly bodies record their own history, and their own charts. Astronomy, indeed, played no sma the building of the pyramid; through the long incline the north-star was seen in 1817 at the period of its cul a fact which excited great interest, and led to the infe the polar star occupied the same position when the py built: calculations were made, and it was found that, t present polar star could not have been visible, owing t cession of equinoxes, the star *a Draconis*, which must the polar star four thousand years ago, would have oc same position. The builders of the pyramid appear, not only to have fixed its orientation from this observa star, but to have intended the passage itself to be an o whence accurate astronomical calculations could be need not add that they must have been learned in astr base such practical operations upon that science.

Here, then, we have the standard measurement of pacity, length, time, the practical uses of astronomy, an ful facilities for making observations and correct c in that science, all preserved in one building four years ago, by a people who, to arrive at such wonderfu of result, must have long been versed and preëminent i tific knowledge (for we cannot bring ourselves to beli sudden divine revelation of this knowledge which r us can only be acquired by, and was only intended by nipotent to reward, the thought, wisdom, and patien of generations). "Wise in all the learning of the E was an expression in the days of Moses and of Sol to-day find that we are *not* wise in all the learning of tians, that our knowledge is often infinitely inferior that we are unable even justly to measure and calc work. Can we believe that the scientific results a dences we have recorded are accidental? Or, admi were planned, that a polished people like the Egypti have expended such vast labor, research, and learning, a tomb or sarcophagus for some real or unborn per answer: No! the Great Pyramid was never intended purpose; an ignorant people was incapable of plannin

learned people superior to the task of rearing it for any other than national objects.

Could the builders of this proud monument of a nation's glory have looked with prophetic eye, down the dark vista of time, to that fearful day that witnessed the destruction of the Alexandrian Library—beheld the genius of unnumbered ages consigned to the flames—above all, had they foreseen that an ignorant people should arise and fill the earth, who in affected wisdom, pointing to this august structure of other days, should attribute to its founders objects or motives incompatible with true greatness, their efforts might have ceased, their arms have been paralyzed.

Long might we linger, did space permit, among the architectural monuments of Egypt, her temples, obelisks, sphinxes, and colossal statues—volumes could not exhaust the subject; but we must leave this land of mystery, and leaving it we arrive naturally at its offspring, Greece. Cadmus and Moses left Egypt nearly simultaneously,[6] the one migrating to Greece, the other to Judea; the former introduced into his new country much of the learning and many of the customs of the father-land.

The three orders of architecture, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, are generally declared of Grecian birth; the first two must, however, be excepted, for the Doric column bears strong evidences of Egyptian extraction, and an Ionic column was found amid the ruins of Nineveh, others on the banks of the Tigris; so that this order is proved to be of Asiatic origin. Another style, said to be invented by the Greeks to perpetuate the humiliation

[6] Diodorus Siculus *who wrote in the first century* B. C., *gives the following account of and reasons for the Exodus of Cadmus and Moses:* "There having arisen in former days a pestiferous disease in Egypt, the multitude attributed the cause of the evil to the Deity; for a very great concourse of foreigners of every nation then dwelt in Egypt, who were addicted to strange rites in their worship and sacrifices: whence the natives of the land inferred that, unless they removed them, there would never be an end to their distresses. They immediately, therefore, expelled these foreigners; the most illustrious and able of whom passed over in a body (as some say) into Greece and other places, under the conduct of celebrated leaders, of whom the most renowned were Danaus and Cadmus. But a large body of the people went forth into the country which is now called Judea, situated not far distant from Egypt, being altogether desert in those times. The leader of this colony was Moses, a man very remarkable for his great wisdom and valor. When he had taken possession of the land, among other cities he founded that which is called Jerusalem, which is now the most celebrated."—(Diod., lib. xl.)

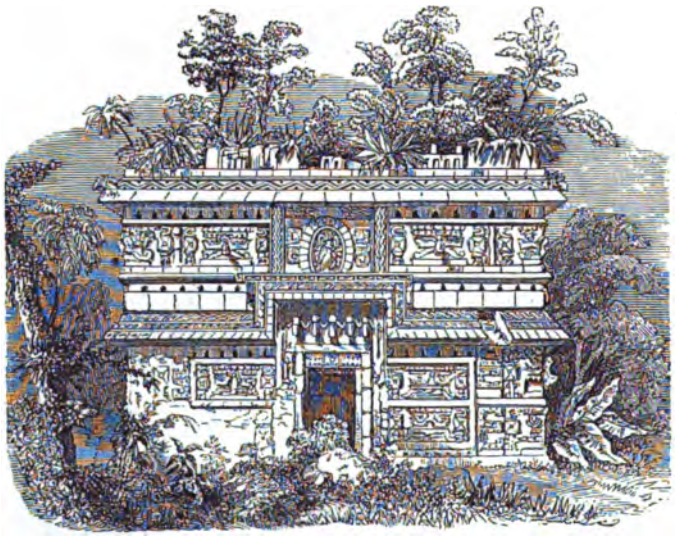
of some of their captives, the caryatid, or supporting figure, taking the place of a column, is also found in several Egyptian temples; the only order, therefore, of pure Greek extraction is the Corinthian.

The Pandroseum, with its caryatids; the ancient Temple of Corinth; the Sysipheum, which Strabo speaks of as in ruins; the magnificent Temple of Minerva at Athens, the oldest Grecian edifice, perhaps, whose remains permit us to form an adequate idea of the grandeur and beauty of the perfect whole—these and many others, amid the picturesque mountains and valleys of Greece, recall to us the days of her glory, when Phidias, Scopas, and Praxiteles, wrought their exquisite handiwork, when all that was noble, learned, and beautiful, was found within her shores. Few will be the readers who are not familiar with the names, at least, of her monuments, and, thanks to her exquisite works of art, which are yet unrivaled, as also to the rich inheritance of literature and science she has handed down to us, the civilization of this country is not often questioned.

Greece in turn bequeathed civilization to Rome, which is also rich in monuments, better known and more modern than those of the former; what need to dwell on the grandeur of the Coliseum, the Pantheon, the glorious Column of Trajan, the Arches of Titus and Constantine, or to describe the remnants of palaces and temples, the ruins of the Forum, the Capitol, amid which Gibbon resolved to write his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire?" These are so often depicted with pen and pencil as to be familiar to nearly all.

These two lands, Greece and Italy, contain the greater part of ancient architecture to be found in Europe. Other countries, indeed, possess scattered and isolated fragments, but to find an accumulation of ruins which denote the existence of a civilized people ages ago, we must traverse the ocean; to find remnants of cities that were old when Greece was in its infancy, we must come to the NEW WORLD! The reader will here imagine, no doubt, that allusion is made to the Aztec civilization of Mexico, which Prescott depicts in such glowing colors; but, while admiring the research and perseverance displayed by that eloquent writer, we regret that the "authorities" which he quotes, and which would be beyond refutation had the stories of the Spanish Conquest deserved the name of history, were in reality but one mass of fiction, owing

to the despotic empire exercised by the Church and its desire to make all redound to its glory, as also to the self-glorification of the chief actors in the scene, who were their own historians, and not unwilling to play the part of conquerors of a civilized and warlike nation. The Spaniards, at the time of the Mexican Conquest, had but just emerged from their wars with the Moors or Arabs, a people who had inherited from the East art, wealth, and learning, as well as a poetic and fiery imagination, and a taste for gorgeous display; who had enriched Spain beyond measure, built the Alhambra and embellished Granada, and who in most arts and sciences were superior to their conquerors. The adventurers

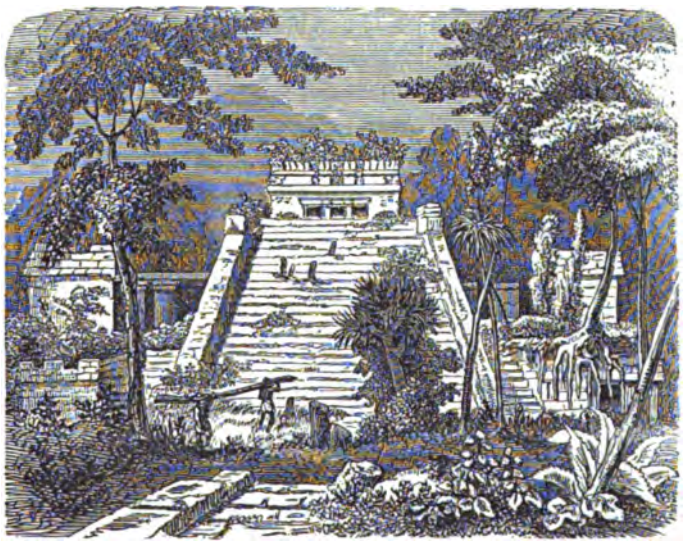


Ruins in Central America.

who reached Mexico were not willing to assume a secondary position to the heroes of the Moorish wars, they therefore depicted the primitive Indian of the forest in colors of Oriental splendor, and magnified their own exploits to the greatness of those of the Cid.

No blame attaches to Mr. Prescott, who, resting in good faith upon a "weight of authority" which is in reality but a fiction, the work of fraud, bigotry, and vain ambition, transmits to us those splendid fables. That they are fables there can be little doubt; no vestiges of past grandeur appear in those places where the splendid towns described by Cortez and his contemporaries

are said to have been situated, and where towns of the same name still stand; no remains of stately palaces, basins carved in solid rock, gardens, and strong walls, are to be found on the site of the fabulous city of Tezcuco; had these wonders existed there must surely have remained some traces; even had the stones been taken to build the present town, they would still be recognizable, but this is built of *adobe* or dried mud-bricks, and there are no signs of its ever having been otherwise; so with Mexico, so with Tacuba. Furthermore, the Indian of the present day does not recognize or appear to have any knowledge of the ancient ruins in Central America; it is well known that the traditional history of the Indian is handed down with almost as much accuracy as



RUINS IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

our own written records, and descends unvaried from father to son; if, therefore, their race had ever reached any thing like the civilization attributed to the Aztecs, some remembrance of its past glories would still be preserved among its descendants.

The fine carving of the ruins in Yucatan and elsewhere in Central America appears to have been executed in the same manner as in Egypt; the tools used in the latter country were, we know, of bronze or copper, hardened by some process unknown to our time; the arrow-heads and hatchets of the Indians

were of sharpened stone or flint. Is it likely that their race could once have possessed the art of forging and hardening metals to such perfection as the workmanship on the ruins in question denotes, and then become totally ignorant of that art? These ruins appear, indeed, throughout, of Egyptian, Phœnician, or perhaps Asiatic origin, and show signs of great wealth having been expended upon them. Some of the cities are declared to be as large as Thebes. We find among them the Egyptian square column with its carved hieroglyphics. All the ornaments, images, and vessels which have been found, bear the unmistakable Egyptian type, notably the statue found at Palenque, which is inscribed in hieroglyphics at the base, and holds in its hand an indented ornament, supposed by some to be the mural crown of the Phœnician Hercules. The statues and carvings are all colored. Fine specimens of painting are found, showing this unknown people to have been further advanced in this art than in that of sculpture. The flesh-tints are of that peculiar red-brown which the Egyptians always used. Another notable Egyptian feature is the pyramidal form of building. True, the Mexican pyramids are truncated, bearing on their summits palaces or temples, nevertheless, this peculiar style of architecture is common to Egypt and Central America. The pyramid at Copan is almost equal in size at the base to the Great Pyramid, though less perfect in proportion and workmanship; that on which stands the palace at Palenque even bears traces of having been covered with polished stones similar to the casing-stones of the Great Pyramid. The pyramidal gate-ways of Egypt also appear to have existed in America. Specimens are found at Copan. The serpent, which is carved on the tomb of Pharaoh Necho, and which is one of the chief emblems of the Egyptians, forms one of the principal features of adornment in the Nuns' Hall at Uxmal. A copper coin found at Palenque was impressed with the same emblem.

The Spaniards, finding a square stone or altar, on which were beautifully-carved figures of warriors leading captives by the hair, immediately declared this to be a representation of human sacrifice, and termed the altar "the sacrificial stone," as having been consecrated to this loathsome rite. We believe, however, that the Spaniards, themselves under the power of priestcraft, were too ready to give every emblem, statue, or hieroglyphic, a religious meaning, and were too apt to interpret that

meaning to the detriment of the unfortunate Aztecs. The latter were probably as innocent of the crime of human sacrifice as they were of having erected the stone in question, which is a remnant of the long-extinguished race that first peopled America, raised by them, no doubt, to commemorate their victories. Kenrick describes a similar stone as existing in one of the temples of the Upper Nile, on which appears a king "holding a number of captives by the hair, who stretch their hands out toward him in an attitude of supplication, while he threatens to strike them with a hatchet."[6]

We might multiply, *ad infinitum*, the points of resemblance between the ancient ruins of America and those of Egypt, a resemblance which can scarcely be considered accidental, as it comprises the history of the habits, customs, and worship of a people. This resemblance we can record as an incontestable fact, but discoveries have hitherto been too limited to admit of any thing but surmise in accounting for it. The ruins in America are in a more advanced state of decay than those of Egypt—shall we therefore believe that here was the parent race, the birthplace of Egyptian art? that the Asiatic nation which gave civilization to Egypt had previously spread itself eastward to this continent?[7] or shall we rather believe that the Phœnicians, when they flourished at Tartessus or Tarshish (the present Cadiz), trading with, perhaps colonizing, the British Islands, extended their voyages as far as America, and colonized the latter, whose ancient monuments mark the decadence of Egyptian art?

Be this as it may, the Spaniards in 1492, the Northmen five hundred years previously, were not the first to establish a connecting link between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres; thousands of years before their time, a people had risen, in what is now termed the New World, to a civilization similar if not equal to that of Egypt. This civilization flourished evidently during many hundred years, as the many inland cities of which remains are visible testify. These must have taken centuries to arrive at such dimensions, and prove that inland home commerce existed, sufficient for the support of millions. This, then, was no sea-coast colony of rapid growth and extinction, but a nation that

[6] Kenrick, vol. i., p. 8.

[7] In our own day Japanese junks have drifted uncontrolled from the shores of that island to those of Alaska and California. Some such accident may have revealed to the Asiatics the so-called *New* World, thousands of years ago.

slowly and steadily increased in numbers and wealth, how many thousand years ago we know not; but this we know, that trees more than a thousand years old have been found growing on the ruins in Central America, which could only have commenced growth many years after the buildings had fallen into decay.

How this people became extinct is yet a mystery. Was it some internal war? some fell disease or black death? or, more

Tomb of Sesostris.

likely, did savage tribes overcome and destroy them, as barbarism seems ever to destroy civilization? These are questions yet unanswered. Future discoveries, perhaps, of other ruins, in a better state of preservation, may throw greater light on the subject. All we are able now to do is, to travel amazedly through these ruins. Here, indeed, History, to our eager query, "Who hath builded them?" mumbleth something, but what it is we hear not.

CHAPTER II.

ASTRONOMY, GEOGRAPHY, NAVIGATION, LEARNING, AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

As well might we attempt to determine the antiquity of intellectual man as to fix the age of astronomy. That it is almost coeval with humanity we may, however, reasonably infer, for it is not curiosity, or even a love of science, but the dictates of necessity which impel us to its study: by it the seasons are determined, the proper dates fixed for civil and religious affairs, the favorable periods for voyages on the vast ocean ascertained. Without it there would be no possibility of fixed rules and regulations; thus is astronomy indispensable to agriculture, politics, and religion. In tracing back its history, the most we can do is, to observe the ancient landmarks, and note the early fragments which have come down to us bearing upon the subject. These are sufficient to show that at a very early age mankind had reached such proficiency in that science as to render it probable that their knowledge was as complete as that of the present day.

The Hebrew historian claims for his people the honor of having first studied the heavens; but the Hindoos, according to their own record, are the most ancient astronomers of whom we have knowledge. They computed eclipses 3102 years B. C., and, as their calculations at this early period represent the state of the heavens with astonishing accuracy, and appear upon examination to be even more correct than those they subsequently made, it is evident they were the result of actual observation. It was the Hindoos who for greater facility of calculation invented the ten numeral figures which the Arabs introduced into Spain, and which have now superseded the old Roman method of computing by means of the letters of the alphabet.

India, then, as far as we can trace back, appears to have been the cradle of astronomy. She spread her knowledge eastward to China and Japan, westward to Chaldea and Egypt, who in turn bequeathed it to Phœnicia and Greece. Learned men of these lands appear to have determined the motion and volume of the stars, the constellations were named in writings both sacred and profane, the signs of the zodiac fixed many centuries anterior to our era. One of the learned men of our day, who for forty years labored to decipher the hieroglyphics of the ancients, found upon a coffin or Egyptian mummy-case (now in the British Museum) a delineation of the signs of the zodiac and the position of the planets; the date to which they pointed was the autumnal equinox of the year 1722 B. C. Prof. Mitchell, to whom the fact was communicated, employed his assistants to ascertain the exact position of the heavenly bodies belonging to our solar system on the equinox of that year. This was done, and a diagram furnished by parties ignorant of his object, which showed that on the 7th of October, 1722 B. C., the moon and planets occupied the exact points in the heavens marked upon the coffin in the British Museum.

The Egyptians had, we have already shown, a most perfect knowledge of astronomy, and applied that science to such practical uses that a knowledge of it must have been common to all. Mathematics and geometry are said to have had their birth with them. Diodorus writes:

"They pay great attention to geometry and arithmetic. For the river, changing the appearance of the country very materially every year, causes many and various discussions among neighboring proprietors, about the extent of their property; and it would be difficult for any person to decide upon their claims without geometrical proof founded on actual observation; of arithmetic they have also frequent use, both in their domestic economy and in the application of geometrical theorems, besides its utility in the cultivation of astronomical studies; for the orders and motions of the stars are observed at least as industriously by the Egyptians as by any other people whatever; and they keep a record of the motions of each for an incredible number of years, the study of this science having been, from the remotest times, an object of national ambition with them.

"They have also most punctually observed the motions,

periods, and actions of the planets . . . . and not uncommonly predict the failure of crops, or an abundance, and the occurrence of epidemic diseases among men and beasts; foreseeing also earthquakes and floods, the appearance of comets, and a variety of other things which appear impossible to the multitude."

The most ancient astronomer of Greece, Thales, acquired much of his great learning in Egypt. Six hundred years before Christ he computed the diameter of the sun, and is said to have predicted that memorable eclipse which on the 30th of September, 610 B. C., stayed the effusion of blood and caused an armistice between the Medes and Libyans. Pythagoras, one of his disciples, taught the principles of our solar system, also that the moon reflected the sun's rays, and described accurately the nature of comets. He is said to have been the first to observe that Venus is alternately the evening and the morning star. Eratosthenes measured the diameter of the earth, 200 B. C., by an arc of the meridian, which is the means now employed. Epicurus speaks incidentally as a matter of course, of "the world turning as it does round the axis of the heavens, and that too with surprising rapidity." But the work of the ancients which may be called the most complete that has come down to us is that of Claudius Ptolemy, well named the Prince of Astronomers. In the second century of our era he wrote at Alexandria his admirable works. He determined the latitude and longitude of more than four thousand places, and gives the history of ancient astronomy, with an elaborate list of the stars as known to him and older astronomers. The term "colossal," given by the great Humboldt to the work of Ptolemy on geography, applies as well to his astronomical labors. Beroseus[8] repeats the following Babylonian tradition, which, whatever may be thought of it as a theory, shows what study and calculation were expended by the ancients on these matters: he maintains that all terrestrial things will be consumed when the planets which now are traversing their different courses shall all coincide in the sign of Cancer, and be so placed that a straight line could pass directly through all their orbs; but the inundation will take place when the same conjunction shall occur in Capricorn. In the first is

[8] Beroseus, or Berosus, lived in the fourth century B. C., and was the contemporary of Alexander the Great. His works are quoted by Josephus, by Alexander Polyhistor, who wrote in the second century B. C., by Eusebius, and others.

the summer, in the last the winter of the year. The great year of Aristotle is that in which the planets, in completing their course, return to the sign from which they originally started together when God set them in motion; in the winter of this year comes the deluge, its summer brings the conflagration of the world. This periodical revolution or conjunction is fixed by Orpheus at one hundred and twenty thousand years, and by Copandras at one hundred and thirty-six thousand. Other writers contend that the heavenly bodies shall no more coincide in their original positions.

No science seems to have been held by the ancients in such veneration as the noble one which lifts men above the petty strife and turmoil of the world, causing them to contemplate the immense expanse of the heavens and numberless stars. Among all the splendors of the Persian Chosroes, the most magnificent was perhaps a dome supported by a forest of forty thousand columns, which was adorned with one thousand globes of gold, imitating the motions of the planets and constellations of the zodiac:

> "'Twas thus he taught the fabric of the spheres,
> The changeful moon, the circuit of the stars,
> The golden zones of heaven."

Many of the proudest achievements of the ancients, both in art and letters, have been lost, mutilated, or so falsified that it is difficult to form a just idea of the original. Notwithstanding these disadvantages under which they must labor, enough remains to prove that they had arrived at many just conclusions touching astronomy, and the form and size of our planet, so that, from the days of Nimrod to our own, the ignorant only can have believed the earth to be other than spherical, the ridiculous story touching Columbus and the sages of Salamanca to the contrary notwithstanding. If this knowledge was attained without the aids of which we boast, their achievements should be regarded as more wonderful than ours. It may, however, be as well to conclude that, as in all ages human nature has under the same circumstances been about the same, an equal amount of learning, thought, and similar instruments, have ever been employed; in short, that there is no new thing under the sun, and that "wisdom shall not die with us."*

* It is generally believed that Galileo was persecuted by the Church, and tortured by the Inquisition, on account of discoveries made by him in astronomy. In this be-

The attainments of the ancients in astronomy are less often contested than their knowledge of geography, in which they are represented as decidedly deficient; nevertheless, with the aid of those fragments of their writings which have come down to us, we are able in great measure to refute the charge. Certainly interest and enterprise were as nearly connected and as great as at the present day. The huge ships propelled by sails, with hundreds of oarsmen to take the place of the latter during calms or adverse winds, guided by the magnetic needle (their knowledge of which we shall presently prove), afforded even greater advantages than modern sailing-ships. Pharaoh Necho sent out a formidable exploring expedition, about 600 B. C., manned by Phœnicians, which, descending the Red Sea and circumnavigating Africa, reached the Pillars of Hercules in the third year and returned to Egypt by the Mediterranean, thus performing at that early period the voyage, in an inverse direction, for which Vasco de Gama, two thousand years later, became so renowned, with the additional navigation of the Mediterranean and Red Seas. Herodotus is disposed to discredit the accounts of this voyage, for the best reason that could well be given to establish their veracity: that is, he writes that the Phœnicians asserted that during a portion of their voyage the sun was in the north.

A gentleman of our day, who, after seven years' study, travel, and observation, finds the sources of the Nile to be the several lakes mentioned by Ptolemy, and corresponding in number, form, size, and location, with the description of the latter, is thought worthy of knighthood, and hailed with triumph by his learned brethren. If these honors are to be paid to one who has sufficiently informed himself to enable him to indorse the correctness of

lief we do not fully concur. Books much older than Galileo were then preserved at Rome and Pisa, containing those very theories for which it is alleged this Pisan was persecuted; these records have come down to our time. It is more just and reasonable to suppose that he and his books were condemned by the Inquisition on account of an attack made upon that body in the preface of a book for the publication of which he had obtained a license from the holy office, as is alleged, by deception or falsehood. Would the Church destroy his book for affirming that the earth revolved round the sun in little more than three hundred and sixty-five days, while carefully preserving the writings of the ancients in which they proclaim the same doctrines? We would not here defend the Inquisition, or justify the tyranny of the Church; yet, let it be remembered that Pope Urban VIII. granted an annual pension of one hundred crowns for the support of Galileo in the evening of his days, and one of sixty crowns to his son.

Ptolemy, what honors should we not pay to the memory of the great geographer of seventeen hundred years ago?

The question, however, touching the geographical knowledge of the ancients which most interests us in the present work is: Were they or were they not ignorant of the existence of the Western Hemisphere? Without reverting to what we have said in the preceding chapter touching the resemblance between the ruins of Central America and of Egypt, in accounting for which we can only have recourse to hypothesis, we may rest upon a sure foundation our belief that they were not. Although most writers on the discovery of America, and extravagant eulogists of Columbus, affect either utterly to ignore, or to regard as fables, the allusions in ancient writings to a land which can be no other than that which we now call the New World, those who assisted Columbus in his undertaking and instructed him in the course he was to pursue, were actuated and inspired mainly by these allusions. Columbus himself, seeking to give a learned air to his enterprise, and to draw attention from the real source whence he derived his knowledge, dwells largely upon these ancient fragments, as does also his son.[10]

We will not multiply quotations, but will content ourselves with the following from Plato, which so accurately describes the situation of America that the reader must indeed be obstinate who will not believe that he described a country which had been known, and did not marvelously imagine one which should coincide so well with the situation of the real continent:

"That sea" (the Atlantic) "was then navigable, and had an island fronting that mouth which you in your tongue call the Pillars of Hercules .... *and there was a passage hence to the rest of the islands, as well as from these islands to the whole opposite continent that surrounds that real sea* .... the Atlantic Island itself was plunged beneath the sea, and entirely disappeared; whence even now that sea is neither navigable nor to be traced out, being blocked up by the great depth of mud which the subsiding island produced."[11]

We cannot conceive, when we observe the character of the writings of Plato, that he could have any object in deceiving or misleading his readers. A disciple of the sublime Socrates, his aim

[10] *See* Fernando Columbus's "History of the Admiral," chapters vi., vii., viii., ix., x.
[11] Plato, "The Timæus," Davis's translation.

was to elevate and instruct mankind. With regard to the "great island" of which he speaks, we see no reason to term it the "*fabled* island of Atlantis," as do most authors. Wonderful submersions and convulsions have in our own day changed the aspect of coasts. The groups of islands east of the West Indies may be remains of one vast island; their broken nature renders this hypothesis probable. Why should we not, observing the correctness of the greater part of the above description, accept the whole as truthful, instead of rejecting the whole as a fable because one part records an event which, though wonderful, is by no means impossible? If this great island were submerged it must have taken years before the sea became navigable; by that time men had ceased to consider it as such, and, drawn toward other interests and pursuits, had abandoned or forgotten the "islands and the whole opposite continent which surrounds that real sea," which could have been none other than the West Indies and the Continent of America. It is not probable that the learned, or even ordinarily educated, ever became totally ignorant or oblivious of the existence of this continent, while a convulsion so terrible as must have been the one recorded by Plato would have deeply impressed the masses, whose vague and traditional accounts of the event may have given rise to those legends respecting the horrors pervading "*the shadowy*" or "*gloomy* ocean" which are said to have been prevalent in the time of Columbus.

Why should we wonder that the allusions to the Western Hemisphere are so vague, or be so assured that Atlantis was a fable? were not Herculaneum and Pompeii lost for more than a thousand years, their existence forgotten, and those authors mentioning them accused of inventing fables to mislead the ignorant? Yet after all those years an accident revealed to astonished modern times the "fabulous cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii," and with them the habits and customs in their minutest details of a people who had been thus buried in the midst of the affairs of daily life, by the flood of molten lava and fiery shower of ashes, and who are proved to have rivaled, if not excelled, us in all the refinements of civilization. The hardened lava can be hewn asunder, the ashes swept away, but none can roll back the mighty ocean, nor disclose what its waves conceal; this must remain till the day when the sea shall give up its dead.

Nothing more fully proves the advanced stage of civilization

in the earliest ages, than the extensive commerce which was carried on. In the infancy of nations and peoples, the desire for the acquisition of property is indeed implanted in the breast of man, but this desire cannot develop into commerce till the nation is wealthy and populous. In the days of the Hebrew patriarchs, he who first sat down at a spring, or reposed in the grateful shade of a tree, acquired a right to possess the same, which was respected by subsequent visitors. Abraham exclaims to Lot, when their flocks have become so numerous as to render a separation necessary:

"Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere .... even as the garden of the Lord .... Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; .... and Abraham dwelled in the land of Canaan."

We are not, however, to suppose that all nations were thus primitive in the days of the Patriarch. As well might it be maintained that the world is at present sparsely populated because there are vast regions in America where a citizen may acquire an ample homestead simply by a residence of a few years on the spot of his choice. Trade and commerce were already well systematized. Gold and silver, in exchange for wares, had taken the place of barter, at the time of which we speak. Abraham paid four hundred shekels of silver, such as were current with the merchant, for the cave of Machpelah; and Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelitish merchants, who were on their way to Egypt with spices and perfumes, for twenty pieces of silver.

An extensive commerce was carried on by the Phœnicians, the earliest merchants of antiquity of whom we have knowledge. To their great mart, Tyre, the merchants of every nation brought their choicest goods. The beauteous slaves of Greece, soft linen, purple dyes and silks of Syria, embroideries of Egypt, perfumes of Arabia, horses and horsemen, mules, wheat, honey, balm, iron, gold, silver, precious stones, even tin from Cornwall, all found ready sale in the vast markets of "the crowned city whose merchants were princes." [12]

[12] No more glowing description of the commercial greatness of a city can be imagined than that in which Ezekiel (chapter xxvii.) enumerates the many peoples who traded with Tyre.

Carthage and Alexandria rivaled and succeeded Tyre as the great commercial marts of the world. Arabia Felix, when that country was the medium through which passed the commerce between Egypt and India, seemed to concentrate the wealth of the world within its borders. The doors of the dwellings were of ivory studded with rich jewels; the pillars glistened with gold and silver; aromatic woods were burned to cook food; and so cloyed with rich perfumes were the inhabitants of this happy land that we are told they burned pitch and goat's-hair under their noses to stimulate their sense of smell. Among the many castes into which the people of India were from the earliest ages divided, merchants are distinctly mentioned, so that we may conclude that trade was established in that country from the remotest periods.

The staple articles of commerce with the ancients do not seem to have greatly varied from those of the present day, they consisted of rich silks, precious stones, and metals, linens, slaves, ivory, ebony, purple dyes, spices, wines, horses, mules, sugar, wheat, honey, fans from China, carved images, flint-glass, etc. This vast commerce can scarcely have existed without carrying the science of navigation to a very advanced state. The Phœnicians, there is no doubt, navigated all the known seas and very probably crossed the Atlantic.[13] The voyage of the Carthaginian Hanno, about six hundred years before Christ, a curious record of which was found suspended in the Temple of Saturn at Carthage, and the expedition of Pharaoh Necho before mentioned, are the earliest great enterprises in navigation which have come down to us.

The "Periplus" of Hanno is apparently an official document recording a voyage of discovery which the Carthaginians decreed should be made with a view to establishing Liby-phœnician colonies. Modern writers have not been wanting who, seeking to cast doubt upon the authenticity of the "Periplus," would detract from the knowledge and enterpriseof antiquity. Falconer has, however, ably refuted these aspersions; and, as the descriptions given by Hanno correspond to the aspect of the shores which he

[13] In the tomb of Rameses the Great is a representation of a naval combat between the Egyptians and some other people, supposed to be the Phœnicians, whose huge ships are propelled by sails. In these, guided by their stone of Hercules, or mariner's compass, they were enabled boldly to leave the coast.

declares to have coasted, we may regard the fact as established that, six hundred years before our era, a voyage of discovery was made, which was worthier in its objects than that of Columbus.

It is not possible that the art of ship-building should have reached such perfection as it undoubtedly did in early times, had not navigation been extensive enough to demand such perfection. The dimensions of the most ancient vessel on record, the ark of Noah, three hundred cubits long, fifty broad and thirty high, are almost precisely the same as those of the fastest vessels of the present day, which are three hundred and twenty-two feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-eight and a half in height. The ships of the Egyptians were often upon a most magnificent scale. The fleet with which Sesostris conquered all the countries adjacent to the Red Sea is described in ancient Egyptian chronicles to have been composed of four hundred large vessels.[14] That which Alexander ordered to be constructed on the banks of the Hydaspes, one thousand miles inland, was of one thousand ships; with these he descended the Indus, and, on reaching the ocean, sailed to the Persian Gulf. The Indians seem to have had large fleets.[15] Archimedes superintended the building of a ship for Hiero of Syracuse which surpassed in magnificence any thing of which we read. The wood which would have built fifty ordinary galleys was expended in its construction. It contained galleries, gardens, stables, fish-ponds, mills, baths, an engine to throw stones three hundred pounds in weight, and arrows twelve yards long. Its floors were inlaid with scenes from Homer's "Iliad." A temple of Venus was also among the wonders it contained.

The famous voyage of St. Paul to Rome was effected in three vessels. In the first, no doubt a small coasting one, he went from Cesarea to Myra, where he went on board an Alexandrian corn-ship, which was wrecked off the cost of Malta; this ship contained a cargo of wheat, and two hundred and seventy persons, all of which were carried by another Alexandrian corn-ship, besides its own crew and cargo, by Syracuse and Rhegium, to Puteoli. Now, as it is usual to allow a ton and a half per man in

[14] Diodorus Siculus, "Canon of the Kings of Egypt."

[15] Diodorus Siculus relates that four thousand ships opposed the invasion of Semiramis into India.

transport-ships, it will be safe to conclude that the average ancient merchant-ships ranged from five hundred to a thousand tons burden. The vessel in which the great obelisk of the Vatican was transported to Rome carried eleven hundred tons of pulse as ballast, besides the obelisk, which weighed fifteen hundred tons.

Nor did the ships of the ancients lack many so-called modern improvements. The chain-cable, which we have seen patented in our own day, was well known to the Venitii, whose galleys are thus described by Julius Cæsar:

"Their bottoms were somewhat flatter than ours, the better to adapt themselves to the shallows, and sustain without danger the regress of the tides. Their prows were very high and erect, as likewise their sterns, to bear the hugeness of the billows and the violence of tempests. The body of the vessel was entirely of oak, to stand the shocks and assaults of that tempestuous ocean. The benches of the rowers were made of strong beams of about a foot in breadth, and fastened with iron nails an inch thick. *Instead of cables, they secured their anchors with chains of iron.*"

A Roman vessel of the time of Trajan had been sunk in the Lake Ricciola; it was raised after more than thirteen hundred years, and found to be in a good state of preservation; the planks were of cypress and pine, calked with linen rags, and covered with Greek pitch; the outside was covered with sheets of lead fastened with small copper nails. So the idea of metal sheeting is no more modern than that of the chain-cable.

All this, it will be argued, were useless to sail across a vast expanse of water, without a knowledge of the magnet, the magnetized needle, or mariner's compass.

The invention of the compass is commonly attributed to a pilot of Amalfi.[16] His name, and the date of so memorable an event, are alike misty and uncertain. In our time he is known

[16] The Amalfitans boasted their descent from Roman citizens sent to Byzantium by Constantine the Great, and who, after shipwreck on the way, established themselves at Melfi, the name of which they transferred to their new city built on the shores of the Gulf of Salerno, on the spot where Pæstum formerly flourished. In the ninth century, the republic of Amalfi was already the mistress of the commerce of the Levant, and her maritime code was adopted throughout the Mediterranean and Ionian Seas, as was formerly that of Rhodes. Sicilians, Arabs, Africans, Indians even, frequented her mart to exchange their respective products. Her *tari* were the most approved circulation throughout the Levant until the Venetian *ducat* prevailed.

as Flavio Gioia, but writers nearer to his own day call him Giri and Gira, and give him the Christian name Giovane. In like manner, the year 1302 has been selected for the discovery, out of a number of dates to which it is assigned in the older authors. The particulars of the man's history are unknown, nor is there a scrap of historical evidence that he either discovered or even improved the mariner's compass. On tracing to its origin a story so generally received, reiterated as it is in most books of reference, and accepted in Italy as an article of the national creed, we find the authority for it lost in tradition and guesswork. The celebrated Antony Panormita, one of the great poets of the fifteenth century and secretary of Alphonso, King of Naples, has embalmed in verse the tradition of the discovery at Amalfi:

> "First Amalfi gave to seamen the use of the magnet."

And elsewhere:

> "Of the magnet, Amalfi
> Boasts the noble discovery."

In more recent times this story has been received by local writers, who, indulging a lively fancy, have appeared to see in the arms of Amalfi the heraldic symbol of the mariner's compass, and have thereupon alleged that the city did in fact take the compass for its arms, to perpetuate the memory of its invention by the citizen Giovane Gira or Giri, or Flavio Gioia. It is not improbable that the sign of the compass which still remains over the door of a certain dwelling in that renowned seaport originally suggested the tradition, and may have served to commemorate a famous nautical instrument-maker who had made some improvement in the indications of the points of the compass and in the suspension of the magnetic needle.

Notwithstanding this absence of all historic testimony, our students' guides and Italian patriotism[11] cleave to a story which will not bear serious examination. For there is a cloud of witnesses that long before the era of Gioia the compass was in familiar use in Europe, and that in the East the knowledge of the

[11] In the naval action off Lissa, in July, 1866, the first hostile encounter of iron-clad fleets in the world's history, the Flavio Gioia and Christoforo Colombo figured as dispatch-boats on the Italian side.

polarity of the magnet, and its application to traveling by sea and land, were of immemorial antiquity.

The first notice of the compass in European literature appears in the accounts of the voyages of the Northmen. "The Landnamabok" has this passage in the second chapter of the first volume:

"Floke Vilgedarson set out about the year 868 from Rogaland in Norway to rediscover Iceland. He took with him three ravens to act as guides. It was the custom of our ancestors when looking out for land to let fly these birds. If they returned to the ship, it was presumed they were still far from land, but if they flew away they were watched, and the direction they had taken followed as a sure guide to land. To consecrate the ravens to this use, Floke offered a great sacrifice at Smörsund, where his vessel was at anchor. For at that time the navigators of Scandinavia did not make use of the loadstone."

This was written about the year 1075, and, though the last clause is not absolutely correct, as we shall presently see, it yet proves that the polarity of the magnet and its use in navigation were by that time, at any rate, perfectly familiar to the Northmen.

A century later, in the year 1190, the use of the magnet at sea is used as a simile in a French satirical poem—a proof that it could not even at that date have been recently invented, but was notorious and familiar to all. The title of the poem is "La Bible," the author was Guyot de Provins. The writer, after having declaimed against every state, proceeds to attack the court of Rome. The pope, according to him, should be what the polar star is to the mariner, the one conspicuous, fixed, unchanging, infallible guide. In natural connection with this, he goes on to speak of the magnet, the loving-stone which reveals the place of the Tresmontaigne when clouds and mist obscure it. But we will, as nearly as we can render it in English, give the entire passage:

"Would that our Holy Father the pope
Resembled th' immovable star.
Very clearly they see it—
The mariners, they trust to its ray:
By that star they go out and home,
They hold on their way with all calm.

It is known as the Tresmontaigne,
It is fixed, central, and certain.
While others shoot, wander, revolve,
This star is the centre of all.
The seaman knows an art that can't deceive:
The compass[18] is his sacred oracle.
The potent charm of the magnet
(A stone dark and ugly in look,
Yet to it iron fondly adheres),
Gives its impulse to the needle
Which then, cased, and freely suspended,
Set in movement unhindered,
True and certain points to that star.
The sky with sea in mist confused,
No moon or constellation to be seen,
The needle's lighted up without delay:
The sailor has no fear of going astray,
To th' invisible star points the faithful iron,
And on the trackless deep his way is sure.
Unchanging, central, bright, that star,
Such surely should our Holy Father be."

Another notice of the compass is found in the "History of the East and West" by the Cardinal Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Tusculum and Ptolemais, a legate of the pope in the fourth Crusade and in the army of Montfort against the Albigenses, A. D. 1204–1210. He calls the magnet *adamas* (English adamant), a name very much in vogue in the middle ages, in lieu of *magnes* (magnet). The passage in question is this:

"The magnet (*adamas*) is found in India. It attracts iron, by some hidden quality. The iron needle, after it has touched the magnet, always turns toward the north-star, which does not move, as if it were the centre of the firmament, the other stars revolving around it. Wherefore the magnet is very necessary to navigators at sea." [19]

It is evident that it is not a new discovery that is here described a century before Gioia's reputed discovery, but an established usage, and an instrument necessary to mariners, the use of which was notorious.

Another conspicuous authority on the same point, in the thirteenth century, is Brunetto Latini, poet, philosopher, astrolo-

[18] *L'Amanière.* [19] "Historia Hierosolimitanæ," cap. 89.

ger, of Florence. He had the honor of instructing "the divine Dante," and foretold the glory of his pupil's genius. Having been banished from Florence with his party, the Guelphs—as was subsequently Dante himself, who was also sentenced to be burnt alive, and never dared return to his beloved home—Brunetto settled in France, where he wrote his "Trésor de Sapience," a sort of encyclopædia, in the Romance language. In this work, he makes mention of the loadstone and the magnetized needle, and, though the description is not altogether accurate, it admits of no doubt about the use of the needle in the navigation of the period:

"Take a magnet, that is calamite. You will find it has two faces, one lies toward the north pole, the other toward the south pole. Each of the faces draws the needle toward that pole to which that face is turned; and thereby mariners may be deceived if they are not on their guard."

Brunetto had before this paid a visit to England, and spent some time at Oxford with the illustrious monk, the greatest of mathematicians from Archimedes down, the chemist whose wonderful discoveries secured him ten years' incarceration as a magician, the marvel of his age—Roger Bacon. Brunetto, in a letter to his friend Guido Cavalcanti, also a celebrated poet of Florence, gives the following account of his visit to Oxford. We trust it will be found sufficiently interesting to justify our giving a translation of the whole letter:

"The Parliament being summoned to assemble at Oxford, I had an opportunity of visiting that famous school, of which you have heard so much—happily somewhat sooner than, from the nature of my avocations, I might have otherwise done.

"The English word *parliament* is said, by some learned men here, to be derived *quasi parium lamentum*, because the English barons (peers) at these meetings complain of the enormities of their country. But I am of opinion it is borrowed from our word *parleure* (speech), and *parleor* (an orator), as indeed there are a great many speakers, and often much virulent speech delivered in these assemblies.

"Our journey from London to Oxford was made in two days, not without difficulty and danger; for the roads are bad, and we had to climb hills of hazardous ascent, which to descend are equally perilous. We passed through many woods consid-

ered here as dangerous places, as they are infested with robbers; which indeed is the case with most roads in England. This is connived at by the neighboring barons, for the consideration of sharing the booty, and the robbers serving their protectors on all occasions, personally, and with the whole strength of their band. However, as our company was numerous, we had not much cause to tremble.

"Accordingly, the first night we arrived safely at Sherburn Castle, in the neighborhood of Watlington, under the chain of hills over which we passed at Stocquinchurque.

"This castle was built by the Earl of Tanquerville, one of the followers of the fortunes of William the Bastard of Normandy, who invaded England, and slew King Harold in a battle which decided the fate of this kingdom. As the barons are frequently embroiled in disputes and quarrels with the sovereign and with each other, they take the precaution of building strong castles with lofty towers and deep moats, with drawbridges, posterns, and portcullises. They also make a provision of victuals in case they happen to be besieged, so as to hold out for a considerable time. They have also a large collection of all arms and machines for defense.

"The country around Oxford is beautiful. The city is watered by the Cherwell and the Isis, or Ouse, which rivers wander over the land in many a wild meander. As I stood viewing these scenes from the surrounding hills, this thought occurred to me: 'Medicine and the useful arts are commendable pursuits. But a petty trade is considered ignoble; if it be large, and very productive, it benefits a large number without vanity, and is not to be lightly esteemed. No pursuit, however, is better than agriculture, more satisfactory or more worthy of a gentleman (*franc homo*).' Then I remembered the words of Horace:

> 'Happy is he quitting all trades, who,
> As did they of the olden time,
> Cultivates his land and rears his beasts,
> Unknown to usurers, and unjust to none.'

The number of scholars in this high-school is about three thousand: indeed, their number is too great, inasmuch as the revenues of their houses are insufficient for their support, so that they are constrained to ask relief at the butteries of the great barons and the cabins of their vassals. This is true chiefly of those edu-

cated to be priests and to display the religion and the faith of Jesus Christ, with the rewards of the good, and the sufferings of the wicked. The others, who are to practise law and physic, or other learned profession, live with their respective societies, without wrong and without scandal.

"You may be assured I did not fail to see Friar Bacon as soon as possible. He is the only one I could hear of that is skilled in Hebrew and Greek. Even the Latin they use is not that of Tully, and, as the doctors know nothing of the Romance tongue, my communication with them was very slight. But I had ample amends in the frequent conversations I had with this mirror of good learning.

"For, unlike one described by Horace—

> 'He seeks not smoke from flame,
> But light from smoke to give.'

"As the friar studied long in Paris, he makes himself well understood in the Romance language, according to the *patois* of France.[20] Friar Roger Bacon is a Cordelier of the order of Saint Francis; he is a D. D., a good physician, and the greatest chemist, mathematician, and astrologer, of the present age. He is, moreover, a profound philosopher, and has made a number of discoveries which have brought upon him the imputation of sorcery and magic. This absurd idea rises above the common people and even the scholars, and makes his own community and

[20] The Romance language was a popular Latin, in use over the greater part of Europe, modified in different countries to adapt it to the idiom of the respective races. From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries the University of Paris was the means of diffusing "the *patois* of France" far and wide. Of England, Germany, and Italy, it used to be said:

> "Filii nobilium dum sunt juniores
> Mittuntur in Franciam fieri doctores."

Thus the *French*, the dialect of the provinces north of the Loire only, prevailed over the *Provençal*, the southern dialect of the Romance, that of the Troubadours. Roger Bacon and Chaucer used it; Frederick II., the German emperor, wrote his poems, and Marco Polo his adventures, in the idiom of Paris; and we find Brunetto corresponding in it with his fellow-townsmen of Florence. Dante and Petrarch had not yet formed the Italian.

Europe has at present seven literary modifications of the Romance language. Of these, three preserve the name; the *Rouman*, of the Danubian Principalities; the *Roumanesch*, or *Romanese*, of the Grisons of Switzerland; and the *Lower Romanese*, called also the *Latinique*, of the Engadine, on the borders of the Tyrol The languages of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France, are the other members of the family.

the doctors fear and shun him. This makes him cautious about his experiments; but he assures me he has placed on record his several discoveries, and that they will be found after his death among his papers, for they do not suit the times we live in, when all learning is a vain study of abstruse speculations producing nothing useful. I told him the story which you and I have both frequently heard, of the Brazen Head—how that he and his brother in religion, Friar Thomas Bungey, had labored seven years to complete it, in order to know whether it would not be possible to inclose England within a wall and rampart, and that they failed after all to receive the answer, because not expecting it so soon, they were both out of the way, and did not hear the reply which the oracle had made. It is very certain that the friar has invented many wonderful machines, in particular, a head of brass which utters certain sounds. This is undoubtedly the Brazen Head which gave rise to the story of the oracle. He showed me curious mirrors of his invention. One sort sets fire to any combustible, when under the sun's rays; another, in which figures are made to appear and disappear at pleasure; a third, which enables a person to discover objects at a great distance, not discernible by the naked eye.[21] In the pursuit of these discoveries he has spent a great deal of money. He has now succeeded to a large property; and his family, being wealthy, had liberally supplied him with means. He told me that he knew a method of combining saltpetre with charcoal in certain proportions, so as to produce wonderful effects on being touched with the least possible spark of fire.[22] I had no oppor-

[21] The discovery of an instrument of long sight by the arrangement of convex and concave glasses in a tube, is generally attributed to a Dutch spectacle-maker of Middlebourg, about the year 1600; its application in the telescope, to Galileo, who began with a magnifying power of four, then of seven, finally of thirty, with which he made out the satellites of Jupiter and the lunar mountains. We see that, nearly four centuries before, Bacon had anticipated them. The Chinese had such instruments in use long ages before the Christian era.

[22] The discovery and use of gunpowder are of much older date than is generally allowed. The German monk, Berthold Schwarz, is commonly credited with the invention. But it is noticed in the works of two churchmen who lived a century before Schwarz—Albertus Magnus, the Dominican monk, who gave up an archbishopric, to be free to pursue his scientific researches; and our present acquaintance, Friar Bacon.

Gunpowder was employed in Europe certainly as early as 1257, if not before, at the siege of Niebla, in Spain; and there is no doubt of its having been in use by the Arabs much earlier. In an Arab treatise on engines of war, in the early part of the

tunity of witnessing the experiment, but some persons in whose presence he had performed it assured me that it had the closest resemblance to thunder and lightning. It is, I suppose, on account of the great noise, that the good friar is so cautious of making any trial of it except in retired places, laboring as he does under the suspicion of being a necromancer. He further showed me a black, ugly stone, the magnet, to which iron readily adheres. If a needle be rubbed upon it, and then left free to float on the surface of water by means of a reed, the point of the needle turns, and remains steadily pointing to the polar star. So that, be the night ever so obscure, and neither star nor moon be visible, the mariner by the help of the needle holds on his right course. This discovery, which appears so useful to all who voyage by sea, encounters great prejudice, even on the part of seamen, so that pilots use it with caution for fear of falling under the suspicion of magic, as every thing which is not understood is commonly attributed to some infernal agency. The time will come, no doubt, when these prejudices, which are so great a hinderance to research into the secrets of Nature, will die out, and mankind will then reap the benefit of the labors of Friar Bacon, and do justice to the genius and industry which now meet with mistrust and obloquy."

We next come upon works of very great value: an elaborate "Review of Ancient Astronomy," by John-Baptist Riccioli, the great astronomer of Ferrara, also a churchman; and, by the same author, a treatise in twelve books on geography and hydrography. In chapter xviii. of the tenth book of this latter work, a chapter on the compass, we are informed that—

"Under the reign of Saint-Louis (1226–'70), French navigators used the magnetized needle, which they kept swimming in a little vase of water, supported by two tubes so as not to sink."

Riccioli claims for the Northmen from a remote antiquity the use of the magnet in their navigation. He says:

thirteenth century it is described under the name by which it is at present known. The Arabs may have imported it from China; but the so-called Greek fire, which was introduced into Greece from China by Callinichus, architect of Heliopolis, in the year 673, was nothing else than gunpowder, which was thrown in the form of fusees and explosive shells. The Roman fireworks, which began to be used in theatrical representations about the end of the third century, were also of Chinese origin. Records of that wonderful people carry back the use of gunpowder to a very high antiquity.

"In the seventh century, the navigators of the Baltic and of the German Ocean, instead of a needle, used a triangular piece of iron wire, which swam in a small vessel of water, and the use of this instrument was considered among them to be of great antiquity (*valde antiquus*)."

It is remarkable that the compass which Vasco de Gama found in use among the pilots of the Indian Ocean was similar to this of the Northmen, only, instead of being of iron wire, it was a simple iron plate magnetized, supported on the surface of a vase of water in the same way. This we learn from the Cicero of Portugal, Bishop Osorio, who, about the middle of the sixteenth century, wrote a great work, "De rebus Emmanuelis virtute et auspicio gestis" ("The Golden Age in Portugal").

After the learned authorities, it is pleasant to turn to a professor of the gay science, and to find the minstrel as good a witness as the mathematician. Gauthier d'Espinois commences one of his ballads with this simile:

> "As ever the magnet inclines
> The needle, when the charm's once wrought:
> So who my lady's beauty divines,
> He too's irretrievably caught."

Gauthier was a friend of Thibaut IV., King of Navarre (1205–'53), who, besides being a renowned warrior and Crusader, also cultivated literature and poetry, and left at his death a number of ballads, more than sixty of which are still preserved.

The poem of Gauthier's reminds us of a more ancient idyl, from the pen of Claudian, the last of the line of classical poets, in whom appeared once more, before its final extinction amid the decay and ruins of the Latin Empire, the genius of Horace and Virgil. Claudian had the misfortune to be court-poet to a *roi fainéant*, Honorius; a reign made memorable by the sack and pillage of Rome by the Goth Alaric in the year 409. The poem which we borrow from Claudian, offers an ingenious allusion to the loves of Mars and Venus, founded on

THE MAGNET.

> "O thou, with anxious mind worming out the secrets of Nature,
> Seeking to unravel her mysteries:
> How the moon wanes and increases, what power eclipses the sun:
> Who wouldst search out the cavern of the winds,

And what convulses the bowels of the earth:
Thou wouldst know—who sends the cloud with the lightning-flash,
And speaks in the solemn responding peal,
And what light determines the colors of Iris.
If thy understanding grasp the truth, inform me also,
For I long to resolve these problems.
A stone there is by the name of Magnet,
Colorless, unattractive, despised;
Its lot is not to adorn the hair of the Cæsars,
Or the alabaster throat of the virgin,
Nor does it set off as a clasp the warrior's tunic:
Yet the powers of this dark stone are prized above the fairest gems,
And whatever the Indian fisherman may produce
Of Oriental pearls, it will surpass.
That stone—it lives! but to iron it owes its life,
And by the unbending bar it is fed:
Iron is its nourishment, its stimulus, its banquet;
It renews through iron its exhausted strength;
This rude aliment animates its members
And long preserves a latent vigor.
The iron absent, the magnet languishes,
Sadly numbed with hunger it succumbs,
And thirst dries up its opened veins.

"Mars, with blood-stained lance chastising cities—
Venus, who resolves the miseries of mortals by her tender gifts,
Have in common the sanctuary of a golden temple.
The divinities have not the same image:
Mars appears in the glistening iron,
The *loving-stone* represents the Cyprian goddess.
The priest with the accustomed rites celebrates their union
The torches light the dance, myrtle crowns the temple-gate,
The nuptial purple veils the lovers' couch;
Then appears a prodigy unheard of:
Venus of her own force ravishes her spouse.
Recalling the bonds of which the gods were witnesses,
Her voluptuous breathing attracts the limbs of Mars:
Around the helmet of the God her arms are clasped,
And with live chains she holds him captive.
She sustains his weight—while he,
Excited by the amatory impulse of her breath,
Allows himself to be ensnared with bands invisible.
At the Hymen, Nature herself presides.
A tenacious breath is the marriage-bond;
Their stolen bliss with joy the gods renew.
What secret heat constrains the sympathetic metals?
What inspires the mutual penchant under their rude exterior?

The loving-stone glows and betrays a conscious trouble
In the presence of the friendly steel:
Which, in turn, learns the lesson of a placid love.
Thus, with a look does Venus soften and arrest her bosom's lord,
When, heated with blood and brandishing naked steel,
He urges his fierce coursers and whets their rage.
Alone, she encounters them: she stills his raging heart,
She tempers its fury with a milder flame.
Peace is restored to his soul. Murderous fights
He forgets. The blood-red crest is seen to stoop—for a kiss!
O Love, thou cruel boy! What sway is not allowed thee?
Thou art indifferent to the thunder-bolt of Jove.
The Thunderer himself, attacked by thee, is fain to quit
Olympus, and amid the waves bellows as a bull.
Thy arrows pierce the frozen crag, and forms inanimate:
Rocks feel thy darts. A secret ardor consumes the loadstone
Whose blandishments the hardened steel cannot resist.
Thy flames prevail against the heart of marble."

This notion of the attraction of Love has given its name to the magnet in many languages. Chin-Tsang-ki, the author of a Chinese Natural History, under the title of "Pent-tzou-chi-hy," written twelve hundred years ago, says of the loadstone:

"It attracts iron as a tender mother attracts her
Children by love. Hence its name Tsu-chy (loving-stone)."

This name has also been adopted by the Japanese from the Chinese.

In the ancient language of the Hindoos, the Sanscrit, which has been a dead language now some twenty-two hundred years, the magnet was called *thoumbaka*, the *kisser*, also *ayaskàntaman'i*, *the precious stone beloved of iron.* These names remain in the modern Indian tongues, Hindoostani, Bengali, etc., and in Singhalese, the *loving-stone.*

In some of the European languages also the sentiment is found. The French call it the *aimant*, the loving one. In Spanish and Portuguese it is *iman*, equivalent to *amante*, the lover. The intimate connection for eight hundred years with Asia accounts for the prevalence of Oriental ideas and of Oriental names in the Peninsula.

In colder latitudes and among more roving populations, utility and hardy activity displace the tender and soft. In Dutch and Swedish it is known as the sailing-stone (*zeilsteen*, and *segel sten*).

In the British Islands, it is the leading, directing, drawing stone. This last is the sense of the Irish *tarrangart*, *the drawer*, and of the Welsh *tywysfwn*, *the conductor:* while the English *loadstone* corresponds with the notion of the *loadstar* that leads or guides in the heavens. In Icelandic, the identical sense, the conducting or leader stone (*leider-stein*). But we have seen Brunetto Latini give it in his Romance language, the name of calamite, by which it is at present best known in Italy and the Levant (It. *calamita*, Gr. *καλαμίτα*). This name is supposed to refer to the primitive way of suspending the needle on reeds so as to float on the surface in a vase of water. *Kalamis*, in Greek, signifies a reed, and *kalamites* a dweller among reeds, and this was the name of a very green little frog whose name and address were thus contained in one word. The word calamite in the Romance language preserved the sense of *green frog*, and was applied to the magnetized needle from its supposed resemblance to the frog floating on reeds. Hugo Bertius, who lived in the reign of Saint-Louis, King of France, gives a graphic account of this frog-like apparatus. The Hebrew term *kalamitah* for this stone may, however, have the priority of age. It is not found in the Bible, but its near congener, *chalamish*, is found Deut. viii. 15, and xxxii. 13, and Psalm cxiv. 8. In the last-cited text it seems to have the sense of a *cut or sharpened stone*. The Talmud calls it *the Stone of Attraction*. The ancient Hebrew prayers contain allusions to the magnet under the name of *Kalamitah*, and also of *Magnis*. The latter appellation (as *magnis*, *magnes*, *magnetes*, *maghnathis*, *magnet*, *magneet*, or other terminations to suit the idiom of the people) appears to be almost universal, even where, as in English, it is popularly known by another name. It has no such other name in German, Russian, and Magyar. In Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and kindred languages, every object has a number of names,[22] scientific, popular, and figurative: *al-maghnathis* is the usual designation in them all of this stone; one of its other names is the *Stone of Devils*, and another, the *Stone of Attraction*. There is no doubt that magnet is a Greek word, probably from its having been found in great abundance in the province of Magnesia, in Lydia. The ancient name of the capital of Magnesia was Heraclea, or city of Hercules; hence the magnet was often called

[22] As many as a thousand, five hundred, and, commonly, hundreds.

Λίθος ἡρακλεία, rendered in English the stone of Hercules, also *Μαγνήσιος λίθος* and *Λυδικὴ λίθος*, the Magnesian, and the Lydian Stone. According to Nicander, a physician who wrote medicine in verse, about two hundred years before Christ, it was the shepherd Magnes who introduced the stone to the knowledge of mankind, and who gave it his own name. He is said to have made the discovery when, at the head of his flock, he suddenly found himself fastened to the soil by the nails of his sandals and the iron point of his staff.

There can be little doubt that the Phœnicians made use of the compass in their voyages. Ancient Phœnician coins bear the impress of a vessel, at the prow of which stands a woman (their goddess Astarte) holding in one hand a cross and with the other pointing the way: the cross symbolized the mariner's compass or cross of the ancients, which is thus described by an Arabian writer of the thirteenth century (1242), Boulak Kibdjalick: "They take a cup of water, which they shelter from the wind; they then take a needle, which they fix in a peg of wood or straw, *so as to form a cross;* they then take the magnes and turn round for some time above the cup, moving from left to right, the needle following; they then withdraw the magnes, after which the needle stands still and points north and south."

The cross, then, was a fit emblem or coat-of-arms for a great commercial and maritime people, like the Phœnicians. The compass was their guide; they symbolized it by the goddess Astarte, who, with her magnetic cross, indicated to them a path across the pathless waves.

Hercules was the patron divinity of the Phœnicians. This was also natural; the magnes, or *stone of Hercules*, was indispensable to the mariner, as it was the chief agent in making the compass which was his guide.

The name given to the magnet by the ancient Egyptians shows that they were acquainted with its two opposite properties of attraction and repulsion. The loadstone was called the bone of Haroeri, and the iron the bone of Typhon. Haroeri was the son of Osiris[24] and of Isis, who conceived him while in the womb of her own mother Rhea, so that he was born at the same

[24] In Egypt brother and sister often became man and wife. While in Egypt, Abraham and Isaac gave out that Sarah and Rebecca were not wives, but might at any moment be taken in marriage by their pretended brothers if not *otherwise engaged.*

moment with both his parents. Isis was the emblem of the generative and fructifying powers of Nature—Haroeri that of the Universal Cause: while Typhon, also a son of Rhea, having destroyed Osiris, the Egyptian Messiah, the benefactor of humanity, became the emblem of Destruction, the ideal of the powers of Nature inimical to man, as among the winds the dread *Typhoon.* The crocodile and the scorpion are sacred to Typhon. Considering Nature, in the state of union and decomposition, under the symbol of Haroeri and Typhon, the Egyptian priests seem to have seen an image of these conditions in the action of the loadstone on the iron, according as the stone attracted or repelled the metal.

Indeed, ample evidence exists that the characteristics of magnetism, and, to some extent, the closely-related phenomena of electricity, were known both to Egyptian priests and to Greek naturalists. Diogenes Laërtius, in his "Lives of the Philosophers," gives a list of Aristotle's works, among which is a volume on the loadstone, entitled *Περὶ τῆς Λίθου*—a precious contribution to science which has not survived the lamentable destruction of the great Greek libraries. But we have preserved fragments of a work of that truly encyclopedic master, on stones in general—their extraction, the mines and the countries that supplied them, their properties, varieties, colors, and their application in the arts and in medicine. In this work, *Περὶ τῶν Λίθων,* Aristotle described no less than *seven hundred* different kinds of stones, minerals, and metals, the greater part of which were unknown even by name to the non-artistic majority of men. We cite the following passage from this work as a condensed exposition of all that can be said even to this day upon the magnetic forces in the loadstone, upon magnetism by influence or artificial magnets, and especially on the polarity of the magnet:

"The occult force by which this stone attracts iron, acts even through interposed *solid* bodies as well as through the air. It has not only an attractive force, but also that of repulsion; by the one angle it flies from the iron, while with the other face it attracts it. The one face, of itself regards the north, the opposite one the south. Now, the magnet has the property of infus-

Cleopatra was the wife of her two brothers successively, Ptolemy XII. and XIII., as well as the mistress of Cæsar and of Marc Antony.

ing these forces into an iron bar—which on being applied to the loadstone immediately exercises both attraction and repulsion, and assumes precisely the same direction—the one angle regarding the north, the other the south. If to this iron you apply another bar, the former will produce the same effects upon the latter as the loadstone itself."

In the work on the Soul, *Περὶ Ψυχῆς*, of the same great genius, he reverts to this topic, speaking of the loadstone as *ἡ λίθη, the stone, par excellence:*

"*Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς ἐξ ὧν ἀπομνημονεύουσι, κινητικόν τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἴπερ τὸν λίθον ἔφη ψυχὴν ἔχειν, ὅτι τὸν σίδηρον κινεῖ.*"

"Now, even Thales seems, according to what has been handed down concerning him, to have held that whatever communicates movement possesses a soul; 'thus, the stone,' he said, 'has a soul because it sets iron in motion.'"

Ancient Chinese topographical works also contain allusions to the minerals of their own and neighboring countries, and describe situations where they abound. The "Nan Chouan i wey chi," or "Memoirs on the Phenomena of the Southern Territories," relate that—

"On the capes and headlands of the Chang-haï (the southern sea on the coasts of Tonquin and Cochin-china) shallows abound, and a vast amount of magnetic stone, so that the large foreign ships which are fastened with iron plates are attracted as they approach the coast and drawn inshore by the great accumulation of loadstones, and they cannot get past such spots, which are very numerous in the south."

It is a remarkable coincidence that the greatest of ancient astronomers, Claudius Ptolemy, was aware of this phenomenon in the China seas. In the very detailed enumeration and description of the coasts and islands of those waters, contained in the second chapter of the seventh book of his "Geography," he says:

"*Σατύρων νῆσοι, ὧν τὸ μεταξὺ μοῖραι ῥοά*[26] . . . . *Ταύτας οἱ κατέχοντες οὐρὰς ἔχειν λέγονται, ὁποῖας διαγράφουσι τὰς τῶν σατύρων. φέρονται δε καὶ ἄλλαι συνεχεῖν δέκα· ἐν αἷς φάσι τὰ*

[26] Ptolemy's zero of longitude was on the meridian of the Fortunate Islands (Canaries), the westernmost land known to him. His localities are identified by data more reliable than his figures, which are often wide of the truth.

σιδήρους ἔχοντα ἥλους πλοῖα κατέχεσθαι, μήποτε τῆς ἡρακλείας λίθου περί αὐτὰς γεννώμενης. διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιούροις ναυπηγεισθαι· κατέχειν γε καὶ αὐτὰς ἀνθρωποφάγους καλουμένους Μαννιόλας."

"The islands of the satyrs, the centre one of which is 171° .... Those who inhabit these isles are fabled to have tails, such as are drawn for satyrs. There are said to be other islands to the number of ten, lying near these, at which ships having iron fastenings are arrested by the stone of Hercules there existing, wherefore ships are put together with treenails. The islands are said to be in the possession of man-eaters called Manioles."

Centuries earlier, one greater than Ptolemy had made allusion to this phenomenon. Aristotle, who, accompanying his pupil Alexander the Great in his Asiatic expedition, accumulated vast stores of facts in natural history in the many countries overrun, affirms in the above-mentioned work, *Περὶ τῶν Λίθων*, that—

"On the coasts of the Indian Ocean are masses of magnetic rock. If vessels approach, they lose their nails and iron fastenings, which are attracted away from the vessels so that the force of cohesion of the wood cannot retain them. On account of these dangers, ships that navigate those seas are not fastened with iron nails, but with nails of soft wood that swell in the water."

Galen, the great Greek physician, also writing a work on stones, declares:

"On the coasts of the Indian Ocean the magnet is found in great abundance, so that seamen dare not take their ships in close to the shore if fastened with iron nails, nor must they have any sort of iron-work; for, on approaching those magnetic cliffs, all the nails and whatever of iron they possess are attracted away by the magnetic force."

The mention of Galen reminds us of a word upon our theme from another physician, who was also busy with stones, Marcellus Empiricus, physician of Theodosius the Great, the last sovereign of an undivided Roman Empire. He says:

"The loadstone, called *Antiphyson*, attracts and repels iron."

These words show a familiarity, as early as the fourth century, with the inverse action of the poles of the magnet or the existence of two magnetic fluids. The term *Antiphyson* admirably expresses this *natural incompatibility*.

St. Ambrose (in the sixth century) gives a narrative of a Theban's voyages in the Indian Ocean. Speaking of the island Taprobana (Ceylon), he says:

"There are about a thousand other islands called Mannioles, which are subject to the chief of the four kings of Taprobana. In them is found in great abundance the stone called *magnes*, which attracts the nature of iron by its force: so that, if a ship approach that has iron nails, she is retained there and cannot get farther, by I know not what hinderance, the source of which is in that stone. For this reason wooden nails are exclusively used to fasten ships in that trade."

The abundance of magnetic rocks and sands in the Eastern seas is noticed in a later age by the Arab geographers. Cherif-Edrisi, who wrote a number of geographical treatises, and constructed a terrestrial globe in silver for King Roger of Sicily about the middle of the twelfth century, relates of El-Mandeb, at the Red Sea straits called Bab-el-Mandeb (the Mandeb *Gate*):

"It is a mountain surrounded on all sides by the sea, and highest on the southern side. Its direction is northwest, and its length twelve miles. Where it approaches the Abyssinian coast it is broken into islets and reefs of considerable extent, so that that part of the sea is not navigable. In the midst of these reefs and isles, there is a range called Moorookein, not very much elevated above the level of the sea. It is a continuous mass of magnetic rocks, and no vessel fastened with iron nails may venture to pass near it, without risk of being drawn inshore and retained there."

In his geographical works this author mentions repeatedly the use of the magnet in navigation. A similar account of masses of oxide of iron on the coasts of Arabia and India, is given by Baïlak, a native of Kipchak, near Cairo, who wrote also an elaborate and most curious treatise on stones, called "Thesaurus of Merchants for the Knowledge of Stones." He devotes a considerable space to a description of the loadstone, its properties and uses in navigation, and it is evident that he is not writing of an art newly invented or received, but of an apparatus generally known and used in the Levant. What he says of the use of the magnetic fish, in the Indian seas, goes, with other authorities cited, to show that this was the primitive form of sea-compass all the world over:

"I was an eye-witness, during a voyage from Tripoli in Syria to Alexandria, in the year 640, of the practice of the Syrian pilots in making use of the loadstone.

"The night was so obscure that no star could be perceived so as to enable the seamen to make out the four cardinal points. But there was a vase filled with water placed in the interior of the ship, on the surface of which floated a needle fixed in a wooden or reedy float in the form of a cross, the needle having first been rubbed with a loadstone just large enough to fill the palm of the hand, or smaller. The needle thus magnetized, by its two points looks north and south. Navigators in the Indian Ocean, instead of the needle and its reed or wooden float, as with us, make use of a magnetic iron fish, hollow, and so constructed that when it is thrown into the water it swims, and it indicates by its head and tail the two points south and north. The explanation of the fish floating, though of iron, is this: that all metallic bodies, even the hardest and heaviest, when made into hollow vessels, displace a larger quantity of water than their weight, and not only swim on the surface, but can carry a weight as a counterpoise to the water displaced."[26]

Baïlak reminds us of a very common school experiment in physics. After having exhibited the needle fixed on a pivot, the operator places it on a disk of cork floating in a vase of water. The disk is observed to turn slowly round and stop exactly when the needle acquires the identical direction it had when on the pivot. In this experiment it is an important point that the disk *turns only*, in one sense or the other; it does not *advance* either toward the north or the south, whence the conclusion is that the force acting on the needle is in reality not attractive but simply directing.

The iron fish recalls the notion of the old Provençal and Levant sailors before mentioned, of a *green frog*, in their name of the instrument, calamite, a notion beyond all doubt of Oriental origin: the creature is known to the Burmese navigators as *the lizard*.

The names by which the case or instrument containing the needle is known, generally express the simple notion of a box or inclosure. In the northern languages—English, Dutch, Ger-

[26] It is a pity Baïlak did not let us know whether this principle, so clearly enunciated, had been utilized in the construction of iron ships, in his day.

man, Russian, and the Scandinavian dialects—there is but one word, *compass*, or *kompass*, signifying the encompassing or inclosing thing. The *box* is more distinctly expressed by the Italian name *bussola*, equivalent to the modern word *bossolo*, a box, whence, in Portuguese and Polish, *bussola*, and in French *boussole*, and modern Greek *mpousoulas*. There is also in Arabic a word applied to the compass—one of its numerous names in that language—very much resembling in sound the Italian name; it is *moossaleh*, and in Arabic the initial *m* has frequently a cold in the head, and is pronounced *b*.[17] This Arabic word signifies a *dart* or *point*, which seems artistic and characteristic of the instrument, while the notion of a *box* would represent the rude appreciation of a person ignorant of the essential contents. It is possible that *bussola* is derived from the Arabic word, and may not have been suggested by the low Latin *buxis* or any other word signifying box.

It is also possible that the word originated in the Arabic name for the ocean. Edrisi (El Edressi), an Arabian writer on geography, of the twelfth century, says:

"The outer ocean, that in which the compass was necessary, is called El Bahar el Bossul, the violent (boussale is the present name for the compass), as distinguished from El Bahar El Muit."

The Italians or Amalfitans in their trade with the Saracens must have become in a measure acquainted with the language of the Arabs, hence perhaps the word *bussola* was first applied, in Italian, to the compass.

The popular name of the compass in the Turkish marine is *pousola*. But its most accepted designation in Arabic and in the kindred dialects, the Turkish and Persian, is *kibléh nâmeh*, signifying *mirror of the south*, and *kibleh numâ*, *indicator of the south*. Most likely this denomination came from the Chinese, who hold that the magnetic needle points to the south, and call it *chi nan*, *indicator of the south*. The south is most in honor throughout Asia. In China the throne is always turned toward the south, as is the principal façade of all public buildings. The south is considered *the front*, the north *the back*, of the world. The piety of the Mussulman supports this opinion. He turns his face, in saying his prayers, toward the temple of Mecca, which is, in general, situated southward from Mohammedan countries.

[17] E. g., *Mahomet*, often pronounced *Bophomet*.

The Arab word *kibléh*, therefore, signifying that which should be *in front*, *or facing* us, is applied to the southern part of the heavens, means *south*, and to the *southward*. Perfectly synonymous with it, is the Chinese word *thsian*, which is used in both acceptations.

We have seen that, in the days of Roger Bacon, the use of the compass was one of the arts supposed to have some connection with an infernal agency. We have not, however, found in the languages of Europe, which we have mentioned,[28] this idea of necromancy expressed in the popular name of the instrument. The Spanish alone has this merit. In that language, the name by which the compass is known, is not allied with, or derived from, its name in any other tongue: it conveys distinctly the notion of sorcery or divination. *Brujo* means a man in pact with the Evil One, a sorcerer. The verb *brujulear* is, to practise divination. *Brujula* is the compass. Those who gave it this name evidently considered it, in some degree, of preternatural and magical origin; hence we find the Spanish pilots avoid the general term compass, *brujula*, preferring the more specific and technical needle, *la aguja*. On the other hand, among the followers of the Prophet, the compass is an essential part of the material of devotion. The pious Mussulman in prayer, as we have said, turns his face toward the temple of Mecca, and carries the compass about him habitually with this purpose.

In the writings of the Arabs, and of the Chinese from a very early date, traces abound of their acquaintance with the variation of the compass, though the discovery is one of the *reputed* glories of Columbus, founded on an entry in the journal of his first voyage under date of September 17, 1492. But, if he understood the phenomenon, he has not done himself justice, since the journal records his conviction that the *star* had shifted, not the needles. Fournier, on the other hand, in his "Hydrography" (chapter x., of book xi.), attributes the earliest record of the needle's declination to Sebastian Cabot. We feel no doubt, however, that the pilots both of England and the Peninsula had made the observation before the days of Columbus and

[28] Guyot de Provins calls it *Amanière* in the poem already cited. This was probably a modification of *Aimant*. It was afterward known as *la Marinière*, no doubt on account of the services it renders mariners.

Cabot. The publication of his journal has given Columbus the preëminence in the European roll of fame.

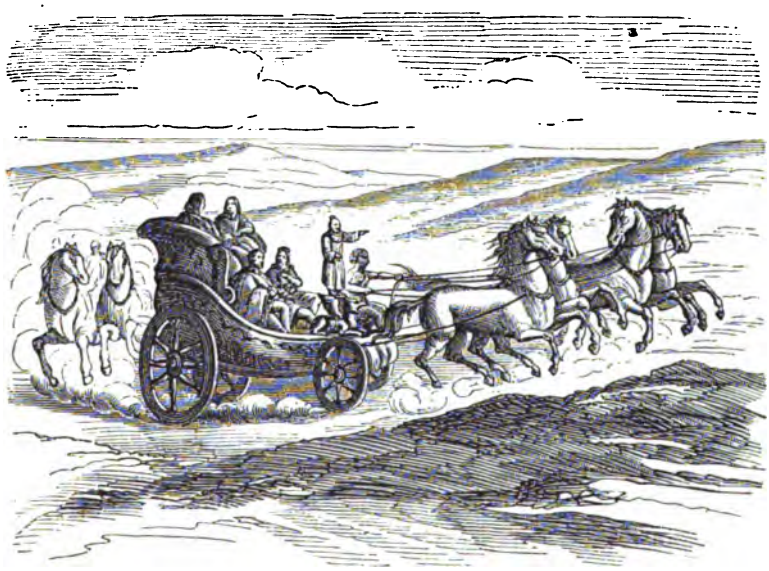
But Kow-tsung-chy, author of a work of great erudition, a medico-natural history, given to the world about the year 1110 of our era, gives the following notice of the loadstone, and of the polarity and the declination of the magnetic needle:

"It is covered with small slightly-reddish spots, and its surface is studded with rough points. It attracts iron and adheres to it, and on that account is called *The stone that sniffs the iron.* When rubbed with the loadstone, an iron-pointed instrument acquires the property of pointing to the south—not, however, absolutely due south, declining always toward the east. This needle, on being passed through a reed so as to float on the surface of water, turns to the south, but always with a declination toward the point Ping," (that is, east 5° 6′ south) "which is the great central fire."

The Chinese, who regard the south as the principal pole, speak of the declination of the magnetic needle at Peking as pretty constantly 2° to 2° 30′ *east*, while European observers, reckoning from the opposite pole of the needle, would call it *west* declination. Nevertheless, the Chinese have not always taken into account in their public works this variation of the compass. Thus, the east and west walls of Peking, constructed under the second emperor of the dynasty of Ming, are not due north and south, but decline 2° 30′ from south to east. Hence it is evident that the walls were oriented by the compass without allowing for declination of the magnetic needle.

Nothing is more curious than the accidental vestiges, like so many fossil traces, of the practical arts which are supposed to be of modern and European invention, among the oldest records of Central Asia—often in the midst of poetic fictions and the extravagances of Eastern mythologies. In the earliest chapters of Chinese annals, the magnet, its attractive force, its polarity, its application, are thus revealed as the property of the various Tartar tribes in wandering over the trackless steppe. At the head of the caravan went a car, on the box of which stood the figure of a presiding genius, whose right arm, outstretched, contained a magnet. However the car turned and returned, the hand of the genius pointed ever to the south. Modern Chinese history attributes the invention of this magnetic car to the great Emperor Wang-

ti, who reigned about 2,700 years before Christ. But the passage in the Waï-ki, the most ancient chronicle, cited as the record of the invention by Wang-ti, has nothing to show that it was then first invented, or that it had not previously been a well-known resource of travelers. The chronicle sets forth simply that Wang-ti, in a campaign against a formidable pretender to the throne, at a time when the fogs were so dense as to throw his troops into disorder, had such cars made in order that his army might distinguish the four quarters, or cardinal points, so that each division might occupy its proper position. This inter-



CHINESE MAGNETIC CAR.

esting passage of the Waï-ki is cited in the "Tung-Kian-Kang-Mou," or "Grand Annals of China," which also borrows from another ancient chronicle an account of a diplomatic mission from the Yue-chang-Chi, a nation occupying a part of the peninsula of Malacca, to the Emperor Ching-Wang, 1,110 years before Christ.

"The Yue-Chang-Chi, who are to the south of Kiao-Chi" (Anam), "sent three envoys, separately, with presents to the emperor, of white pheasants. They sent word at the same time that as the distance was very great, and the country intersected

with lofty mountains and deep rivers, a single envoy might not reach the court, and that they judged it best to send three.

"Chiou-Kung (uncle and prime-minister of the emperor) received the envoys and said: 'If the benefits of our prince's virtue had not been widely diffused, he would not have received this homage; if his mode of government and his laws were not known and approved everywhere, our prince would not have counted these nations among his vassals.' The envoys declared the motive of their mission: 'The senate and the white-haired old men of our country have come to the conclusion that, as during three years, Heaven had sent neither furious winds nor protracted rains; that, as there had been no convulsions inland or inroads of the sea, a holy person must have appeared in the Central Kingdom (China). Hence they send us, to present the homage of our people.'

"Chiou-Kung then conducted them to the temple of the ancestors of the imperial family, and offered a solemn sacrifice before the images of the ancient kings. The embassy, on returning to their own country, missed their way, whereupon Chiou-Kung presented them with five traveling-cars, constructed to show the south. The envoys of the Yue-Chang-Chi, traveling by these cars, reached safely the sea-coast, which they followed as far as the kingdoms of Fou-nan and Lin-y" (Gulf of Bengal), "and reached home the year following. The cars which showed the south were always driven in advance to show the way to the company behind, and to let them know the position of the four cardinal points."

We also read that, when the emperor went out in state, the procession was always headed by the magnetic car, which was driven by the emperor's master of the horse. To familiarize the people with the four cardinal points was considered one of the most important ends of state progress; and magnetic cars were officially distributed to governors of provinces and the great nobles.

But the magnetic car for long journeys was provided with another ingenious contrivance—destined to measure and report the distance traversed. By a sort of clock-work set in motion by the wheels of the car, at the end of every league a figure of a man in wood, with a wooden mallet, was made to start out and give a smart tap on a drum, and a wheel made one revolution.

At the tenth revolution, another wooden manikin overhead rang a bell.

Unhappily, in the year 223 before Christ, the Emperor Chi-Wang-ti ordered all the historical monuments of legislation and of the government and progress of the country to be collected and burnt, with the view, not only of abolishing the ancient laws and constitution, but of extinguishing the very memory of the past. The application of this decree seems to have extended beyond the writings—to their authors and students—for we find that no less than five hundred men of letters who had concealed themselves in the mountains were hunted out, and condemned, together with their libraries and papers, to the flames.

The mischief was to a certain degree retrieved by this barbarian's successor, who had all the books that had escaped the flames carefully sought out, and surviving traditions committed to writing. The works of Confucius (Kung-tze), and other reputed sacred books, were recovered; but alas! the destruction of records of art and science had been but too successful. Especially scanty are the records of navigation. There are, however, preserved allusions to voyages to the mouths of the Indus, in which the vessels are said to have been directed by the magnetic needle pointing to the south. The "You Kio Kou zu Kioung-lin," or, "The Garden of Red Jasper for Youth to rejoice in the Treasures of Antiquity," a sort of cyclopædia, attributes to Choo-Kung, who lived 1,100 years before our era, the construction of both magnetic cars and compasses. And the "Grand Annals of China," entitled "Tung Kian Kang-mou," in relating the wars of the great Emperor Wang-ti, already mentioned, cite ancient authorities with which we are unacquainted, to the effect that during his reign the compass, of which the needle pointed to the south and the north, was in use, and that by means of its indications of the quarters of the heavens, buildings were oriented, and merchants and travelers performed their journeys. These are the sole passages in which the use of the compass as such is expressly mentioned as in use at that remote period, though it could not be doubted that, once the polarity of the magnet known, as has been shown by the example of the magnetic car, so ingenious a people would not fail in mechanical appliances suited to the special circumstances and requirements of each class of the community. Indeed, the magnetic rod in

the arm of a wooden figure was in all probability an elaboration of an original mechanism, which must have been simpler and on a smaller scale, as in the form of a magnetized needle made to float on water or to move freely on a pivot. There is, then, every reason to believe that the use of the compass in China is of an antiquity more remote than the reign of Wang-ti, which, as we have said, was about 2,700 years before the Christian era.

The instrument chiefly in use at that early period appears to have been the water-compass, which we have already seen in use by the Northmen and the Arabs. In a vase filled with water the needle was made to float, supported by two reeds.

The following passage, from a curious and voluminous collection of facts and observations, of manners and usages, in North and East Tartary, by Nicolaes Witsen, the celebrated Burgomaster of Amsterdam, published about the middle of the last century, shows that, down to a comparatively recent period, the compass of this primitive type universal was still in use in the Chinese waters. This extract, which has other statements fitted to arrest attention, forms part of a chapter on the peninsula of the Corea, the land forming the east coast of the great inland water called the Yellow Sea, on the northwestern part of which is the Gulf of Pe-che-li and the mouth of the Pei-ho, on whose banks stands Peking:

"Het Buskruit, zoo wel als den Druk, is van voor duizend jaer by hen, zoo zy zeggen, bekent geweest; gelijk als mede het compas, hoewel van andere gadaente als hier te lande, want zy bedienen zich slechts van een klein houtje voor scherp en achter stomp, 't geen in een tobbe waters werd geworpen, en dus met de scherpe punt Zuyden wyst; na allen schyn zal daer binnen de Magnetische kracht verborgen zyn. Acht streeken winds weten zy te onderscheiden. De compassen zyn ook van twee houtjes, kruiswys over malkander gelegt, daervan een der einden 't geen Zuyden wyst wat vooruit stecht."

"Gunpowder and printing have been known to them, so they say, above a thousand years: the same of the compass, though of a somewhat different form to ours. They use only a small bit of wood, sharp in front and blunt behind; this is placed in a tub of water, and the sharp point points to the south, in all probability from the magnetic force concealed therein. They distinguish eight points or rhumbs of winds. They have also com-

passes composed of two pieces of wood laid over each other crosswise, of which one of the ends which shows the south projects."

But the compass without water, in which the magnetic needle rest on a pivot, is also very ancient in China. The needle rarely exceeds an inch in length and not a line in thickness. It is suspended with extreme delicacy and is singularly sensitive, that is, it appears to move with the slightest movement of the box to east or west, although in fact the magnet and the perfection of the mechanism which contains it, consist in this, that the needle is deprived of all movement, and remains constantly directed to the same point of the heavens, whatever be the rapidity with which the box of the compass may be turned, or the other objects which surround it. This regularity of their compass is the result of a Chinese invention. A band of thin copper is placed about the centre of the needle and fixed by the edges on the outside of a small hemispheric cup, reversed, of the same metal. This cup admits a pivot of steel, which comes from a cavity made in a circular bit of cork or very light wood, which forms the box of the compass. The surface of the cup and that of the pivot are perfectly polished, so as to avoid any sort of friction. The edges of the cup are proportionably large, adding to its weight, and act so that the cup tends to preserve the centre of gravity in any and every situation of the compass. The cavity in which the needle is thus suspended has a circular form, and is only just sufficient to take the needle with the cup and pivot. Over the cavity there is a thin piece of transparent talc, which prevents the needle being affected by the outer air, while permitting the observation of its slightest movement.

The small needle of the Chinese compass has a great advantage over those which are used in Europe, with respect to the inclination toward the horizon, which in the European compasses requires that one end should be heavier than the other to counterbalance the magnetic attraction. But this inclination differing in different parts of the world, the needle can be absolutely correct only in the place where the instrument was constructed. In the short and light needles suspended in the fashion of the Chinese, the weight which is below the point of suspension is more than sufficient to overcome the magnetic force of the inclination in every part of the globe. Thus these needles never have any deviation in their horizontal position.

The Chinese compass is, apart from the magnetic needle, quite a work of art, representing a highly-elaborated system of physics and astrology. In this sketch we can do no more than give a rough notion of it; to enter into detailed explanation would unduly tax the interest of our readers in Chinese habits of thought and their antique learning, which however, at present remote, will soon become one of the most interesting inquiries, especially in America, whither the magnetic charm of political equality and personal freedom, together with the bounteous gifts of Nature, attract an exodus from every clime, of the stamina and the hope of the nations.

The surface of the compass, outside the space in which the needle performs its function, is divided into a great number of concentric divisions, which are intersected by an infinity of lines in a direction from the centre to the circumference. The inner circle contains the characters of the eight principal points, represented by animals, as in the signs of the zodiac. The second has four-and-twenty compartments, representing the four-and-twenty winds. In the third and fourth circles, the same number of compartments, with inscriptions having a moral and mystical import. The fifth contains seventy-two compartments, twelve of which remaining blank, the other sixty are filled with combinations of the two cycles of twelve and of six. As a specimen of the whole, we will give one of the series of cyclical signs:

Ou,		the	Horse	= South.
	Wei,	"	Sheep	= S. $\frac{1}{8}$ W.
	Chin,	"	Ape	= S. $\frac{2}{8}$ W.
Yeou,		"	Hen	= West.
	Siu,	"	Dog	= W. $\frac{1}{8}$ N.
	Haï,	"	Pig	= W. $\frac{2}{8}$ N.
Tsu,		"	Rat	= North.
	Tcheou,	"	Ox	= N. $\frac{1}{8}$ E.
	In,	"	Tiger	= N. $\frac{2}{8}$ E.
Mao,		"	Hare	= East.
	Chin,	"	Dragon	= E. $\frac{1}{8}$ S.
	Szu,	"	Serpent	= E. $\frac{2}{8}$ S.

The sixth circle contains one hundred and twenty compartments. The seventh, again, only twenty-four. The eighth contains the sixty combinations before mentioned, with some slight

variation. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh, are modified repetitions of the preceding. The twelfth circle contains, in sixty combinations, the names twelve times repeated of the five Chinese elements, combined with the five divisions of the year, the five regions of the world, and the five principal colors. Thus:

Moo,	Wood,	Spring,	East,	Green.
Ho,	Fire,	Summer,	South,	Red.
Too,	Earth,	Mid-year,	Midst,	Yellow.
Kin,	Metal,	Autumn,	West,	White.
Chooi,	Water,	Winter,	North,	Black.

The thirtieth circle contains the three hundred and sixty degrees of the twenty-eight celestial palaces (or the zodiac), contained in the fifteenth circle.

The fourteenth contains the symbols of the foregoing.

The fifteenth circle contains the twenty-eight palaces of the Chinese ecliptic, which are:

In the South:

1. *Tsing*,	the	Well,	containing less than	30	degrees.
2. *Kouei*,	"	Evil Genius,	containing	2½	"
3. *Lieo*,	"	Willow	"	13½	"
4. *Sing*,	"	Star,	containing more than	6	"
5. *Chang*,	"	Bended Bow,	"	17	"
6. *Y*,	"	Light,	containing less than	20	"
7. *Thin*,	"	Motion,	" more "	18	"

In the West:

8. *Khouei*,	the	Seat [corporeal],	containing	18	degrees.
9. *Leoo*,	"	Vacuum,	more than	12	"
10. *Wei*,	"	Stomach,	containing	15	"
11. *Mao*,	"	Pleïades,	"	11	"
12. *Py*,	"	End,	"	16½	"
13. *Tse*,	"	Beak,	"	3½	"
14. *Tzan*,	"	Addition,	"	9½	"

In the North:

15. *Teoo*,	the	Bushel,	containing more than	22	degrees.
16. *Neoo*,	"	Ox,	"	7	"
17. *Neu*,	"	Woman,	"	11	"

18. *Heu*,	"	Vanity,	containing	less than	9	"
19. *Ouei*,	"	Danger,	"		16	"
20. *Chy*,	"	Edifice,	"	less than	18	"
21. *Py*,	"	Wall,	"	more than	9	"

In the East:

22. *Kio*,	the	Horn,	containing	more than	12	degrees.
23. *Kang*,	"	Neck,	"	"	9	"
24. *Ti*,	"	Origin,	"	less than	16	"
25. *Fang*,	"	House,	"	more than	5	"
26. *Sin*,	"	Heart,	"		6	"
27. *Wei*,	"	Tail,	"		18	"
28. *Ki*,	"	Sieve,	"		9½	"

Such, then, was the knowledge possessed in the earliest ages of what is generally termed a comparatively modern invention; such were the facilities possessed by the ancients for making long voyages, for crossing the wide ocean. We see no reason to doubt, therefore, that they were as eminent in navigation as history allows them to have been in other arts. The astrolabe, somewhat similar in construction to the armillary sphere, but more simple, found favor with the astrologers of the East in their observations of the stars; as early as 150 B. C. we find it used by the Egyptian astronomer Hipparchus.

Thus far we have shown a few of the many "great modern inventions" which were undoubtedly known to the ancients,[29] and may we not justly infer that others were equally well known which are not mentioned in the writings which have reached us, or mention of which has been misconstrued. Does not the wise and ancient author of the book of Job accurately describe the art of printing in the exclamation: "O that mine adversary had written a book! . . . O that my words were now written! O that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever!"

Here are allusions to the arts of writing, printing, lithography, stereotyping, and book-making, of which Bildad the

[29] Diodorus especially admires, among the many arts and inventions of the Egyptians, their mode of rearing poultry by artificial heat; his minute description of the process would enable any ordinary mechanic to proceed on the same principle; yet the "invention of rearing poultry by artificial means" has been patented in our day, and extolled as one of the great proofs of progress in human intelligence.

Shuhite asks no explanation; we may therefore infer that Job was speaking of matters well understood.[30]

Addison tells us that Strada,[31] "in one of his prolusions, gives an account of a chimerical correspondence between two friends by the help of a certain loadstone which had such virtue in it that, if it touched two several needles, when one of the needles so touched began to move, the other, though at never so great a distance, moved at the same time, and in the same manner.

"He tells us that the two friends, being each of them possessed of one of these needles, made a kind of dial-plate, inscribing it with the four-and-twenty letters, in the same manner as the hours of the day are marked upon the ordinary dial-plate. They then fixed one of the needles on each of these plates in such a manner that it could move round without impediment, so as to touch any of the four-and-twenty letters. Upon their separating from one another into different countries, they agreed to withdraw themselves punctually into their closets at a certain hour of the day, and to converse with one another by means of their invention.

"Accordingly, when they were some hundred miles asunder, each of them shut himself up in his closet at the time appointed, and immediately cast his eye upon the dial-plate. If he had a mind to write any thing to his friend, he directed his needle to every letter that formed the words which he had occasion for, making a little pause at the end of every word or sentence, to avoid confusion. The friend, in the mean while, saw his own sympathic needle moving of itself to every letter which that of his correspondent pointed at. By this means they talked together across the whole continent, and conveyed their thoughts to one another in an instant, over cities or mountains, seas or deserts."

Allowing for slight incongruities and possible exaggerations of one who, ignorant of the real nature of electricity, confounded the properties of this phenomenon with those of the loadstone, this anecdote embodies the whole system of telegraphing with a dial-plate as it is now practised in some European countries. It is far from improbable that friends in very early times may

[30] Job seems, moreover, to have a realizing sense of the awful advantages possessed by a reviewer over the unfortunate enemy who should have written a book.

[31] A writer of the sixteenth century.

have used electricity (the existence of which was known in the time of Thales) as a means of correspondence, and that electric telegraphing was known, if not universally, at least to the learned. Yet, to this century is generally unhesitatingly ascribed the honor of discovering it.

We might multiply conjectures, and enumerate many intimations we possess—some vague and shadowy, others amounting almost to certainty—that the discoveries in science which we boast of as modern, are only rediscoveries or revivals of *quasi* forgotten knowledge of the ancients; though, owing to the destruction which time and the vandalism of man have effected, proofs may never be sufficient to place this question beyond doubt.

But, however hotly the scientific knowledge of the ancients may be contested, there is one field of learning in which they are avowedly unsurpassed, nay, unequaled—this is the wide field of literature.

No modern lyric is more rich in metaphor or passionate in language than the Song of Solomon; no poet has been more inspired by the majesty of the Supreme Being, the beauties of the earth, and the grandeur of the heavens; none has more pathetically described grief, or more nobly the duties of the righteous man in prosperity or adversity, than he who wrote the wonderful book of Job. The Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, in their adaptation to the wants of our own age, prove that, in the weakness and wisdom of human nature, at least, there is no new thing under the sun.

The poems of Homer, even translated into a less musical and perfect language, thrill the heart to hear, and fire the soul of many a school-boy with his first admiration for great and noble deeds. Less is known of this author than of many an inferior genius; of his birthplace and parentage we are alike ignorant; only, as we read those glorious pages, the dim vision of a blind old man with flowing beard and majestic mien rises before us, refuting the modern theory that they are not the inspiration of one great genius, but the effusions of a dozen or more minstrels. The "Iliad" and "Odyssey," written more than two thousand years ago, are said to have been the first epic poems; if so, epic poetry was perfect at its birth, so perfect that all subsequent epics, taking these two as their models, fall far short of

them in excellence. "In great things," says Quintilian, "what sublimity of expression; and, in little, what a justness and propriety—diffusive and concise, pleasant and grave, admirable both for his copiousness and brevity!"

The wisdom of Moses, the jurist and historian, is apparent, whether he composed or selected his admirable laws; that which often appears trivial to the thoughtless shows wonderful knowledge of what is injurious or beneficial to individuals and nations.[32]

The more we study the literature and theology of that ancient people, the Hindoos, the more we are impressed by the profound thought and wisdom displayed, the purity of the doctrines enunciated, the high moral standard of excellence maintained, as also the poetic language and imagery of their writings.[33]

[32] Take, for instance, the prohibition to eat swine's flesh, which so often causes a smile. There is a note in the Talmud stating that the use of this meat is forbidden on account of the small insect which infests it. Late events, the fearful ravages of the trichinæ in Germany, and even in some parts of the United States, have shown the wisdom of this law, particularly as enacted for the inhabitants of a warm climate.

[33] The general idea entertained of the religious belief and customs of the Hindoos is but an erroneous one, thanks to the misinterpretations, perhaps not wholly unintentional, of the earliest modern writers on the subject; they, as a rule, record only the forms of superstitions which were erected upon the original pure foundation by a corrupt and ambitious priestcraft, and which mark the decadence of the Hindoo religion and people.

Later writers, the researches of such men as Schlegel, Colebrook, William Jones, Strange, and the remarkable work of M. Jacolliot, "La Bible dans l'Inde," give us a more just conception of this race, probably the parent of our own.

The original pure Hindoo religion recognized but one God (as did the sages of Greece, in spite of its mythology). In the Vedas, the ancient sacred writings of the Hindoos, which the learned declare to have been written more than three thousand years before Christ, we find the Deity thus defined: "He who exists by Himself, who is in all, because all is in Him." And, again, with surpassing majesty of thought; "The Ganges flows—it is God; the ocean roars—it is God; the wind blows—it is He; the cloud that thunders, the lightning that flashes—it is He. As from all eternity the universe existed in the spirit of Brahma, so to-day is all that exists his image." Can we boast of any grandeur or more beautiful definition of Divine eternity and omnipresence?

To those who imagine the Brahminical religion as instigating its votaries to put faith in empty and absurd forms, rather than in worthy actions, let us quote a few maxims from the teachings of Manou, the Hindoo philosopher and legislator, who cannot have written less than four thousand years ago:

"Of all things pure, purity in the acquisition of riches is the best. He who preserves purity in becoming rich, is really pure, and not he who is purified with earth and water." (Will not the just and thoughtful applaud this maxim in the present age of corruption?)—"As the body is purified by water, so is the spirit by truth."—"Sound

Five hundred and fifty years before our era, in a land of which Columbus possessed but a mythical knowledge, and regarded as a realm of barbarous idolatry and wealth, Confucius led men to admire and practise virtue for the sake of virtue only, and laid the foundation for the high and enlightened moral civilization which still distinguishes his disciples.[34]

doctrines and good works purify the soul. The intelligence is purified by knowledge." —"Science is useless to a man without judgment, as a mirror to a blind man."—"The man who only appreciates the means, according as they conduce to his success, soon loses his perception of the just, and of sound doctrines."

Nor were the psychological ideas of the Hindoos less elevated than their morality was pure. Chrishna taught: "The soul is the principle of life, which sovereign wisdom employed to animate bodies; matter is inert and perishable, the soul thinks and acts, and is immortal." The profound philosophy of Greece, the theology of to-day, has given us no better or more concise definition.—The elevation of woman, indispensable to true civilization, was enjoined, her status and mission chivalrously defined, in the Vedas: "He who despises woman, despises his mother."—"There is no crime more odious than to persecute women, and take advantage of their weakness to despoil them of their patrimony. When women are honored the divinities are content, but where they are not honored all undertakings fail." "Women should be shielded with fostering solicitude by their fathers, their brothers, their husbands, and the brothers of their husbands, if they hope for prosperity."

[34] That morality and a wise conception of the same belong especially to no sect, time, or people, is evidenced by the fact that the Golden Rule of Christianity, beautiful and comprehensive, was thus laid down by Confucius five hundred years before the birth of Christ: "What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others." "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to none of which have I as yet attained: To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me; to set example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me."—("Doctrine of the Just Mean," chapter xiii.) The whole of this chapter is replete with wisdom, and is dictated by a calm, elevated philosophy, teaching men that virtue consists in doing their duty conscientiously in whatever situation they may be placed. "The superior man," we read, "can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men. Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences." Resignation to Divine will and philosophic moderation are here forcibly enjoined. It is to be regretted that the translation of Confucius (of which we here make use) by the Rev. James Legge, is made with the avowed object of lessening the fame of the great philosopher, and the credit of his followers, by placing in an unfavorable light the moral doctrines of this most enlightened Chinese school; and it is to be feared that sectarian partiality may have allowed itself, here and there, to misinterpret sentiments, particularly as these are expressed in a language every word of which is susceptible of several interpretations. Nevertheless, it has been impossible for the translator to conceal the wisdom and sublimity, blended with sound practical sense, of the teachings inculcated on the Chinese by their beloved master. The following, selected at random from the *Analects*, may serve as an

Philosophy, the pure teachings of morality, have never since flourished as in the days when Socrates taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which his disciple Plato developed to a still higher spiritualism. The teachings of these and the whole school of great philosophers who flourished long ago, contain all the requisites for making men good and nations prosperous.

History was well understood by the ancients. Herodotus is styled the father of that useful branch of literature, not, we may reasonably suppose, because he was the first historian, but because his writings are the first treating on that subject only which have come down to us complete; as also, no doubt, on account of the inimitable style he employed in his narratives, simple, picturesque, and vivid in description, which, as he recited them beneath the blue skies of Greece during the excitement of the Olympic games, brought the far-off countries through which he had traveled, and their inhabitants, before the minds of his enthusiastic listeners. If we reflect upon the fact that most of the ancient historians found time, amid the toils and occupations

example of the system: "The superior man in *every thing* considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it in sincerity. This is indeed a superior man."—"The master said, 'Alas! there is no one that knows me!' Tsze-Kung said: 'What do you mean by thus saying that no one knows you?' The master replied: 'I do not murmur against Heaven, I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven—that knows me.'"—"I will not be concerned at men's not knowing me, I will be concerned at my own want of ability."—"The wise man is correctly firm, not firm merely."—"He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place, and all the stars turn toward it."—"Learning without thought is labor lost, thought without learning is perilous."—"The master said: 'Yew, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it. This is knowledge.'"—"They who know the truth are not equal to those who love it, and they who love it, are not equal to those who find delight in it."—"Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others. To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves, this may be called the art of virtue."—"Let the will be set on the path of duty, let perfect virtue be accorded with, let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts."—"In language it is simply required that it convey its meaning."—"Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with virtue."

What exalted doctrines are these! What wisdom and observation of human nature are displayed, and withal what modesty! "To this I have not attained," says the sage of his golden rule; and, again, "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I may compare myself to our old P'ang."

of the soldier or of the statesman, to leave such valuable records to posterity; that Xenophon, the Hebrew Josephus, Julius Cæsar, etc., were distinguished warriors as well as eminent writers, it may be conceded that human intellect has not much advanced since those times.—"The treasury of remedies for the soul" was inscribed over the entrance of the library of Osymandias at Thebes three thousand years ago, and who to day will invent a more apt and beautiful definition? We pride ourselves on our common-school system, yet find it recorded of Charondas, law-giver of Catania, who lived five hundred years before our era: "He made another law, better than these, and neglected by the older legislators—for he enacted that all the sons of the citizens should be instructed in letters, the city paying the salaries of the teachers. For he held that the poor, not being able to pay their teachers from their own property, would be deprived of the most valuable discipline."

The learning of the East was transferred to Europe, especially to Spain, by the Arabs. The Caliph Almanzor, early in the ninth century of our era, turned his attention from religious learning and warlike exploits, to profane science. He cultivated astronomy with ardor. His successor, Al-Mamoun, by means of agents in Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, caused many of the great scientific works of Greece to be collected. These were translated by his order, and his subjects enjoined to study them with the assurance that the elect of God are they who best improve their mental faculties, and that teachers of wisdom are the light of the world. A subordinate officer donated two hundred thousand pieces of gold to found a school in Bagdad, and endowed the same with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The learning of the Greeks and Arabs overspread the East. The Ommiades of Spain caught the ardor; Bagdad and Cordova became names synonymous with that of Athens in the days of her glory; great libraries were collected, both public and private. We read of a doctor who declined an invitation to reside at the court of Bokhara because the transportation of his library alone would require four hundred camels. That of the Fatimites numbered one hundred thousand manuscripts elegantly translated and beautifully bound. Free access to these was given to the students of Cairo, while in Spain the Ommiades possessed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the cata-

logue alone. Cordova, Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, boasted of more than three hundred writers, and nearly one hundred public libraries were open in Andalusia. The writings of the Grecian sages appeared in the Arabic, in which language only, many have been preserved to us. The Caliph Al-Mamoun supplied costly instruments for astronomical observation. Twice his mathematicians correctly measured a degree of the earth's circle, and determined that our globe was twenty-four thousand miles in circumference.

Such was the learning of the Arabs, a people who enlightened Spain for hundreds of years, and were only driven from that country immediately before Columbus sailed on his first voyage. They cannot have failed during all those years to impart some of their knowledge to the Spaniards, yet we are informed by historians who have the air of believing their assertion, however improbable it may appear when tested by reason, that the learned men of Salamanca, convoked to hear Columbus propound his "startling theory," treated with ridicule the idea of the earth's being spherical.

What are the proofs we possess that the knowledge of the ancients was incomplete? Imperfect globes, defective maps, errors in the statements found in ancient MSS., as they have reached us—these are cited as evidence of the ignorance of the past. It should be remembered that a desire to impress the young with an idea of our own importance, has induced many to select the *defects* of a particular age or country as proofs of its real status; the vainglorious author, finding among the ancients two works, one containing correct views touching the form of our earth, the other declaring it to be flat, would too often content himself with holding up the latter as evidence of ancient ignorance and modern progress. In what light may we not be placed centuries hence? It will only be necessary for some curious antiquary to deposit in one of the museums a few flint arrow-heads collected from the fields, or one of the Pembina carts[35] which for the last thirty years have annually borne the merchants and merchandise of Prince Rupert's Land to the city of St. Paul, for coming generations to declare that Americans in the nineteenth century were ignorant of the use of metals!

[35] These carts, caravans of which often number as many as a hundred and fifty, are manufactured entirely of wood and green hide; not a particle of metal enters their composition; even the linchpin is of wood.

Is it not time that a more just, generous, and reasonable spirit pervade the civilization of our age? that, while we glory and delight in the great deeds of our race and age, we do not consider that great deeds belong to them alone? that, while eagerly seeking after knowledge and enacting laws to impart it, we do not imagine, and thereby prove gross ignorance, that knowledge is our special inheritance, and that the people of the past were less favored by their Creator than are we?

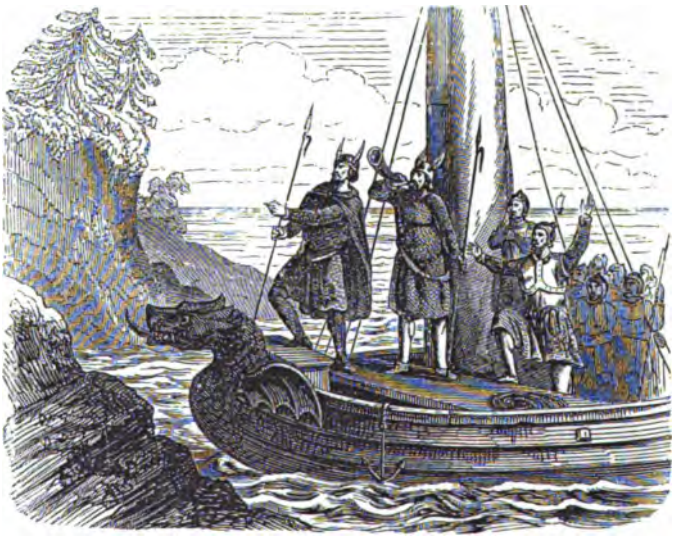
The Hindoo philosopher Narada, reputed to have lived before the Deluge, reasons thus: "Never resort to the argument, 'I do not know this, therefore it is false.' We must study to know, know to comprehend, and comprehend to judge."

This is the proper spirit; heroes and scholars are not less heroic or learned because others as great as they have preceded them, nor will it dim the lustre of the present to be just to the memory of the past.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN IN AMERICA.

WHILE the greater part of Europe was plunged in the intellectual darkness which pervaded the middle ages, while the monk in his cloister toiled laboriously during a lifetime to perpetuate some one work of saintly or classic lore, and the masses were ignorant, superstitious, the slaves of feudal lords and barons scarcely less ignorant than themselves, a people flourished in the



LANDING OF THE NORTHMEN.

extreme north, with whom enterprise and freedom were neither dead nor stagnant, who possessed scientific knowledge and applied the same to practical purposes; a people simple, fearless, and energetic, republicans in practice if not in name, with whom chieftains were the fathers and protectors of their followers, shar-

ing their perils and respecting their rights; a pagan people indeed, worshipers of Odin and Thor, believers in the joys of Walhalla, yet doers of deeds so noble as to be worthy the most enlightened Christian: such were the Northmen; such their simple records, which bear every impress of truth, prove them to have been. Issuing from an Asiatic hive, they early overran Norway and Sweden; their language, the old Danish or *Dönsk tunga*, is now only preserved in Iceland, which they colonized in the year 875; in 985 they rediscovered and colonized Greenland; the same year the American Continent proper was discovered by them, and, during the first years of the eleventh century, they made thither frequent voyages, residing, for periods of several years, at different times, in what is now called New England. To this they were actuated by motives far different from those of Columbus: they did not come in search of gold or slaves, but to gather by industry the natural products of the land, carrying on therewith a flourishing trade between the continent, Greenland, Iceland, and Norway. No absurd visions of untold wealth, no dreams of Ophir, haunted their brain; nor did they seek by false representations to inveigle others into bearing all the burdens, while they should reap all the profits, of their expeditions; they were the worthy pioneers of European settlement on our shores; a hardy race, counting on their own labor to develop the natural resources of the lands they discovered.

The voyages made by the Northmen to America are recorded in the Sagas or ancient Icelandic records, manuscripts of undoubted authenticity, and of a date far anterior to Columbus.

The settlement of Greenland by them undoubtedly took place; allusions to it and the colonies formed there are constantly occurring in Norse or Icelandic records. Letters and learning flourished in Iceland when the rest of Europe was intellectually stagnant; histories and annals are therefore copious. The last bishop was appointed to Greenland in 1406, when the colony consisted of two hundred and eighty settlements, all of which evidently became extinct; at what time after communication with the parent-country ceased, or from what causes, is not known, yet few acquainted with history will doubt their having existed. Once in Greenland, this continent was nearer the settlers than their fatherland: it would have been difficult for them *not* to discover it. Indeed, throughout Icelandic chronicles and

history, there are constant allusions to this discovery. In a geographical treatise called "Description of the Whole Earth," written toward the end of the thirteenth century, we read: "England and Scotland are one island; but each is a separate kingdom. Ireland is a great island. Iceland is also a great island north of Ireland. All these countries are situated in that part of the world called Europe. Next to Denmark is lesser Sweden; then is Œland, then Gottland, then Helsingeland, then Vermeland, and the two Kvendlands, which lie north of Biarmeland. From Biarmeland stretches desert land toward the north, until Greenland begins. *South of Greenland is Helluland; next is Markland, from thence it is not far to Vinland the good, which some think* goes out to Africa." We thus see that the geographical knowledge of the Scandinavians, not only with regard to Europe, but also touching the position of the new continent, was correct. As to their supposition that Vinland extended to Africa, it is an avowed hypothesis, and, at any rate, but a small error, compared to Columbus's persistent declaration that the island of Cuba was Asia.

Thanks to the eminent labors of Prof. Rafn, the Icelandic histories of pre-Columbian discoveries in America have become well known to the curious; while, through the more accessible works of Toulmin Smith, Beamish, and last, but not least, De Costa, the general reader has been convinced of the fact, which is now no longer disputed, that the Northmen were the first modern discoverers of this continent. This fact is now so generally conceded, and stands upon so sure a foundation of almost contemporaneous documents, that argument is happily not needed to establish the justness of the Northmen's claims; it will only be necessary for us to give a brief synopsis of these early histories, and note here and there the contrast existing between the spirit which animated the semi-pagan people on the one hand, and the bigoted devotee Columbus on the other, to prosecute their discoveries; this contrast redounds by no means to the credit of the latter.

We shall not here dwell upon the intellectual and commercial activity which early characterized the Northmen, save to observe that they were sufficient to render the discovery of America by them a natural consequence of their ever-extending voyages and explorations. Between Norway and Iceland, Iceland

and Ireland, there were communication and traffic; the people of the latter island were further advanced in civilization than their neighbors the Britons. Tacitus tells us of Ireland that "the approaches and harbors are better known" (than those of Britain), "by reason of commerce and the merchants." The Northmen, we have seen, possessed the magnetic compass; they were particularly remarkable as a seafaring people. When they had reached Iceland, the distance to Greenland was comparatively trifling; a passage thence to America, a natural sequence of their westward course. In recording their voyages, we shall not attempt laboriously to explain the identity of each place described by the Northmen—this has already been done by Rafn; we shall only quote the result of his labors. Slight possible flaws in his identification have been pointed out by De Costa, but the main fact, that the lands discovered were those portions of America extending from Labrador to Florida, is admitted by all who have studied the records, who agree that they describe with wonderful accuracy the aspect and products of that region, and that such accuracy, it is scarcely needful to say, cannot be the result of chance, nor the descriptions have been written for other lands. Circumstantial evidence, scientific proof, of this are exhausted by Rafn in his "Antiquitates Americanæ," to which comprehensive work we refer the reader, should he still be disposed to doubt that the following narratives are proofs of pre-Columbian exploration and settlement in America.

Eric the Red had, in the spring of 986 A. D., emigrated to Greenland from Iceland, and there formed a settlement. One of his followers was Heriulf, whose son Biarne was absent on a voyage to Norway at the time of his departure. Biarne had always made a point of spending the winter with his father; on his return to Iceland, he determined that this winter should form no exception to his rule, and that he would follow Heriulf to the land whither he had traveled, a somewhat arduous undertaking, as he possessed no chart or directions save that the new settlement lay to the westward. "He was," we read, "a promising young man. In his earliest youth he had a desire to go abroad, and he soon gathered property and reputation, and was by turns a year abroad and a year with his father. Biarne was soon in possession of a merchant-ship of his own." When Biarne returned with his ship from his Norway expedition, he

would not unload, but said to his crew, "I will steer for Greenland if ye will go with me." They one and all agreed to go with him. Biarne said, "Our voyage will be thought foolish, as none of us have been on the Greenland sea before."

They set sail and encountered continuous northerly winds which drove them southward; the fog became so dense as to conceal the surrounding ocean. When the weather at length cleared they found themselves in sight of a land plentifully wooded and gently undulated; this, however, Biarne concluded could not be Greenland, as it varied greatly from the descriptions of that country which had been given him. He therefore left it to the larboard, and, sailing two days, saw another land, flat and woody; the wind was now southwest; they passed a third land, mountainous and covered with glaciers; this they coasted sufficiently to find that it was an island, but did not go ashore. They now stood out to sea, a strong southwest wind still prevailing, which brought them, after four days' swift sailing, to Greenland, and to the very cape where Heriulf had settled. This was the first discovery of America by the Northmen. Like the discovery of the West Indies by the pilot Sanchez, it was the result of chance, but the chance was itself the result of hardy enterprise. Biarne started from Iceland in search of Greenland, of which he only knew by hearsay; driven south, he discovered instead America. The narrative which records his voyage describes accurately the points upon which he touched, which, it has been agreed, were: first, Cape Cod; second, Nova Scotia; third, Newfoundland. Biarne's impatience to rejoin his father before the winter set in, caused him to neglect any exploration of the lands he thus accidentally visited. For this he was censured by his countrymen; they could hardly understand his refraining from becoming acquainted with the new country and its products. The spirit of discovery was then rife with the Northmen.

Leif, son of Eric the Red, bought Biarne's ship, equipped and manned it with a crew of thirty men; one of these was Tyrker, "a man from the south," probably a German, who had long been a retainer of Eric, and was much attached to Leif from his boyhood. When all was ready, the latter besought his father to become the commander of the expedition. Eric at first declared himself to be too old for the undertaking, but yielded finally to the solicitations of his son. As he rode down

to the ship his horse stumbled and threw him, disabling his foot. "It is destined," said he, "that I should never discover more lands than this Greenland on which we live." He remained therefore at home, and Leif commanded the ship. The above incident, simply related, and Biarne's devotion and eagerness to rejoin his father, give us a pleasant knowledge of the love and respect which existed among the Northmen between father and son, even when the latter had attained to manhood. Leif purchasing his ship from Biarne (the avowed though accidental discoverer of the lands), organizing, and defraying the expenses of the expedition, then modestly desiring that his father, not himself, should be its chief, contrasts strongly with Columbus, who entirely concealed the source whence he derived his information, resorted to fraud and false promises to obtain his equipment, and finally insisted, as only the little-minded can insist, upon being vested with sounding titles and surrounded by puerile obsequiousness.

Leif set sail in the year 1000 A. D. to revisit the lands seen by Biarne; he first reached the island which the latter had coasted. He said: "It shall not be said of us, as it was of Biarne, that we did not come upon the land; for I will give the country a name, and call it Helluland" (*hella*, a stone). They went on board again, and put to sea, and reached another land. Sailing toward it, they put out a boat, and landed. "This country was flat and woody, surrounded by cliffs, and a low shore of white sand; they called it Markland (*Woodland*)." Thence they sailed two days, with a northeast wind, and came to an island which lay eastward of the main-land, and entered a channel, which separated the island from the main-land promontory. Sailing westward, they came to a river, which flowed from a lake into the sea; they entered the river, and thence the lake, in which they cast anchor. This was evidently Mount-Hope Bay, which they reached by Pocasset River and Seaconnet Passage. On the shores they constructed huts, or booths, for temporary shelter, but, upon determining to spend the winter there, they enlarged their quarters and built houses. The place was called Leifsbüder (*Leif's Booths*).

"The country appeared to them of so good a kind that it would not be necessary to gather fodder for the cattle for winter. There was no frost in winter, and the grass was not much with-

ered. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland and Iceland; for, on the shortest day, the sun was in the sky between Eyktarstadr and the Dagmalstadr."[36]

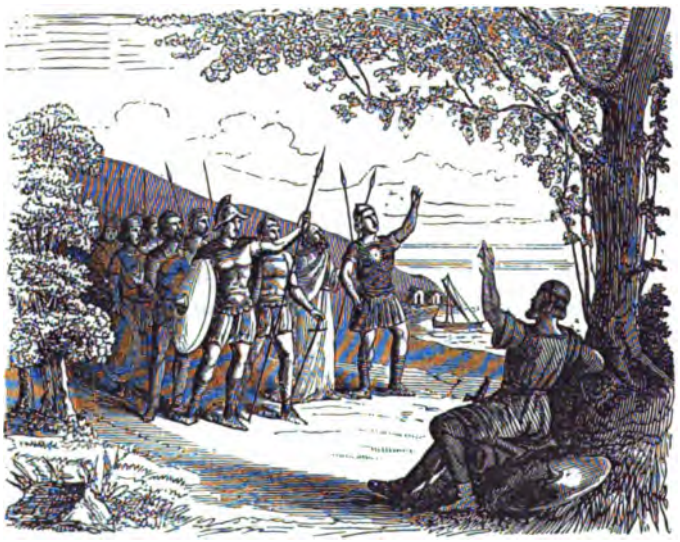
When the houses were completed, Leif divided his men into two companies, one of which kept watch at the settlement while the other explored the surrounding country. He shared alike with his men, accompanying them in their explorations one day, and the next remaining at home. He enjoined them not to separate, nor to extend their travels too far. He is described in the narrative as "a stout, strong man, and of manly appearance; and was besides a prudent and sagacious man in all respects."

One day the exploring party returned, and it was found that Tyrker, the German, was missing; Leif, much concerned, immediately started with twelve men in search of him, but had not proceeded far when they met him. "Leif soon perceived that his foster-father was quite merry. Tyrker had a high forehead, sharp eyes, with a small face, and was little in size, and ugly; but was very dexterous in all feats. Leif said to him: 'Why art thou so late, my foster-father; and why didst thou leave thy comrades?' He spoke at first long in German, rolled his eyes and knit his brows; but they could not make out what he was saying. After a while, and some delay, he said in Norse: 'I did not go much farther than they, and yet I have something altogether new to relate, for I have found vines and grapes.' 'Is that true, my foster-father?' said Leif. 'Yes, true it is,' answered he, 'for I was born where there was no scarcity of grapes.'" Tyrker, far away from his fatherland, which he had probably not seen since childhood, was evidently moved to strange

[36] Rafn thus explains this passage: "In Vineland the sun rose, on the shortest day, at the beginning of *Dagmal*, and set at the close of *Eykt*. As the ancient Northmen divided the horizon into eight grand compartments, called *áttir*, so they also made a corresponding octuple division of the solar day into aliquot parts, called *eyktir*, each of which was consequently equal to three hours. *Stadr* signifies limit, or boundary, and, when used in reference to the rising and setting of the sun, it denotes, in the morning, the commencement, and, in the evening, the close of the Eykt. *Dagmalstadr* is, therefore, half-past seven o'clock A. M., and *Eyktarstadr* half-past four P. M. The sun therefore rose at half-past seven o'clock and set at half-past four on the shortest day, which was consequently nine hours long. This circumstance gives for the latitude of the place 41° 24′ 10″. The latitude of Seaconnet Point and of the south point of Conannicut Island is 41° 26′, and of Point Judith 41° 23′, which three headlands bound the entrances to what is now called Mount-Hope Bay, and which was doubtless called *Hopsvatn* by the ancient Northmen."

emotion at the sight of vines such as grew around the home of his earliest recollections. This episode and the simplicity with which it is narrated, is, as Mr. De Costa justly claims, "a stroke of genuine nature, something that a writer, framing the account of a fictitious voyage, would not dream of." It is well known that grapes formerly grew wild in great abundance in the vicinity of Mount-Hope Bay, hence the names *Martha's Vineyard* and Vineyard Sound.

Henceforth, the occupation of Leif and his companions was twofold—felling and hewing timber, and gathering grapes. Leif called the land Vineland. In the spring they sailed with a fair



GRAPES DISCOVERED BY THE NORTHMEN.

wind for Greenland. When, in sight of land, Leif steered to the windward, his men inquired the reason; he replied, "I mind my helm, and tend to other things too. Do you see any thing?" They said they saw nothing remarkable. Leif replied that he saw something which was either a ship or a rock; on examination, the crew pronounced it a rock. "But he saw so much better than they, that he discovered men upon the rock. 'Now I will,' said Leif, 'that we hold to the wind, that we may come up to them if they should need help; and, if they should not be friendly inclined, it is in our power to do as we please, and not

theirs.' Now they sailed under the rock, lowered their sails, cast anchor, and put out another small boat which they had with them. Then Tyrker asked who their leader was. He said his name was Thorer, and that he was a Northman. 'But what is your name?' said he. Leif told his name. 'Are you the son of Eric the Red of Brattahlid?' he asked. Leif said that was so. 'Now I will,' said Leif, 'take ye and all on board my ship, and as much of the goods as the ship will store.' They took up this offer, and sailed away to Ericfiord with the cargo, and thence to Brattahlid, where they unloaded the ship. Leif offered Thorer and his wife Gudrid, and three others, lodging with himself, and offered lodging elsewhere for the rest of the people, both of Thorer's crew and his own. Leif took fifteen men from the rock, and thereafter was called Leif the Fortunate. After that time, Leif advanced greatly in wealth and consideration. That winter sickness came among Thorer's people, and he himself and a great part of his crew died."

Though Leif had explored a portion of the country, and could not, therefore, share the reproach which Biarne had incurred, there was an evident opinion among his countrymen that further exploration should be made.

Leif had been baptized in Norway at the suggestion and solicitation of King Olaf, about the year 999. In the following year he first introduced Christianity into Greenland. Old Eric the Red does not, however, seem to have taken kindly to the new creed, for we find it recorded of him that, when the people called his son Leif the Fortunate, he said; "These two things went against one another; that Leif had saved the crew of the ship, and delivered them from death, and that he had brought that bad man into Greenland; that is what he called the priest." We read, however, that the old man was, after much urging, baptized. He died soon after Leif's return from Vinland (1001); the latter, therefore, assumed his father's place at the head of the Brattahlid settlement, and it was his brother Thorwald who, in the spring of 1002, sailed to prosecute his discoveries. For this purpose he lent Thorwald his vessel and gave him ample instructions. It is likely that the Northmen made observations and charts during their voyages, which were sure guides to those who followed them; their knowledge of the compass would enable them to do this, and facts go far to prove that they availed themselves

of the ability. Leif first reached Newfoundland, the most northerly and last point seen by Biarne. He does not touch upon other lands, as he most likely would have done had his instructions been vague (as Biarne himself did when sailing for Greenland with nothing but description to guide him). He next visited *Markland* (Nova Scotia), which was the second seen by Biarne, and lastly Vinland, which was in the vicinity of the first point of land Biarne's expedition had sighted. These were evidently the points he made for, and he found them without difficulty. Now Thorwald, sailing by Leif's chart, makes immediately for Leifsbüdir, touching at no intervening points (at least no mention is made of his having done so) till he reached the bay. Here he staid two winters, making Leifsbüdir headquarters, and sending thence exploring parties. One of these went south in the ship's boat, how far we are not able to determine, as the details of Thorwald's expedition are more meagre than those of the other narratives, owing no doubt to the death of the chief before returning to Greenland. In the year 1004 Thorwald set out in his large ship to explore northward, encountering bad weather when opposite a cape (evidently the extreme point of Cape Cod); and, the keel of his ship being damaged, he said to his companions, "We will stick up the keel here upon the *ness*,[27] and call the place Kialarness" (Keel Promontory), "which they did." The ship being repaired, they sailed east to a point of land covered with trees, said to be Point Alderton, below Boston. When they had landed, Thorwald said: "Here it is beautiful; and I would willingly set up my abode here."

Soon after they were attacked by hostile Skrællings (*natives*). "Then," said Thorwald, "we shall put up our war-screens along the gunwales, and defend ourselves as well as we can, but not use our weapons much against them."

"They did so accordingly. The Skrællings shot at them for a while, and then fled away as fast as they could. Then Thorwald asked if any one was wounded, and they said nobody was hurt. He said: 'I have a wound under the arm. An arrow flew between the gunwale and the shield, under my arm; here is the arrow, and it will be my death-wound. Now I advise you to make ready with all speed to return; but ye shall carry me to the point which I thought would be so convenient for a dwelling.

[27] The Northmen called all points of land, or promontories, *ness*.

It may be that it was true what I said, that here would I dwell for a while. Ye shall bury me there, and place a cross at my head and one at my feet, and call the place Crossness.' "

Having obeyed these last instructions, his companions returned to Leifsbüdir, spent the winter in loading their ships, and returned in the spring, "bringing heavy tidings to Leif."

Thorstein Ericson hearing the fate of his brother Thorwald, determined to bring his body from Vinland to Greenland. He equipped the same vessel and set sail, accompanied by his wife Gudrid, but his expedition was unfortunate, and he returned to Greenland without reaching any of the lands his brothers had visited. He died that winter.

During the next summer (1006) two ships came from Iceland, one of which was commanded by Thorfinn Karlsefne, a man of wealth and illustrious birth, his ancestors being noble Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Irish, and Scotch, some of them kings or of royal descent; the other was commanded by Biarne Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason. Each ship had a crew of forty men.

"Leif and other people rode down to the ships, and friendly exchanges were made. The captains requested Leif to take whatever he desired of their goods. Leif, in return, entertained them well, and invited the principal men of both ships to spend the winter with him at Brattahlid. The merchants accepted his invitation with thanks. Afterward their goods were moved to Brattahlid, where they had every entertainment they could desire; therefore their winter-quarters pleased them much. When the Yule-feast began, Leif was silent and more depressed than usual. Then Karlsefne said to Leif: 'Are you sick, friend Leif? you do not seem to be in your usual spirits. You have entertained us liberally, for which we desire to render you all the service in our power. Tell me what it is that ails you.' 'You have received what I have been able to offer you' said Leif, 'in the kindest manner, and there is no idea in my mind that you have been wanting in courtesy; but I am afraid lest, when you go away, it may be said that you never saw a Yule-feast so meanly celebrated as that which draws near, at which you will be entertained by Leif of Brattahlid.' 'That shall never be the case, friend,' said Karlsefne; 'we have ample stores in the ships; take of these what you wish, and make a feast as splendid as you please.' Leif accepted the offer, and the Yule began; and so

well were Leif's plans made, that all were surprised that such a rich feast could be prepared in so poor a country. After the Yule-feast, Karlsefne began to treat with Leif as to the marriage of Gudrid . . . . and in the end it turned out that Karlsefne married Gudrid (widow of Thorstein Ericson), and their wedding was held at Brattahlid, this same winter.

"The conversation often turned, at Brattahlid, on the discovery of Vinland the Good, and they said that a voyage there had great hope of gain. And, after this, Karlsefne and Snorre made ready for going on a voyage there the following spring. Biarne and Thorhall Gamlason, before mentioned, joined him with a ship" (1007).

The first land this joint expedition reached after the isle of Disco, which they called Biarney, or *Bear Island*, was evidently some part of Labrador. They found on it great stones and many foxes; they named it Helluland it Mikla, or Stony-land the Great, to distinguish it from Newfoundland, which Leif had first named Helluland, and which they now called Helluland it Litla (the Little). The description in the ancient narrative is said to answer perfectly to the aspect of that region. Sailing southward a day and a night, they came to a land covered with woods, in which were many wild animals. This was Nova Scotia, which in 1501 will be called Tierra Verde, or *Greenland*, on account of these same forests, by Don Gaspar de Corte Real, and which Leif had already appropriately named Markland (Woodland). They then came to an island supposed to be Sable Island, where they killed a bear. Thence they reached Kialarness (Cape Cod), and saw the keel which Thorwald had there set up. The shores of this cape, long and barren wastes of sand, stretching along the coast to an apparently endless extent, they named Furdusstrandir (Wonderful Shores), "because they seemed so long passing by." The coast then became indented with coves, and they ran the ship into a bay, whither they directed their course. "King Olaf had given Leif two Scots, a man named Haki, and a woman named Hekia; they were swifter of foot than wild animals. These were in Karlsefne's ship. And when they had passed beyond Wonder-strand, they put these Scots ashore, and told them to run over the land to the southwest, three days, and discover the nature of the land, and then return. They had a kind of garment that they called *kiafal*, that was so made that a

hat was on top, and it was open at the sides, and no arms; fastened between the legs with a button and strap, otherwise they were naked. When they returned, one had in his hand a bunch of grapes, and the other an ear of corn. They went on board, and afterward the course was obstructed by another bay. Beyond this bay was an island, on each side of which was a rapid current, that they called the *Isle of Currents* (Straumey)."

This island was probably Nantucket, which was evidently at one time united with Martha's Vineyard. The name they gave it shows that they possessed knowledge of the Gulf Stream. On this island, we read: "There was so great a number of eider-ducks there, that they could hardly step without treading on their eggs. They called this place 'Stream Bay.' This was Buzzard's Bay; the eggs were probably those of the gull which still frequents that part in great numbers. Here we are told they brought their ship to anchor, and prepared to stay. They had with them all kinds of cattle. The situation of the place was pleasant, but they did not care for any thing except to explore the land. Here they wintered, without sufficient food. The next summer (1008), failing to catch fish, they began to want food. Then Thorhall the hunter disappeared. . . .

"They found Thorhall, whom they sought three days, on the top of a rock, where he lay breathing, blowing through his nose and mouth, and muttering. They asked why he had gone there. He replied that this was nothing that concerned them. They said that he should go home with them, which he did. Afterward a whale was cast ashore in that place, and they assembled and cut it up, not knowing what kind of a whale it was, they boiled it with water, and devoured it, and were taken sick; then Thorhall said: 'Now you see that Thor is more prompt to give aid than your Christ. This was cast ashore as a reward for the hymn which I composed to my patron Thor, who rarely forsakes me.' When they knew this, they cast all the remains of the whale into the sea, and commended their affairs to God. After which the air became milder, and opportunities were given for fishing, and from that time there was an abundance of food, and there were beasts on the land, eggs in the island, and fish in the sea."

It is somewhat amusing to find these newly-converted and evidently sincere Christians, still believing in the efficacy of

prayer to their ancient gods; with them it seems to have been a matter of supremacy of one god over the other. Thorhall was evidently a most disagreeable personage, not altogether undeserving of his fate. We read next: "They say that Thorhall desired to go northward around 'Wonder-strand,' to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne wished to go along the south shore.

"Then Thorhall prepared himself at the island, but did not have more than nine men in his whole company, and all the others went in the company of Karlsefne. When Thorhall was carrying water to his ship, he sang this verse:

'People said when hither I
Came, that I the best
Drink would have, but the land
It justly becomes me to blame—
I, a warrior, am now obliged
To bear the pail;
Wine touches not my lips,
But I bow down to the spring.'

"And when they had made ready and were about to sail, Thorhall sang:

'Let us return
Thither where our countrymen rejoice,
Let the ship try
The smooth ways of the sea;
While the strong heroes
Live on Wonder-strand,
And there boil whales,
Which is an honor to the land.'

"Afterward he sailed north, to go round Wonder-strand and Kialarness, but, when he wished to sail westward, they were met by a storm from the west and driven to Ireland, where they were beaten, and made slaves.

"And, as merchants reported, there Thorhall died."

We see, by this incidental allusion to merchants and their bringing news from Ireland, that the trade between the latter and Iceland was then flourishing.

Karlsefne, with Biarne, Snorre, and the rest, sailed south till they reached the same river, flowing from a lake into the sea, which Leif had entered, and erected his booths.

They evidently passed to the west of these, toward Mount Hope. They named the place *Hôp* (to form a bay, to recede).

It is curious that the present name of the bay and hill is Mount Hope, derived from the Indian word *Haup*. May not the latter have been a vestige, remaining with the natives, of the language of the Northmen? There is certainly no doubt that the descriptions in the narratives, both of Leif and Karlsefne, of the lake and approaches to it accurately correspond to Mount-Hope Bay; indeed, this is a point no longer disputed.

In this region they found corn growing on the low land, vines on the higher; the rivers were full of fish. They put their cattle out to pasture, and rested.

"When spring came (1009) they saw, one morning early, that

First Europeans trading with Indians.

a number of canoes rowed from the south round the *ness;* so many as if the sea were sown with coal; poles were also swung on each boat. Karlsefne and his people then raised up the shield, and when they came together they began to trade, and those people would rather have red cloth; for this they offered skins and real furs. They would also buy swords and spears, but this Karlsefne and Snorre forbade. For a whole fur-skin, the Skrælings took a piece of red cloth a span long, and bound it round their heads. Thus their traffic went on for a time; then the cloth began to be scarce with Karlsefne and his people, and they

cut it into small pieces which were not wider than a finger's breadth, and yet the Skrælings gave as much as before, and more."

A bull, belonging to Karlsefne, happening to roar, disturbed this peaceful trading with the Indians, who, frightened at the sound, fled in dismay; they soon returned making hostile demonstrations; hard pressed by superior numbers, the Northmen fled to the rocks, where they could make a stand. Freydis, a daughter of Eric, who with her husband accompanied the expedition, indignant at the flight of her countrymen, defied the Indians, so that, awe-struck at her conduct, and moreover routed by the Northmen in the rocks, they fled to the woods. "Karlsefne and his people now thought that they saw, although the land had many good qualities, that they still would always be exposed there to the fear of attacks from the original dwellers. They decided, therefore, to go away, and return to their own land."

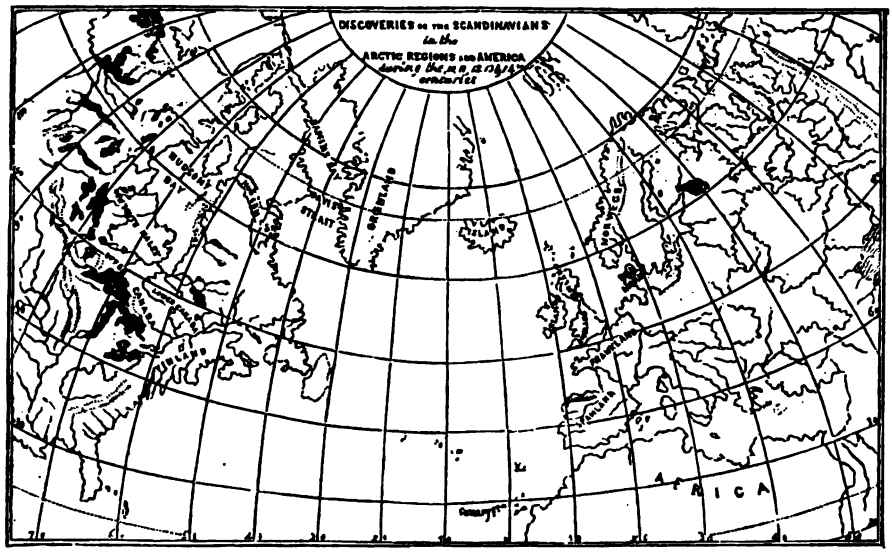
They therefore sailed to the Straumey, whence Karlsefne, with one of the ships, sailed in quest of the malcontent Thorhall, the other ship and crew remaining behind. Rounding Kialarness, Karlsefne proceeded northwest; the land lay to his left; this was covered with thick forests, and mountains which were supposed by them to form one range with those of Hôp.

Karlsefne returned to Straumfiord after a fruitless search, and there spent the winter of 1010. In the spring of that year they all sailed for Greenland. At Markland they saw five natives. They captured two boys whom they instructed in the Norse tongue, and the Christian religion. Karlsefne reached Greenland safely with a rich cargo of timber, grapes, and furs.

Biarne Grimolfson, however, was driven out into the ocean, and his ship was attacked by worms, which riddled it completely. The heroic magnanimity of Biarne in this emergency, as well as the fortitude displayed (with one exception) by the unfortunates doomed to inevitable death, are best related in the simple language of the Saga:

"Biarne Grimolfson was driven with his ship into the Irish Ocean, and they came into a worm sea, and soon the ship began to sink under them. They had a boat which was smeared with sea-oil—for the worms do not attack that. They went into the boat, and then saw that it could not hold them all; then said Biarne: 'As the boat will not hold more than half of our men, it is my counsel that lots should be drawn for those to go in the boat,

for it shall not be according to rank.' This they all thought so generous an offer that no one would oppose it. They then did so, that lots were drawn; and it fell to Biarne to go in the boat, and half of the men with him, for the boat had not room for more. But when they had gotten into the boat, an Icelandic man that was in the ship, and had come with Biarne from Iceland, said, 'Dost thou mean, Biarne, to leave me here?' Biarne said, 'So it seems.' Then said the other, 'Very different was the promise to my father, when I went with thee from Iceland, than thus to leave me, for thou saidst that we should both share the same fate.' Biarne said: 'It shall not be thus; go down into the boat, and I will go up into the ship, since I see that thou art so



anxious to live.' Then Biarne went up into the ship, and this man down into the boat, and after that they went on their voyage until they came to Dublin, in Ireland, and there told these things; but it is most people's belief that Biarne and his companions were lost in the worm sea, for nothing was heard of them after that time."

Other voyages were made, and it is evident that communication was kept up with Vinland till intercourse between Greenland and Europe ceased, and the rigor of the climate or other

causes had destroyed the vigorous Norse colony in the former. As late as the year 1347 it is recorded in the "Annals of Iceland," a sort of contemporaneous chronicle, that among the wrecks of the year was "a Greenland ship which had been on a voyage to Markland." We might also enlarge upon the tradition, which very possibly has truth for its foundation, that the Irish, as early as the Northmen, visited and colonized the southern portion of North America, and had there formed an extensive settlement. The land south of Vinland was called by the Northmen, Huitramannaland (White-man's Land), or Great Ireland. The Irish, to whose maritime and commercial activity we have already alluded, may very possibly have extended their voyages so far; but this cannot yet be stated as a fact, and still remains a mere tradition. Not so the voyages of the Northmen to our continent; these have become a certainty. They also made extensive explorations in the arctic regions, but of these we shall not here speak, contenting ourselves with having recorded their more important explorations along the coast of North America.

And, having read the narratives of these Norse voyagers, how can we sufficiently admire their conduct and motives, especially when contrasted with those of the much-lauded Columbus? Thorwald asks "whether any one is hurt," before even alluding to his own mortal wound; and when he does so it is with manly fortitude and resignation. Biarne Grimolfson gives his life for a cowardly follower, and accepts certain death, that he may be true to a promise given. Can one such act be found in the far more recent life of Columbus, whose continual *I* becomes monotonous, who ignores all save himself, whines and whimpers at the slightest danger, real or apparent? Leif Ericson himself starts in search of a missing follower, and, finding him, greets him kindly. When two of Columbus's luckless crew lose themselves, they are by his orders cast in irons and put on short rations, to expiate their heinous offense. Attacked by hostile Indians, Thorwald says, "We shall defend ourselves as well as we can, but not use our weapons much against them." Greeted by peaceable Indians, Columbus orders the ship's gun fired in their midst, in order "to abate their pride and make them not contemn the Christians." [88]

All the Norse leaders, Biarne Heriulfson, Leif and Thorwald

[88] Fernando, "Historia del Amirante," chapter xciii.

Ericson, Karlsefne, Biarne Grimolfson, worked for the common good, and were as much loved and respected by their followers as Columbus was hated and despised by his.

We have here given but a short sketch of the Northmen and their achievements in America, because the field has already been thoroughly explored. The evidence, climatic, geographical, and astronomical, that the Sagas describe the Eastern coast of North America, has been unanswerably set forth by Rafn, and the matter placed beyond cavil. Historians of Columbus, however, either utterly ignore, or slightingly allude to, the achievements of these predecessors of their hero, on whom they have determined to heap all the honors belonging to various men and various ages. To this the candid and impartial will scarcely consent. If the discovery by Columbus in 1492 of the islands of San Salvador and San Domingo was the discovery of the Continent of America, then the discovery and permanent colonization of Iceland and Greenland, six hundred years before by the Scandinavians, was also the discovery of that continent; the portion of main-land coasted by Columbus was avowedly but small, and he professed to be in Asia. The Northmen, on the contrary, visited all the eastern coast of America, from the extreme North to Florida, formed settlements, and for centuries carried on commerce with the products of what are now the most civilized, populous, and enlightened portions of America; and the American might well feel relief and pride at the knowledge that the first of his race to touch upon his native shores were the heroic Norsemen:

> "Kings of the main, their leaders brave,
> Their barks the dragons of the wave."

CHAPTER IV.

PRINCE MADOC AND THE ZENI BROTHERS.

In treating of pre-Columbian visits to America, it would be unjust wholly to omit mentioning the voyages said to have been made to that continent by Prince Madoc, in the twelfth and the Zeni brothers in the fourteenth century. Insufficiency of evidence prevents these expeditions from taking a prominent place in the domain of history, yet the traditionary accounts of them, ignored by too partial historians of Columbus, go far to prove that the voyage of the latter was no such startling undertaking as has been represented; that the realms which lay beyond the Atlantic were not shrouded in all the mystery of the unknown; nor the ocean itself regarded with that superstitious terror recorded by his eulogists, in order to enhance his courage and superiority over his contemporaries.

Cambrian chroniclers speak confidently of a voyage made by Prince Madoc in the year 1170, to a Western continent. This land is said to have been fertile, and peopled by a race differing in features and complexion from those of Europe. Subsequent writers contend that this new land was no other than the Continent of America.[39]

What may be the amount of credit justly due to these statements is not now easy to determine; yet it is evident that the earlier of these accounts were not written for the purpose of defrauding Columbus. Hakluyt, Humboldt, and others, have given this subject more or less consideration. While it is still shrouded in mystery, there can be little doubt that Madoc made a voyage to distant lands. His name and family were not so obscure as to admit of his disappearing from the scenes of turmoil

[39] The similarity between the name of Madoc and that of the Modoc tribe of Indians has been commented upon by some, who ascribe a Welsh descent to the latter.

and blood with which Wales was afflicted after the death of his father, without attracting the notice of historians of his time, nor is it probable that he remained concealed in his native land, or that he fixed his abode in any portion of the earth with which the isle of Britain had intercourse.

Prince Madoc is the hero of one of Southey's ablest poems. He prefaces it with the following history, which contains all that is known at the present day of the Welsh navigator:

"The historical facts on which this poem is founded may be related in a few words. On the death of Owen Gwyneth, King of North Wales, A. D. 1169, his children disputed the succession. Yorworth, the elder, was set aside without a struggle, as being incapacitated by a blemish in his face. Hoel, though illegitimate, and born of an Irish mother, obtained possession of the throne for a while, till he was defeated and slain by David, the eldest son of the late king by a second wife. The conqueror, who then succeeded without opposition, slew Yorworth, imprisoned Rodri, and hunted others of his brethren into exile. But Madoc, meantime, abandoned his barbarous country, and sailed away to the west, in search of some better resting-place. The land which he discovered pleased him; he left there part of his people, and went back to Wales for a fresh supply of adventurers, with whom he again set sail, and was heard of no more. Strong evidence has been adduced that he reached America."

The poem of Madoc, Mr. Southey informs us, drew upon him the indignation of an American pamphleteer, who denounced him, as having "meditated a most serious injury against the reputation of the New World, by attributing its discovery and colonization to a little vagabond Welsh prince—this being a most insidious attempt against the honor of America and the reputation of Columbus."

To such lengths of blind partiality will men be carried, who care less for the truth of history than for the fame of its creatures. Early historians were not thus scornful of Madoc and his voyages; witness Purchas, who writes: "I will not say but that in these times of old, some ships might come some time by casualty into these parts, but rather forced by weather than directed by skill; and thus it is likely that some parts of America have been peopled . . . . The most probable history (account) in this kind is (in my mind), that of Madoc ap Owen Gwyneth, who, by

reason of civil contentions, left his country of Wales, seeking adventures by sea; and, leaving the coast of Ireland north, came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things." [40]

NICOLO and ANTONIO ZENO flourished in Venice, during the latter part of the fourteenth century (1380). They were active members of a family of warriors, navigators, statesmen, diplomats, and historians; few families have a prouder record than the Zeni; Nicolo and Antonio added to its fame by the adventurous character of their voyages, especially by that in which it is averred that the latter visited the Continent of America.

Purchas, in speaking of discoveries made in the northern parts of the New World, Greenland, New France, etc., says: "The first knowledge that hath come to us of those parts was by Nicholas and Antonio Zeno. . . . Master Nicholo Zeno, being wealthy, and of a haughty spirit, desiring to see the fashions of the world, built and furnished a ship at his own charge, passing the Straits of Gibraltar, held on his course northward, with intent to see England and Flanders, but, a violent tempest assailing him, he was carried he knew not whither." [41] He finally reached Friesland, according to the same old author, and was there with his companions saved from death at the hands of the natives, by Zichmui, who was a chief or ruler in that province. This chief, appreciating the nautical skill of Nicolo, placed him in command of his navy, and subjugated sundry islands. "After divers notable exploits," Nicolo armed three vessels in which he visited *Engroneland* (probably Iceland). Here he found a monastery, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas; this was "hard by a hill, that cast out fire, like *Vesuvius* and *Etna;* there is a fountain of hot water with which they heat the church of the monastery, and the friars' chambers; it cometh also into the kitchen so boiling hot that they use no other fire to dress their meat."

Nicolo returned to Friesland in 1395, and died there; his brother Antonio succeeded to his fortune and honors, and was employed by Zichmui in an expedition to Estotiland. This country we are told lay "to the west of Friesland; the people there possess some gold, sow corn, and make beer;" farther south,

[40] "Pilgrimage," pp. 725, 726. The story of Madoc has been carefully examined by John Williams, LL. D. (London, 1791), to which the curious are referred.

[41] "Pilgrimage," p. 735.

they go naked. In one region they visited, the ground was covered with the eggs of wild-fowl. The country was very extensive, and was regarded as a new world. After this voyage Antonio returned to Venice, where he died soon after, in 1405.

Such are the meagre data which have come down to us. Scanty as are the details, they go far to corroborate the assertion that Zeno touched upon the American Continent. Purchas says of the regions above named (New France, etc.), "The best geographers are beholden to these brothers for that little knowledge they have of these parts."

CHAPTER V.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF COLUMBUS.

THERE is an ancient Indian fable which reads: "This beautiful world we inhabit rests on the back of a mighty elephant; the elephant stands on the back of a monster turtle; the turtle rests upon a serpent; the serpent on nothing." It well typifies the many splendid histories of Columbus, eloquent in the praise of their hero, proceeding often from the most eminent authors, and resting upon a stupendous "weight of authority" which is in itself nothing, or, worse than nothing, falsehood; yet, so deeply rooted are these falsehoods in the minds of the multitude, and so difficult are first impressions to erase, that many years will elapse before the question, "Who discovered America?" will not be answered unhesitatingly with the name of Christopher Columbus. Where one author, regarding truth as of more importance than the reputation of any real or pretended hero, labors to show matters pertaining to this discovery in their true light, ten, nay, a hundred, will unreflectingly repeat the universally accepted theory, and stamp it indelibly on the minds of another generation. Great writers have immortalized, poets idealized, and priests would canonize Columbus. In the vindication of truth, the work is truly great, the laborers few, and the attempt to prove that this saintly demi-god was neither great, noble, heroic, nor even honest, appears but a thankless task.

"There is a certain meddlesome spirit," writes Washington Irving, in his "Life of Columbus," "which, in the garb of learned research, goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from

such pernicious erudition. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history, that of furnishing examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish." [42]

We, too, believe that one of the most laudable purposes of history is to furnish examples of what human genius and enterprise can accomplish, and far be it from us to pry with meddlesome spirit; but, we would ask, Were genius and enterprise concentrated in Columbus only? If others were the authors of a scheme which he imperfectly carried out, should not *their* names be vindicated, *their* genius extolled? If the monuments existing are false, should they not be overthrown, and the real ones raised triumphantly to the pedestals from which they have been so long and unjustly dethroned? Above all, is not truth the greatest and most worthy object of history?

These questions, we believe, answer themselves. Before attempting to mar one of the fairest trophies of history, let us discover by whom this trophy was raised; in a word, let us examine what constituted history, and especially Spanish-American history, at the time of Columbus. Let us not be deterred from rejecting a statement which is evidently untrue, because of the "weight of authority" upon which it rests; nor let us blindly accept a false assertion because sanctioned by an Inquisitor; neither will we denounce in general terms the authorities so often quoted, but endeavor to show their defects and errors, that the reader may himself judge how much is to be accepted as truth, and how much as the result of priestly tyranny, personal vanity, and interested deceit.

"The writing of history, so far as regards the New World," Lord Kingsborough remarks, "was by the law of Spain restricted to men in priestly orders."

To a small work on Mexico, by Boturini, are appended—

1. The declaration of his faith.
2. The license of an Inquisitor.
3. The license of the judge of the Supreme Council of the Indies.
4. The license of the Jesuit father.
5. The license of the Royal Council of the Indies.
6. The approbation of the qualificator of the Inquisition.
7. The license of the Royal Council of Castile.

[42] Irving, "Life of Columbus," book i., chapter v.

Beyond all this, the person must be of sufficient influence to obtain the favorable notice of the bodies thus represented.

Nor was this the end of the difficulty: the license of any one of these officials could be revoked at pleasure; and, when republished, the work had to be reëxamined.

The penalty attached to the possession of a book not thus licensed was death.[43]

In 1524 Venetian merchants were arrested, by the Holy Office, for selling Bibles with commentaries, by a writer of the twelfth century, Rabbi Solomon Raschi; and their release could not be obtained by the Venetian ambassador, because it was alleged that they were arrested for selling books against the Faith.

Such was the tyranny which weighed upon historical writers; and it is not difficult to perceive how all these censors would deal partially with Columbus. By representing himself as the chosen of God, the champion of the Christian religion, carrying the light of the Gospel to heathen nations, by performing the smallest acts with affectation of religious ceremony, by inserting scriptural and religious sentences in his most trivial letters, by recounting miracles and interviews with God, by giving, in fact, a religious coloring to all his acts, he became the *protégé* of the Church, which has continued through all after-centuries to regard him as one of her most zealous votaries, and is now strenuously urged to place him among her saints.

Pope Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia) deeded the Continent of America to Spain, solely on the statement of Columbus.[44] To attack the latter was, therefore, to attack the justice of the pope's bull, and an indirect imputation on papal infallibility. "The learned and excellent divine Guistiniani," who published, we believe, the first polyglot edition of the Psalms, was bitterly assailed, and his book condemned to be burned,[45] because, in a note appended to the nineteenth Psalm, containing a sketch of

[43] Wilson, "New History of the Conquest of Mexico," chapter, ii., p. 81; Lord Kingsborough," vol. vii., p. 269.

[44] Count Roselly de Lorgues, in his "Life of Columbus" (vol. i., chapter xi., p. 400), speaking of this matter, says: "The pope has faith in Columbus. He yields full credence to him and justifies his calculations. *It is solely on Columbus that he depends; it is relying on Columbus that he engages in the vast partition of the unexplored world, between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Every thing the messenger of the cross proposes is granted in full, as a thing that is indicated by Providence.*"

[45] Fernando, "Historia del Amirante," chapter ii.

the life of Columbus (suggested by the words "*In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in finis mundi verba eorum*"), there are some statements which are not considered sufficiently flattering to that individual. An examination of this note will prove to the reader how trivial an offense was sufficient to cause the destruction of a valuable work. One of the chief enormities it contains is the allegation that in his early life Columbus was a mechanic; this, his son and historian regards as an unspeakable insult.

Laical censors, owing their authority to the same royal favor which protected Columbus, would naturally regard any history, detrimental to the latter, as militating against the Queen of Castile. Thus it was that in Spain it became necessary for all who would write a history of the New World, to extol Columbus and the Church.

To ecclesiastical tyranny and popular prejudice may be added the exaggerations and falsehoods of the chief actor of the scene, whose statements are accepted as gospel truth, even when at war with reason, common-sense, or known facts, and we shall perceive how difficult it will be to wade through errors, partiality, and injustice, and arrive at the truth regarding the character and deeds of this Columbus and his contemporaries. We have seen how history was compiled in his time. Subsequent Spanish historians, finding, even in the facts recorded, much which would militate against the honor of their country, as well as of the individuals concerned, have endeavored to soften the cruelties and enormities perpetrated; while the modern American writer identifies the glory of his country with that of Columbus, and considers that to record any thing which is not highly in praise of the latter, is to insult America. How far this spirit is carried we may judge from the following passage in Washington Irving:

"Herrera has been accused also of flattering his nation, exalting the deeds of his countrymen, and softening and concealing their excesses.

"There is nothing very serious in this accusation. To illustrate the glory of his nation is one of the noblest offices of the historian; and it is difficult to speak too highly of the extraordinary enterprises and splendid actions of the Spaniards in those days. In softening their excesses he fell into an amiable and

pardonable error, if indeed it be an error for a Spaniard to endeavor to sink them in oblivion."

When we read such sentiments from the pen of one of America's ablest writers, we confess that we lose some confidence in his statements. If history were to become the medium through which writers exaggerate the good and conceal the bad in their respective countries and favorite heroes, how vainly should we search for truth in the history of the same events, written in nations variously interested!

The historian has a nobler mission. The good and great he should indeed extol, that after-generations may be impelled to like actions; but that which is disgraceful, cruel, or dishonorable, he should fearlessly condemn; he thus becomes the faithful mirror in which good and bad are alike reflected, exerting a salutary influence in his own country, believed and respected in others.

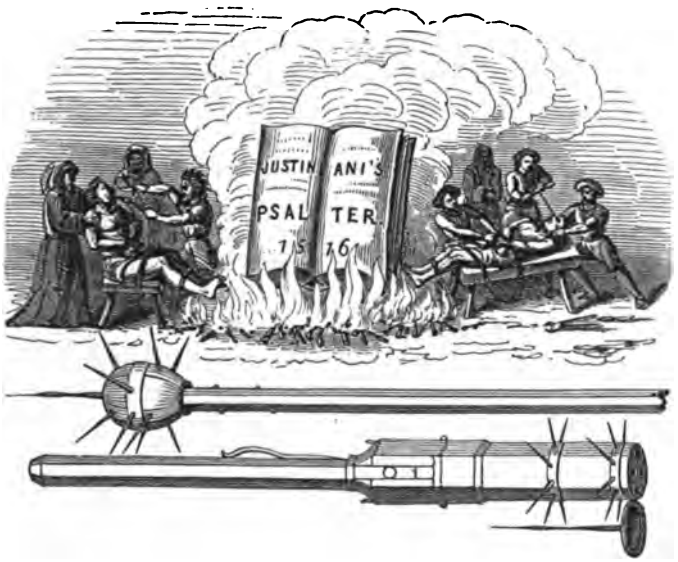


Illustration of tortures inflicted upon obnoxious or heretical authors of the time of Columbus. The instruments below the burning psalter represent the "Morning Star," or "Holy-water Sprinkler" (so called derisively), with which the blood of heretics was drawn. (*See* Meyrick's "Description of Ancient Arms and Armor at Goodrich Court," vol. ii., plates 92, 93.)

CHAPTER VI.

CONTEMPORARIES OF COLUMBUS.—FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

If it is necessary to demonstrate the spirit in which his history has hitherto been written, before attempting a truthful biography of Columbus, it is not less necessary, in order to form a just estimate of his character, to become acquainted with those of his contemporaries with whom he had more or less relation, and who have been favored or injured, according as they were favorable to him; or as their character and achievements, superior to his, would, unless willfully belittled, diminish greatly the meed of praise which has been accorded to him.

The most prominent of these were Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who are so intricately connected with the history of Columbus that it becomes necessary to elucidate their character, that the reader may judge of their conduct with regard to the latter. It has been too customary to lay the blame of all the calamities which Columbus entailed upon himself, by his deception and inhumanity, upon the "cold and calculating Ferdinand,"[46] who is represented as having persistently endeavored to frustrate his lofty designs. These charges become void when we consider the marriage articles between Ferdinand and Isabella, signed and sworn to January 7, 1469, in which Ferdinand promised faithfully to respect the laws of Castile; to fix his residence in that kingdom, and not to quit it without the consent of Isabella; to alienate no property belonging to the crown; to prefer no foreigners to municipal offices (his subjects were foreigners in Castile); to make no appointments, civil or military, without her consent or approbation; to resign to her, exclusively, the right of nomination to ecclesiastical benefices, etc., etc.[47]

They lived together, not like man and wife, whose estates

[46] Irving, "Life of Columbus," book xviii., chapter iii.

[47] Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," chapter iii.

were blended, and subject to the direction of the husband, but like allied monarchs, with separate and independent claims to sovereignty, each having their envoys, ministers, counselors, secretaries, and treasurers, and were often removed from each other while superintending their respective interests.[48] The subjects of Ferdinand were not allowed even to visit the western

FERDINAND OF ARAGON.—(From an Old Engraving in the Burgundian Library.)

[48] Irving, "Life of Columbus," book ii., chapter ii. Voltaire, "Essai sur les Mœurs." Ferdinand complains thus of his consort: "The reason why you do not write, is not because there is no paper to be had, or that you do not know how to write, but because you do not love me, and because you are proud. You are living at Toledo, I am living in small villages. . . . The affairs of the princess" (their daughter) "must not be forgotten. For God's sake, remember her, as also her father, who kisses your hands, and is your servant." We shall see how the unhappy daughter he alludes to was remembered.

islands when discovered. He was subject to the Queen of Castile, and perfectly unanswerable for any of her proceedings. Astute and suspicious as he no doubt was, he may have mistrusted the adventurer Christopher Columbus, but he was too jealously prevented from having any voice in the affairs of state for his suspicions to have any effect.

Isabella, the patroness of Columbus, has been handed down to posterity as of "*glorious memory*," the "*sweet queen*." Prescott tells us "her honest soul abhorred any thing like artifice." She is represented as the type of womanly gentleness, virtue, and truth, coupled with masculine courage and intelligence; but, alas! as we peruse her history, and see her character reflected in the numerous dispatches she wrote, we perceive that the priesthood, which raised her to the throne of Castile, has done much toward embellishing her character, and endowing her with fictitious qualities. Transferred, at the early age of sixteen, to a court which Prescott terms "a brothel, private morals too loose to seek even the veil of hypocrisy;" frequently betrothed to men who, if not yielding to the wishes of those who treated for their marriage with the future Queen of Castile, died in a manner as mysterious as sudden; owing her throne itself to a scandalous imputation against her brother's wife, and the brand of illegitimacy affixed to her niece, her early life too soon made her familiar with the immorality and unscrupulous intrigue of the court of Spain at that period.

The fearful fires of the Inquisition filled Spain with a ghastly glare, and it was Isabella who applied the torch. She petitioned for the establishment of Torquemada as grand-inquisitor. Whole towns and villages were depopulated, and their wealth poured into the royal coffers. Living and dead were alike persecuted; bodies were exhumed and burned, while the crown confiscated the wealth of the heirs. Isabella herself says: "I have caused great calamities, and depopulated towns, lands, provinces, and kingdoms;" but this was all done, she protested, from love of Christ and his Holy Mother! Those were liars and calumniators who said she had done so from love of money, for she had never touched a maravedi proceeding from the confiscated goods, but had employed the money in educating and giving marriage-portions to the children of the condemned. It would seem discourteous, if not unjust, to doubt so solemn a

declaration; but, as we peruse the state papers, we find orders emanating from the queen which differ widely from the spirit of the above profession. For instance, one Pecho of Xerez was condemned for heresy; his property, amounting to two hundred thousand maravedis, was confiscated. The widow, whose portion was twenty thousand maravedis, was reduced with her children to the utmost destitution. As a special favor, Isabella granted them thirty thousand maravedis, while the remaining hundred and seventy thousand she appropriated to herself. Such cases abound; and while so-called bounties, such as the above, are always recorded, silence is preserved touching the many instances in which she appropriated the whole of the confiscated property. So terrible did her persecutions become, that the pope resolved to send a legate to Spain to investigate the proceedings of the Inquisition. Isabella strove to prevent this.

"She used corruption on a large scale, larger even, as she declared, than was agreeable to herself. The final result was, that the courts of Spain and Rome came to an understanding respecting the person who was to be sent as legate. He received rich donations in Spain, and his inquiry was reduced to a mere form. It is characteristic of the queen, that the only condition she made was that his Holiness should absolve her from simony."[49]

The Inquisition was thus firmly established. Victims multiplied; two thousand men and women were burned, a greater number condemned to living death in the dungeons of that terrible institution, homesteads were abandoned, and thousands fled to neighboring countries. "The queen was implored to relent, but she answered that it was better for the service of God and herself to have the country depopulated, than to have it polluted by heresy."

The *archivero* of Barcelona of that time has recorded a long list of *autos-da-fe*, the victims were of all classes—clergymen, officers in the army, tailors, and cobblers, but there is a disproportionately large number of widows of merchants. Mr. Bergenroth, recording this fact, shrewdly inquires, "Were they really more inclined to heresy, or were they only rich, and comparatively defenseless?"[50]

[49] G. A. Bergenroth, "Introduction to Spanish State Papers," vol. i., 1485–1509.
[50] Idem

Such was the beneficent rule of this virtuous queen over her own subjects. Her relations with foreign powers are equally to her discredit. Her correspondence teems with the grossest insincerity and heartlessness. Her cruel neglect of her daughter shows her to have been sadly deficient in that domestic virtue and affection for which she has been so much praised; a notable example of her deceptive policy and grasping avarice is found in the negotiations which took place for the marriage of her daughter. She established a marriage brokerage in England, where she carried on the disgraceful business for many years, driving bargains, or seeking to do so, upon the persons of her daughters, conducting these negotiations more with an eye to filling her coffers, than to her own honor or her daughters' integrity. Her confidential agent at the court of England was Doctor de Puebla, selected, it is said, "because he was so uncommonly honest," but who, indeed, was a consummate knave, as is abundantly proved, not only by his making himself the medium of the abominable falsehoods he was instructed to utter by the queen, but by the following chapter of his history, contained in the Spanish archives under date of the 18th of July, 1488:

"*The Spanish Merchants residing in London to Sanchez de Londoño and the Sub-prior of Santa Cruz.*

"De Puebla had asked Henry to give a bishopric to him and other good livings to his sons and relatives. On account of the king having refused to do so, he had delayed the conclusion of the treaty of marriage. When Henry was in his greatest difficulties with Scotland and Perkin" (Warbeck), "De Puebla had repeated his demands. Henry had answered that he was unfit to become a bishop, because he was a cripple. De Puebla then proposed that the bishopric should be given to a certain procurator of Henry in Rome, from whom he had got one thousand gold crowns, for his promise to procure letters for him from the King and Queen of Spain to the pope, recommending him for a cardinal's hat. Henry was in such great difficulties then, that he had acceded to the proposals of De Puebla, and promised fifteen thousand crowns a year, besides, to one of his sons. As soon as De Puebla had obtained what he wanted, he concluded the mar-

riage, which was so advantageous to Henry, that, in consequence of it, peace with Scotland was concluded, Perkin turned out of Scotland, and the rebels punished. Some merchants from Genoa had subjected themselves to a penalty in England; they gave five hundred crowns, and cloth, and silk, for the marriage, to De Puebla, who settled their affair with Henry.

"De Puebla had sold two licenses of the king for importing wine and woad, in Spanish vessels, to Spanish merchants, for two hundred crowns.

"Francisco de Arvieto, of Orduña, had paid De Puebla one hundred gold crowns for a pardon for perjury.

"Similar things are done almost daily by De Puebla. When he took part in the negotiations with Flanders, he persuaded the archduke to impose a duty of one gold florin on every piece of English cloth, the consequences of which have been to cause prolonged debates and great disasters.

"There is not a Spanish captain, or even a single sailor, who is not obliged to pay more or less to De Puebla if he has any thing to do in England. De Puebla often takes money from both parties if he has to decide a lawsuit. He is a spy and secret informer in all kinds of contraventions committed by subjects of any nation, only for the purpose of making money by his information. He and his servants sell testimonials of all kinds.

"De Puebla constantly complains that he is badly paid, and he begs money from the king and the gentlemen of the court. He lives meanly. He has been three years in a house of a mason, who keeps dishonest women. He eats with them and with all the apprentices at the same table, for twopence a day. His landlord robs men who come to his house, and the ambassador protects him, in his dishonest trade, against the police.

"The consequence of all this is that the Spaniards are less esteemed and worse treated in England than any other foreigners."

Elsewhere we read, "In a word, De Puebla was a liar, flatterer, calumniator, beggar, spy, secret informer, enemy of truth, full of lies."

The above are a few of the leading traits of character which seem to have so endeared De Puebla to Isabella that she retained

him in office after those who had been sent to England to investigate his character and conduct had reported that "all the paper in England would not suffice to describe the character of that man."

Her letters of instruction to him contain statements not only false but disgusting, and, though avarice and deceit are palpable throughout her multifarious and protracted negotiations to marry her daughter, now to this prince, now to that, and now to some other, she affects to be making great sacrifices "for the love of Christ and his Holy Mother." In 1490 she writes to De Puebla, calling him her "virtuous and intimate friend," urging him to persuade the King of England to declare war on France; similar efforts were made to induce the King of Scots to join the coalition against France, and Isabella offered him her daughter, Princess Katherine, as an inducement—the said princess was then betrothed to Arthur, Prince of Wales; but Isabella kept that betrothal secret, that she might impose upon other parties.

Henry of England obtaining an inkling of the above transaction, and not being quite satisfied, he was reassured by Isabella, who informed him that the King of Scots was to be the only dupe, and that it was to prevent the latter from aiding Warbeck, the so-called Duke of York. The huckstering with regard to the marriage of Isabella's children fills the reader of her dispatches with disgust — the manner in which the matter was discussed being worse, if possible, than the object intended.[51]

[51] Honest De Puebla writes his affectionate mistress that he has examined the person of her intended son-in-law, first clothed, then naked, and lastly when sleeping, and declares him possessed of admirable parts.

Isabella was not to be outdone, even by the despicable De Puebla, for we find her subsequently seeking to drive a bargain upon the real or pretended *virginity of her widowed daughter*, and for proof referring to Doña Elvira, "the first lady of the bedchamber." Fearing that the latter may not be believed, she would establish the fact by a cloud of witnesses.

On the 16th of June, 1502, she writes the Duke of Estrada: "Be careful also to get at the truth as regards the fact whether the Prince and Princess of Wales consummated the marriage, since nobody has told us about it. You must, moreover, use all the flattering persuasion you can to prevent them from concealing it from you." On the 12th of July of the same year, she continues to instruct the duke in this delicate mission as follows:

"But now you must see of how great importance it is that there should be no delay in making the agreement for the contract of marriage of the Princess of Wales, our daughter, with the Prince of Wales who now is . . . . Therefore, since it is '*already known for a certainty that the said Princess of Wales*,' *our daughter*, '*remains as she was*

De Puebla writes to Ferdinand and Isabella, July 18, 1488, as follows:

"When speaking of the marriage, the king" (Henry VII.) "broke out into a *Te Deum laudamus*."

"The English declared, with regard to the alliance, there was not much to confer about, and began directly to speak of the marriage. They were exceedingly civil, and said a great many things in praise of Ferdinand and Isabella; that being done, they asked the Spaniards to name the sum for the marriage-portion.

"The *Spanish ambassador* replied that it would be more becoming for the *English* to name the marriage-portion, because they had first solicited the marriage, and their party is a son. The *English commissioners* asked five times as much as they had asked in Spain.

"The Spanish ambassador proposed to refer this amount to Ferdinand and Isabella, who would act liberally in proportion to the confidence shown them.

"The English commissioners said that such a proceeding would be inconvenient for both parties, and that Ferdinand and Isabella would not agree to it.

"The Spanish ambassador complained that the English were unreasonable in their demands. Bearing in mind what happens every day to the Kings of England, it is surprising that Ferdinand and Isabella should dare to give their daughter at all. This was said with great courtesy, in order that they might not feel displeasure or be enraged.

"The English commissioners abated one-third.

"The Spaniards proposed that, as there was sufficient time for it, two or four persons should be selected as umpires.

here' (*for so Doña Elvira has written to us*), endeavor to have the said contract agreed to immediately, without consulting us; for any delay that might take place would be dangerous. See also that the articles be made and signed, and sworn to at once, and, if nothing more advantageous can be procured, let it be settled as was proposed. In that case let it be declared that the King of England has already received from us one hundred thousand scudos in gold, in part payment of the dowry, and let that be made an obligatory article of the contract, with a view to restitution, in accordance with the former directions given you. Let it be likewise stipulated that we shall pay the rest of the dowry when the marriage is consummated, so please God; that is, if you should not be able to obtain more time. But, take heed, on no account to agree for us to pay what still remains of the dowry until the marriage shall have been consummated. . . . Be very vigilant about this, and endeavor to have the contract made, without delay, and without consulting us. Do not, however, let them see you have any suspicion of hinderance, or show so much eagerness that it may cause them to cool."

The English commissioners declined it, and gave their reasons.

"The Spaniards desired the English to name their lowest price.

"The English abated one-half.

"The Spaniards said that this marriage would be so advantageous to the King of England that he ought to content himself with what is generally given with princesses of Spain.

"The English desired to have every thing defined, in order to avoid disputes after the conclusion of the marriage. They asked twice as much as they had asked in Spain.

"The Spanish ambassador offered one-fourth.

"The English asked why, as the money was not to come out of the strong boxes of the king and queen, but out of the pockets of their subjects, they should not be more liberal. They referred to old treaties with France, Burgundy, and Scotland, proving by them that even higher marriage-portions were given."

When the marriage is at length concluded, there is a large amount of negotiation as to who shall pay the passage of the Princess Katherine to England, and who shall clothe her. We read in one dispatch:

"Ferdinand and Isabella are to send the princess in a decent manner, and at their own expense, to London.

"They are to dress their daughter suitably to her rank" (*honorifice*), "and to give her as many jewels, etc., for her personal use as becomes her position."

In answer to which, Isabella writes De Puebla:

"King Henry asks them to bind themselves to give their daughter ornaments and apparel, without deducting the amount from the marriage-portion. Such a proceeding is against custom. Husbands provide the dresses of their wives. They are willing to buy as many dresses and ornaments for the Princess Katherine as the English wish, provided the cost be deducted from the marriage-portion, and, if not, they will give what *they* think proper. . . . He is to inform himself what the dowry of the queen would be in such a case, and to secure to the Princess Katherine a somewhat larger dowry than other Queens of England have enjoyed."

Again Isabella insists that "one-half, or one-third, or at any

rate the fourth part" (of the marriage-portion), "must be accepted in ornaments and apparel for the person and household of the infanta."

This daughter became a widow on the 2d of April, 1502. The news does not seem to have reached Isabella until more than a month after the death of the English prince. She loses no time, but on the 10th of May, 1502, commissions the Duke of Estrada to endeavor to conclude a marriage between her widowed daughter and the Prince of Wales, surviving brother of her late husband, with instructions as to dower, etc., etc.

This done, it is not till two days later that she writes, for the eye of King Henry, the following letter of condolence to her minister at London: "Have read with profound sorrow the news of the death of Prince Arthur. The affliction caused by all their former losses has been revived by it. But the will of God must be obeyed."

Richard III. excited disgust by courting a widow beside the bier of her late husband. Had Isabella chanced to be in England at the death of this son-in-law, it seems probable that negotiations for a second husband for her bereaved daughter would have preceded the funeral of the first.

Again, her deceit is manifested by the following instruction to Estrada, who is negotiating for this second marriage: "In case that you hear any thing of the King of France, appear as if you did not know it, until after the treaty of marriage is concluded." (The King of France had just declared war on Spain.) "Afterward you must show to the King of England the relation which we send you of the matters between us and the King of France."

All this bargaining for a daughter's marriage, and the duplicity with which it is carried on, certainly evince that avarice, meanness, and deceit, were attributes of Isabella's character. But, should further proof seem necessary, it may be found in the following extracts from a document in which Isabella commissions Estrada to raise an army in England:

"*Queen Isabella of Spain to Ferdinand, Duke of Estrada, October* 3, 1503.

"If the King of England should not be inclined to afford us further assistance, he must, at any rate, be pleased to give us the

assistance which is obligatory upon him; and, upon our forwarding the money, send us troops. *Tell him that you have the money*, and that we pray and require him to be willing, immediately, to send two thousand English infantry, picked men and well armed .... this being done, you shall endeavor to make them embark instantly .... try your utmost to have the troops you shall thus send, the best chosen, and the best armed, that it is possible to obtain; and get them to come as soon as ever they can.... As regards the pay that will have to be made to the said troops, endeavor to let it be as little as possible .... (three ducats per month are suggested).... *Borrow the money that will be required for the aforesaid pay*, agreeing for us to repay it in England, on the terms stipulated by you .... But, should you not have ships at present, in which the said infantry can come as above said, you must not give them any pay. Endeavor, however, to find out how many troops are to come .... spread abroad a report in England that there are many more troops going to Spain; because, as you will see, such tidings and rumors will inspire France with fear, and will produce a favorable impression in Italy.

"If you should see that it will not annoy the King of England our brother, and the chief men of his kingdom, and that it can do no harm, make use of the Princess of Wales, our daughter; that is to say, should you not be able to obtain the money necessary for the dispatch of the said troops;.... in that case, you shall say to her, by virtue of my letter of credence which I will send, that you pray her to raise, upon her jewels and plate, the money which may be necessary for the dispatch of the two thousand infantry."

This dispatch concerning the army might naturally be supposed to pertain to Ferdinand, but the reader will perceive that it bears the name of Isabella alone; it contains as much falsehood and duplicity as could well be inclosed in so small a space. First, her agent is instructed to tell the king he has the money; secondly, to borrow the money on the credit of Isabella; thirdly, to obtain it by pawning the jewels and plate of Princess Katherine. Nor can the meanness be overlooked with which she stipulates for the best troops, best equipped, poorest paid, and most hastily concentrated; and then, if she should not be ready to transport

them, they are to receive no pay. Furthermore, her agent is charged to circulate a false report with regard to the number of troops. Finally, let us consider the financial condition of the Princess Katherine (who is to raise the necessary funds), from her own account. She had always been kept in straitened circumstances till, in 1502, she writes to her father thus:

"No woman, of whatever station in life, can have suffered more than she has. None of the promises made to her on the occasion of her marriage, have been kept. Repeats once more that which has formed the principal part of all her letters, namely, the necessity of sending a suitable ambassador with sufficient means of subsistence. The circumstance that the former ambassadors were not properly provided for, has been the cause of all her sufferings .... Has never told him the whole extent of her misery. Has been treated worse in England than any other woman.... Has not more than five women in her service. They have not received the smallest sum of money since they were in England, and have spent all that they possessed. Cannot think of them without pangs of conscience. No money could pay their services and sacrifices, which have continued during six years. Has been unable to pay a single penny to the courier who takes this letter."

Alonzo de Escobal, of the household of Princess Katherine, writes to Almazan (September 6, 1507): "He would not mention his great necessity if there were any other means to remedy it; begs him to remind the king in what poverty the servants of the Princess of Wales live. Thinks he has a right to ask at least his salary, is obliged to sell his clothes. Has seen the Princess of Wales only three times since Doña Elvira has left her. Doña went away in a horrible hour; but such things are better suited for conversation than for letters."

Again the Princess of Wales writes:

"That her necessities have risen to such a height, that she knows not how she shall be able to sustain herself, now that even her household goods have been sold."

Few will deny, after perusing the extracts we have given, that Isabella is proved, by her own words and acts, to have been an unloving wife, an unnatural mother, a cruel and despotic sovereign, a deceitful and treacherous ally, an avaricious and unscrupulous woman. It is easy to perceive how in spite of all this

so much partiality has been shown her, often to the detriment of her husband. Besides the favor of the Church, for which she professed so much zeal, the chivalry of the Spaniards has always made them remember she was a lady, and they have dealt courteously with her. Moreover, her marriage did not smother the old rivalry and strife between the *Corona* and *Coronilla*. Isabella represented the *corona*, or great crown of Castile, while Ferdinand merely represented the *coronilla*, or small crown of Aragon. Castile never regarded him with favor, considering him an intruder, who had much to gain and little to lose by his alliance, and the opinion of Castile, as the leading and larger portion of the kingdom, has been received as that of all Spain. It is difficult for the most impartial historian not to be influenced by such a judgment, unless he refer to the original papers and letters of the time, and with their assistance form an opinion of his own.

That we may not appear wantonly to have inveighed against a sovereign who has so long been considered a shining light, we will not rest solely upon the views we may have derived from our own investigation, but will quote the conclusions at which Mr. Bergenroth, who spent many years in arduous study amid the archives of Simancas, has at length arrived. His familiarity with the state papers renders him abundantly competent to give an opinion:

"Neither Ferdinand nor Isabella scrupled to tell direct untruths, and make false promises, whenever they thought it expedient to their policy. But if any distinction is to be made, certainly Queen Isabella excelled her husband in disregard to veracity. It even seems to have been a matter of understanding between them that, whenever any very flagrant falsehood was to be uttered, she should be the one to do it. . . . Ferdinand had not the reputation, among princes of his time, of being a very untruthful man. . . . The queen often spoke of her dress. She dwelt much upon her simplicity, and laid great stress on the circumstance that she had been obliged to receive the French ambassadors twice in the same costume, while she spent large sums to the glory of God, and the good of the world. This kind of letters have often been published, and have not a little contributed to exalt her as a pious character. But such persons as had opportunities of seeing her, and of judging by their own

observations, could not find words expressive enough to describe the splendor of her attire. . . . Machada assured the King of England that a single toilet of Queen Isabella amounted in value to two hundred thousand scudi, and that he never saw her twice, even on the same day, whether it were at an audience, a bull-fight, or a ball, in the same costume; we may, therefore, con-

ISABELLA OF CASTILE.—(From an Authentic Engraving in the Burgundian Library.)

jecture that she carried on her person the greater portion of the contents of the royal exchequer. . . . Neither Ferdinand nor Isabella were scholars. They spoke and wrote Spanish well, but seemed to have been unable to understand any other language. With regard to their moral character, the queen has been extolled as simple-hearted and pious, while a large amount of opprobrium has been cast upon the king. But it is very difficult,

where two persons are so intimately united as Ferdinand and Isabella, to decide what measure of praise or blame attaches to the one or the other. They quarreled sometimes about their private concerns. It could scarcely be otherwise, when we remember that Ferdinand had four illegitimate children by different mothers. But in their aggressive foreign policy, and in their measures of oppression at home, they were always agreed. . . . She (Isabella) appears to have been very liable to mistake her own interests for those of God, whose name she constantly had on her lips, or to substitute self-gratification for real love of the people. For instance, in her letter to Henry VII., dated September 15, 1496, she enlarged in the most touching terms on the blessings of peace, and concluded by saying that, if it were possible to avoid thereby the calamities of war, she would not only send one and more than one embassy to the King of France, but that she would go to him in her own person, and ask him to make peace, not sparing herself any trouble or pains whatever. No words can be more becoming a great and pious queen. It is to be regretted that, in the same letter, she urged the King of England to declare war on France, and thereby to render the bloodshed and slaughter more general even than it was. . . . Queen Isabella left behind her, or, more accurately speaking, acquired after her death, the reputation of having been almost a saint. But, unhappily, the sanctity of Isabella was only of a spurious kind. Her subjects, who had suffered from her iron rule, had formed a widely different idea of her. When, on Tuesday, the 17th of November, 1504, she died at Medina del Campo, crowds assembled under the windows of her palace, but not to bless her memory. From curious criminal proceedings instituted some years later against Sarmiento, *corregidor* or mayor of Medina, we learn that he did not hesitate to declare that her soul had gone direct to hell, for her cruel oppression of her subjects, and that King Ferdinand was a thief and a robber. Nor was Sarmiento the only person who thought thus, as the witnesses deposed that all the people around Medina and Valladolid, that is to say, where the queen was best known, had formed the same judgment of her."

We will conclude with the following opinion, at which Mr. Bergenroth arrives, and which appears pertinent and correct:

"We are not reduced to depend upon public opinion, know-

ing enough of her to judge for ourselves; and, to any one acquainted with the lawless times of her youthful years, it must be obvious that, had she really been so pious, so meek, and self-sacrificing a princess as her admirers would fain have us believe, she would have been trodden under foot, instead of usurping, as she did, the crown of her niece."

This brief investigation of the character of Isabella has appeared to us necessary. She has hitherto been regarded as of an almost saintly nature; the mere fact of such a woman having tendered her gracious protection and friendship to Columbus, would of itself speak highly in his favor. But, when we become acquainted with the true character of Isabella, it is easy to understand how she cajoled him as long as his splendid falsehoods promised to gratify her cupidity, and abandoned him when his untruthfulness was discovered.

Ferdinand, who has been made the scape-goat, was, as we have already shown, wholly unanswerable for the proceeding of Isabella in this as in all matters pertaining to Castile. In spite of this unanswerable evidence, Mr. Irving does not hesitate to say: "Let the ingratitude of Ferdinand stand recorded in its full extent, and endure throughout all time. The dark shadow which it casts upon his brilliant renown will be a lesson to all rulers, teaching them what is important to their own fame in their treatment of illustrious men."

CHAPTER VII.

CONTEMPORARIES OF COLUMBUS—(CONTINUED)

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

THE leading incidents in the life of Vespucci are better known than his character is rightly judged; we will therefore give but a rapid sketch of the former, and, in speaking of the lat-

ter, dwell somewhat upon certain facts which, it appears to us, go far toward rehabilitating the memory of this great man, who has been so unjustly censured and condemned.

AMERIGO was the son of Nastagio Vespucci and Lisbetta Mini his wife. The family was an old and honored one in the fifteenth century; before the time of Amerigo they had left the little village of Peretola, whence they originated, and came to Florence, where they resided in the stately mansion which was afterward a hospital for the sick under the care of the Brothers of St. John of God. In this house Amerigo was born, on the 9th of March, 1451. Over the entrance is an inscription commemorating the fact, also the achievements of the great man; it reads thus:

"AMERIGO VESPUCCIO PATRICIO FLORENTINO
OB REPERTAM AMERICAM
SUI ET PATRIAE NOMINIS ILLUSTRATORI
AMPLIFICATORI. ORBIS. TERRARUM.
IN HAC OLIM VESPUCCIA DOMO
A TANTO VIRO HABITATA
PATRES SANCTI IOANNIS DE DEO CULTORES
GRATAE MEMORIAE CAUSSA." [82]

Amerigo passed his youth in study, under Giorgi Antonio Vespucci, his uncle (a Dominican friar who instructed many of the youth of Florence), and on reaching manhood he entered the commercial career in the famous house of the Medici. As confidential agent of this house, he was in 1492 sent to Spain to superintend business transactions in that country. The trust reposed in him by such eminent men as the Medici and Berardi is a sufficient encomium upon the capacity and honesty of Vespucci; and not the least proof of his integrity is the fact that the suspicious King Ferdinand of Aragon (who regarded Columbus as an impostor, or at best an unworthy adventurer) reposed such confidence in him that he appointed him to assist in the discoveries he desired to be made in the West. The antecedents of Vespucci seem far better to have qualified him for a serious under-

[82] "To Americus Vespucius, a noble Florentine,
Who, by the discovery of America,
Rendered his own and his country's name illustrious,
The amplifier of the world,
Upon this ancient mansion of the Vespucci,
Inhabited by so great a man,
The Holy Fathers of St. John of God
Have erected this tablet, sacred to his memory.

taking than those of Columbus. During his well-spent youth he had made geography, cosmography, and astronomy, objects of special study, while the nautical experience of the latter had been gained during a long career of piracy.

The first voyage of Vespucci was at the instance of King Ferdinand, in 1497, as is stated in his letter relating the events which took place therein.[48] His detractors seek to cast odium upon him, by declaring this letter an invention, and the voyage a fiction. This charge may be refuted by reference to the letter itself. From the description contained in it of the bay of Venezuela, that province received its name. He writes:

"We landed in a port where we found a village built over the water, like Venice. There were about forty-four houses, shaped like bells, built upon very large piles, having entrances by means of drawbridges, so that, by laying the bridges from house to house, the inhabitants could pass through the whole. When the people saw us they appeared to be afraid of us, and, to protect themselves, suddenly raised all their bridges, and shut themselves up in their houses. While we stood looking at them and wondering at this proceeding, we saw coming toward us by sea about two-and-twenty canoes, which are the boats they make use of, and are carved out of a single tree. They came directly toward our boats, appearing to be astonished at our figures and dress, and keeping at a little distance from us. This being the case, we made signals of friendship, to induce them to come nearer us, endeavoring to reassure them by every token of kindness; but, seeing that they did not come, we went toward them. They would not wait for us, however, but fled to the land, making signs for us to wait, and giving us to understand that they would soon return. They fled directly to a mountain, but did not tarry there long, and, when they returned, brought with them sixteen of their young girls, and, entering their canoes, came to our boats and put four of them into each boat, at which we were very much astonished, as your excellency may well imagine. Then they mingled with their canoes among our boats, and we considered their coming to speak to us in this manner to be a token of friendship. Taking this for granted, we saw a great crowd of people swimming toward us from the houses, without any suspicion. At this juncture, some old women showed them-

[48] F. A. de Vanhagen, "Analyse Critique de la Vie de Vespuce."

selves at the doors of their houses, wailing and tearing their hair, as if in great distress. From this we began to be suspicious, and had immediate recourse to our weapons, when suddenly the girls, who were in our boats, threw themselves into the sea, and the canoes moved away, the people in them assailing us with their bows and arrows.

VESPUCCI IN VENEZUELA.—(Reduced from Herrera's "History of the West Indies.")

At the time Vespucci's letter was published, no description of the countries in question existed; yet his minute accounts of the appearance, religion, and customs of the inhabitants, as well as of the vegetation, formation of the coast, etc., were corroborated by subsequent visitors to that part of America between Honduras and Chesapeake, which we are led to infer was the

scene of his first voyage. He must, therefore, have either visited the country, or possessed the gift of divination."

Other writers, equally virulent against the Florentine discoverer, declare that he sailed in a subordinate capacity under Vincent Yanez Pinzon, and Juan Solis. This is an ungenerous attempt to belittle a great man. Isabella had, at the urgent instigation of Columbus, passed a decree forbidding any voyages to the islands recently discovered, except under the command of the latter. This decree was revoked in 1494, in favor of all subjects of Castile, who were thenceforward authorized to prepare expeditions at their own expense, or at that of the crown, for the purpose of discovering Western lands for Castile. They were obliged to depart from Cadiz, having presented themselves before the officers of the crown to obtain a license. Amerigo being an alien, employed by the King of Aragon, could not, therefore, openly command an expedition, and it was probably nominally conducted by Vincent Yanez and Juan Solis. These men were skillful pilots. Vespucci was, however, their equal if not superior in cosmographical knowledge; and, although his letters, contrasting in this point strongly with those of Columbus, are singularly devoid of all personal allusion to himself of a laudatory character, they evidently emanate from a man of intellect and science, carefully noting the appearance and habits of a new country and people, for the purpose of reporting the particulars. It is believed, therefore, that the expedition, by whomsoever nominally conducted for the purpose of evading the national edict, was really directed by Amerigo.

The second voyage of Vespucci was in 1499, and we have reason to believe he was accompanied by Alonzo de Ojeda, from whom, however, he became separated during the voyage, Ojeda's return to Spain being previous to that of Vespucci. In this voyage he touched upon the most easterly point of Brazil, and coasted northwestward as far as the island of Curaçao and the gulf of Paria, where he writes he bought pearls of the natives for a mere nothing. He then sailed for Hispaniola, where he was to take on provisions and repair his ships. His crew were maltreated by those who were in the island with Columbus, "from envy I believe," he writes, but refrains from entering into particulars. He returned to Spain on the 8th of September,

[44] Varnhagen, "Analyse critique," p. 94.

1500. He was received, we are told, with great joy by all, particularly by the king and queen. He brought fine pearls and precious stones of great value, which were placed in the royal gallery. His fame spread far and wide, and in his native city, Florence, there was great exultation over his success—so great that public places were, by order of the signiory, illuminated three nights, which was considered a great honor, accorded by vote, with much solemnity, to the worthiest and greatest citizens only.[55]

While he was in Seville, reposing from the fatigues of these two voyages, the King of Portugal sent thither agents who were to persuade him to prosecute for that monarch the discovery of Brazil, which Cabral had accidentally made in 1500. Vespucci consented, and it was in the service of Portugal that he undertook his third voyage. He explored the coast of Brazil southward, and some authors state that, in adopting a southeastern course, he discovered an island which was no other than Giorgio; this, however, is merely hypothetical. The details of this, as of the other voyages, are to be found in the authentic letters of Amerigo, which were published during his lifetime. On his return to Lisbon, in September, 1502, so great was the satisfaction of the King of Portugal at the manner in which he had conducted the enterprise, that in May, 1503, six caravels were placed at his disposal, wherewith to search for a southwestern passage to the Indies. In this he was not successful, and, after being separated from the other ships (one of which he afterward rejoined), he again touched on Brazil, followed its coast southward till he reached Cape Frio, where he took on a large quantity of Brazil-wood; he also built a fortress and founded a small factory, and returned to Lisbon on the 18th of June, 1504. Ferdinand of Spain was now eager to regain his services. His rare knowledge and experience rendered him equally valuable to each of the rival monarchs. Ferdinand prevailed, and in 1505 Vespucci returned to Spain. About this time he married a lady of Seville, Maria Cerezo, by whom, however, he left no children. Amerigo now occupied himself in fitting out ships for an expedition which was to go in search of the spice-lands of Asia. These preparations, though commenced in 1505, were not completed

[55] Bandini, "Vita di Amerigo Vespucci," cap. iii., p. 45.

till 1507, from the fact, perhaps, of its having been stipulated that the ships were to be new ones.

There is a possibility of Vespucci having made a fifth voyage during this interval, which some writers believe was the cause of the peculiar favors accorded him by the Spanish crown; it is as probable, however, if not more so, that the king, recognizing his merit and learning, desired to profit by them. However this may be, the office of Pilot-Major of Spain was created for him in 1508, and he was charged to examine and instruct all pilots in the use of the astrolabe, to ascertain whether their practical knowledge equaled their theoretical; also to revise maps, and to compose one of the new lands, to be regarded as standard.[56]

[56] The royal order, appointing Vespucci to this office, which was read and published in all the cities, villages, and hamlets of the kingdom, reads thus: . . . "We command that all pilots of our kingdom and lordships, who now are, shall henceforward be, or desire to be, pilots on the said route to the said islands and *terra firma* which we hold in the Indies, and other parts of the ocean seas, shall be instructed and possess all necessary knowledge of the use of the quadrant and astrolabe; and in order that they may unite practice with theory, and profit thereby in the said voyages which they may make to the said lands, they shall not be able to embark as pilots in the said vessels, nor receive wages for pilotage, nor shall merchants be able to negotiate with them as such, nor captains receive them on board their ships, *without their having been first examined by you, Amerigo Despuchi, our pilot-major, and receiving from you a certificate of examination and approbation*, certifying that they are possessed each one of the knowledge aforesaid; holding which certificate, we command that they be held and received as expert pilots, wherever they shall show themselves. for it is our will and pleasure that you should be examiner of the said pilots. And, that those who do not possess the required knowledge, shall the more easily acquire it, we command that you shall instruct, at your residence in Seville, all such as shall be desirous of learning and remunerating you for your trouble.

"And as it might well happen that at first there should be a scarcity of examined pilots, and that thereby vessels might be detained, and damage and loss ensue to the people of the said islands and the merchants and others who trade therewith, we command you, the said Amerigo, and give you license to choose from among the pilots and mariners who have voyaged thither, the most able, that for one voyage or two, or for a certain space of time they may supply the demand, while others are acquiring the necessary knowledge, and on their return you shall assign to them a period in which they may learn whatever they may be deficient in. And as it has been told us that there are many different charts, by different captains, of the lands and islands of the Indies belonging to us, and by our orders recently discovered, the which charts differ greatly from each other, both in the route indicated and in the position of the lands, which causes much inconvenience—therefore, that there may be order in all things, it is our will and pleasure that a standard chart shall be made; and, that it may be the more correct, we command the officer of our Board of Trade in Seville to call an assembly of our most able pilots, that shall at that time be in the country, and, in presence of you, the said Amerigo Despuchi, our pilot-major, there shall be planned

He led this comparatively tranquil life for four years, and died the 22d of February, 1512. He left no wealth, having seemingly lost sight of pecuniary interest in his desire to prosecute voyages of discovery; his papers he left to his nephew, Juan Vespucci. A pension was granted his widow, which after her death was made reversible to her sister.

In none of his writings does Vespucci claim for himself advancement, honor, or emolument, nor does he seek to delude his patrons with visions of untold wealth. His letters are the easy effusions of a great mind filled with admiration at the fertile regions, balmy climate, and primitive races of the New World. Ever modest, he merges himself in the greatness of his undertaking; and, if the civilized world with one accord gave his name to the regions he was the first in modern times to visit, it was a tribute which it deemed just, and paid unasked. Why, then, should we be taught to consider this judgment unjust? When the Church, with its Inquisition, before whose severe censorship all works of history (and more especially those relating to the new lands) had to pass, was laboring with unremitting zeal for the aggrandizement of Columbus, and the ignoring of all his contemporaries, no opposition was raised in Spain to the naming of the con-

and drawn a chart of all the lands and islands of the Indies, which have hitherto been discovered belonging to our kingdom; and upon this consultation, subject to the approval of you, our pilot-major, a standard chart shall be drawn, which shall be called the *Royal Chart*, by the which all pilots must direct and govern themselves. This shall remain in the possession of our said officers, and of you, our said pilot-major; and no pilot shall *use any other chart, without incurring a penalty of fifty doubloons*, to be paid to the Board of Trade of the Indies in the city of Seville. We also command all pilots of our kingdoms and lordships that henceforward shall go to the said lands of the Indies, discovered or to be discovered, that should they find new lands, islands, bays, or ports, or any other thing worthy of note, they shall mark it upon the said Royal Chart, and, returning to Castile, shall go and give an account thereof to you, our said pilot-major, and to the officers of the Board of Trade in Seville, that all may be put down in its place in the said Royal Chart, to the end that navigators may be the more apt and learned in navigation. Moreover, we command that none of our pilots, who shall henceforward navigate the ocean seas, shall be without their quadrant and astrolabe, and the appurtenances thereof, under penalty of being disqualified for service for as long a time as it shall be our pleasure, and shall not be able to resume their position without our special license, and without paying a fine of ten thousand maravedis to the said Board of Trade of Seville. And it is our will and pleasure that in virtue of the above, you, the said Amerigo Despuchi, shall use and exercise the said functions of our pilot-major, and shall be able to do, and shall do, all things pertaining to that office, contained in this our letter," etc.—NAVARETTE, "Coleccion de los viajes y Descubrimientos," etc., etc., vol. iii., p. 299.

tinent after its first explorer. Moreover, we read that the name was given by a royal mandate emanating from the crown of Castile. Apiano,[57] who wrote almost contemporaneous with Columbus and Vespucci, makes no mention of the former in his chapter on America, but merely states that this "fourth part of the world received its name from Amerigo Vespucci, discoverer of the same, . . . in 1497, by order of the King of Spain." Viscount Santarem, in a life of Vespucci, which evinces extreme hostility to the latter, and unbounded partiality to the cause of Columbus, seeks to account for the naming of the continent from the fact that a "*host of eminent geographers and historians who wrote during the lifetime or immediately after the death of Columbus, ascribe the discovery of the New World to Amerigo, and name it after him* in their histories, geographies, and maps." He adds, "Which name Apian, Vadiamus, and Camers, have since widely spread through Strasbourg, Friburg, and Vienna, while the prodigious celebrity of the little book of Apian has propagated the evil by innumerable editions published in Holland and elsewhere." He might have said in Spain,[58] in the language of which country the work was published, having passed the severe censorship of the Church, Crown, and Inquisition, to which, as we have already stated, all works relating to the new lands were subjected. If, therefore, we find in a book, bearing the impress of the Inquisition, a statement militating against the claims of Columbus, which we know the Inquisition sought to further to the utmost, we may very reasonably infer that statement to have been regarded as incontestable. *We know* that Columbus lived upon friendly terms with Vespucci for more than seven years after the latter had publicly laid claim to the discovery of the continent.[59] Las Casas, moreover, writes: "I cannot but wonder that Hernando Colon, a clear-sighted man, who, *as I certainly know, had in his hand* Amerigo's account of his travels, should not have remarked in them any deceit or injustice toward the admiral." We presume that Fernando, as well as his father, was more competent to judge of the causes of their silence upon

[57] An eminent geographer and astronomer.

[58] The Spanish copy of Apiano, from which our extract is taken, was published only fifteen years after the death of Columbus.

[59] Herrera, relating events which happened in 1501, tells us, as of an old story, that "Americus Vespuccius was, with Ojeda, *still persisting* in arrogating to himself the honor of having discovered the continent." Columbus died in 1506.

this subject than Las Casas, or any other of their extravagant admirers; and had there been the least pretext for refuting the statements of Vespucci, or denying his achievements, it is not likely they would have failed to do so; yet in after-years the votaries of Columbus raised the hue-and-cry of imposition against Vespucci; they tampered with his letters, changing dates,[60] suppressing or perverting facts, that there might be apparent inconsistency in his narrative. The man thus assailed is proved to have led a noble and useful life, earning and retaining the respect of all with whom he had relations, not excepting Columbus, whom he is accused of having wronged, and who seems to have quarreled with every man connected with him or the Western lands, saving Amerigo Vespucci only. The following letter is sufficient proof of the light in which Columbus regarded Amerigo:

"To MY VERY DEAR SON DIEGO COLUMBUS:

"My dear son, Diego Mendez departed from this place on Monday, the 3d of this month. After his departure I conversed with Amerigo Vespucci, the bearer of this, who has been summoned to court upon matters of navigation. He has always been desirous of pleasing me, and is a very worthy man. Fortune has been unpropitious to him, as to many others, and his labors have not profited him as much as reason would seem to require. He goes for me, and with a great desire to do something which may redound to my advantage, if it is in his power. I know not here what instructions to give him that will benefit me, because I know not what is desired of him there. He goes determined to do for me all that is possible. See what can be done to advantage there, and labor for it, that he may know and

[60] Vanhagen, who has done more than any one man toward demonstrating the injustice which has been done Vespucci, and who has laboriously collected a vast amount of evidence and facts, writes: "Herrera, the chronicler of the West Indies, while borrowing nearly literally the Latin text of the 'Cosmographiæ Introductio' (Vespucci), with all the details, on this first voyage of Vespucci, and knowing that the Florentine navigator had accompanied Ojeda in 1499, thought this must have been the first voyage made by the former. In this belief he changed the date (1497) to 1499, and when he saw that the Florentine navigator's account began to disagree with the facts of which he had knowledge by other documents relating to Ojeda's first voyage in 1499, he raised the cry of imposture, and accused Vespucci of having confused every thing on purpose, while it was he (Herrera) who was mistaken, and who by this mistake was later to lead into error Charlevoix, Robertson, Tiraboschi, and even Navarette and Humboldt."—"Analyse Critique de la Vie de Vespuce," p. 94.

speak of every thing and set things in motion. Let every thing be done secretly, that no suspicion may arise. I have said to him all that I can say touching this business, and I have informed him of the payments which have been made to me and which are yet to make. This letter is for the *adelantado*" (brother of Columbus); "also, that he may see wherein he can profit and advise him" (Vespucci) "of it, let his majesty believe that his ships were in the best and richest part of the Indies, and, if any thing further is required than what has been said, I will satisfy him by word of mouth, for it is impossible for me to tell by writing. May the Lord have you in his holy keeping!

"Done at Seville, February 5, 1505.

"Thy father, who loves thee better than himself,

"CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS."

If the noble character of Vespucci needed vindication from the vile aspersions cast upon him by prejudiced or partial historians, the above letter of Columbus should silence further censure and complaint; it bears full testimony to the honorable conduct of the man, while the writer seems most desirous of profiting by his influence. With slight inconsistency, which will not surprise those who have perused the writings of Columbus, in the second sentence of his letter he says, "who is called to court on matters of navigation;" a little farther on we read, "He goes for me," which would lead us to suppose that Amerigo was called to court expressly to further the interests of Columbus. The first statement we know to have been the truth. Vespucci left Portugal at the instance of the crown of Spain, to take charge of an office which was subsequently erected into a department of the administration, pertaining to pilotage, navigation, and charts. He was to correct the errors carried into the latter by the teachings and maps of Columbus and others. Columbus had fallen into disgrace on account of his cruelty, the gross misstatements contained in his letters pertaining to his discoveries in the West, and the inaccuracy of his charts; the use of these, we have seen, was subsequently prohibited, and a penalty imposed upon the pilot who should sail by them.[61] We do not

[61] Irving writes (book i., chapter iv.): "When the passion for maritime discovery was seeking aid to facilitate its enterprises, the knowledge and skill of an able cosmographer, like Columbus, would be properly appreciated, and the superior correct-

here propose to raise the veil of secrecy which Columbus in his letter seeks to cast upon a matter public in its character, of which it was his duty to speak and write frankly to the sovereign who had employed him; honesty does not thus shun the light. All this deceit is very different from the conduct of Amerigo, who in one of his letters thus excuses himself for not writing more in detail: "Much more have I diligently noted down in a pamphlet in which I have described this voyage, and which is now in the hands of his majesty, who I hope will return it to me shortly."

It is worthy of note that Vespucci was not summoned as a witness by the heirs of Columbus in their memorable lawsuit against the crown. Friend as he was, we have reason to believe he knew too much of the demerits of the claims set up, and of matters pertaining thereto, which Columbus desired to have kept *secret*. Those who write in the interest of Columbus, and against Vespucci, have represented the latter as soliciting the above letter for the purpose of introducing himself favorably at court, and thence affect to believe that Vespucci was a very obscure and unimportant individual. If we could for a moment believe that Amerigo either needed or desired the letter for such a purpose, we are frank to admit that his condition was low indeed; it was written at a period when Columbus had sunk to the greatest depth of degradation; five years before (and his condition had in all respects continued to grow more desperate to the day of his death), he writes: "I have now reached that point that there is no man so vile but thinks it his right to insult me. . . . If I were to build churches or hospitals, they would call them caves for robbers."

The time and place of Columbus's nativity remain undetermined, there is no genuine portrait of him; but about the country, family, and person of Amerigo, there is no dispute; his portrait and statues are placed among the household gods, even in the abodes of the humble in the Old World. As the children of the United States recognize the portrait of Washington, so do those of Italy that of the discoverer of America.

ness of his maps and charts would give him notoriety among men of science." From the facts which we have recorded above, it is evident that the government of Castile did not concur in the estimate of Mr. Irving touching the value of Columbus and his charts.

Vespucci injured none. He did not imagine or pretend to imagine himself in Asia when in America, as did Columbus; though many have sought to make him participate in the error of the latter, we have his own words to prove how just were his ideas upon the subject. In one of his letters he says: "These regions . . . *which it is legitimate to call the New World;*" and again, elsewhere: "Most of the ancients say that beyond the

PORTRAIT OF VESPUCCI.—(From an Original Painting from Life.)

equinoctial line toward the south there is no continent, but only sea, which they called Atlantic, and those who say that there is land say that it cannot be inhabited; this opinion is erroneous, as my last navigation has shown, for I have found in *this continent* people and animals as in our *Europe* or *Asia* or *Africa.*" He thus makes distinct mention of the four quarters of the globe, as they are now recognized. Here, then, is another plea

in favor of the name America.[62] Columbus, to the last, whether through ignorance or willful deceit, persisted in declaring his discoveries to be India, Asia, the territories of the Grand-Khan. How could his name be given to countries already well known? or how could he be said to *discover* Asia, India, which had occupied so large a space in the world's history for unnumbered ages?

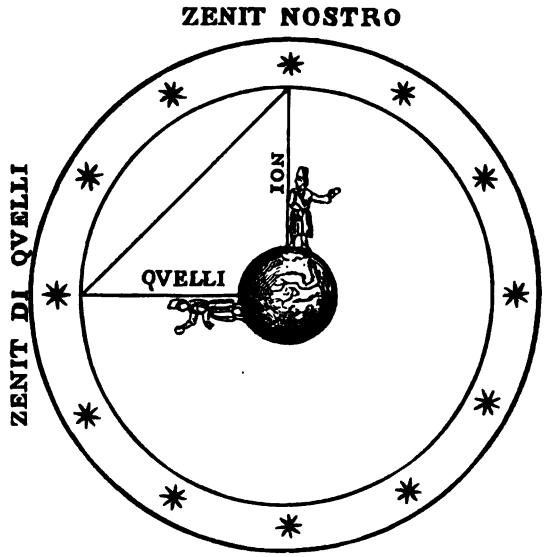
Amerigo's knowledge of astronomy and cosmography was much more profound than that of Columbus, who, indeed, at times appears ridiculously ignorant, and who, notwithstanding his novel theory that the world is *pear-shaped*, is represented in all works written upon the subject, from the child's picture-book to the graver history, as revealing to a hitherto ignorant civilization the "startling theory of the sphericity of the earth."

Vespucci does not seem to consider this doctrine of sphericity in the light of a strange or novel teaching; he draws the globe to illustrate his travels over a quarter of its circumference, and to show the relative position of the new lands with the old, but makes no such explanation as one naturally would when speaking of a new and "startling" theory.

History says that Columbus was the favorite of Isabella, though disliked by Ferdinand, while Amerigo was the latter's favorite mariner. This being an almost universal opinion, the same reasons which we have already cited as causing the comparative unpopularity of Ferdinand and popularity of Isabella may also be made to account for the ideas generally conceived of their supposed respective favorites. The Spanish authors, who so virulently attack Vespucci, wrote for the Church to which Isabella was professedly devoted. Pope Alexander VI., a Spaniard, deeded the Continent of America to Castile; the clergy ever sought to glorify Columbus; Isabella favored him until his faithlessness and cruelty made it impolitic if not impossible longer to protect him. Ferdinand, whose power as King of Aragon was not so great as that of Isabella of Castile, unwilling to trust the adventurer Columbus, but judging nevertheless that an expedition in search of these lands might be profitable, sought

[62] Mr. Irving appends a note, relating to this matter, to his notice on Vespucci, in which he says: "The first suggestion of the name appears to have been in the Latin work already cited, published in St.-Diez, in Lorraine, in 1507, in which was inserted the letter of Vespucci to King René. The author, after speaking of the other three parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe, recommends that the fourth shall be called Amerige or America, after Vespucci, whom he imagined its discoverer."

Amerigo, whose integrity inspired even the suspicious monarch with confidence. But it was necessary that the expeditions should be so quietly conducted as not to assume the aspect of rivaling those of Castile. It is probable, moreover, that the sagacity of Ferdinand, as well as the wisdom of Vespucci, prompted them to prosecute their discoveries in an unostentatious manner; they may have been strengthened in this wise resolve by having witnessed the sorry exhibition made up of a few naked savages bearing parrots on their shoulders, with which Columbus sought to challenge the admiration of the Spaniards, but which merely



VESPUCCI'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE SPHERICITY OF THE EARTH.

succeeded in exciting derision, for at the time too many adventurers, who had listened to his golden falsehoods, had returned to their native land broken in health, ruined in fortune, sadder and wiser men, to tell a tale of deluded hopes, want, disaster, and despair.

We are constantly told that the weight of authority is on the side of Columbus; but how can the ardent seeker of truth, and truth only, fail to be discouraged when he finds how partial is the testimony in the case? Las Casas informs us that in all that relates to the discoveries in the New World the most worthy of

credit is Peter Martyr of Anghieri; that whatever he relates respecting these discoveries was recorded in accordance with the accounts given by the admiral himself. Columbus thus becomes his own historian and eulogist, laying down the law by which the claims of all others are to be judged. He would naturally present his own side of the case, and, from what his writings lead us to suppose, would not scruple to slander those whose opinions or statements differed from his, or who had opposed any of his measures.

TRIUMPH OF AMERIGO.

Here, then, is an impartial testimony! To the glory of Columbus, a nation's history is prostituted, her great men ignored, her true benefactors assailed. Like the brazen image of Nebuchadnezzar, he is raised on high to be worshiped, and all who will not bow the knee must perish. Yet all the efforts of his enemies will not wrest the laurel from the brow of Amerigo. *America is the name given by the solemn verdict of a world to a continent. It is a goodly name;* like the laws of the Medes and Persians, it alters not; it shall not pass away until the heavens shall be wrapped together as a scroll, and the earth shall melt with fervent heat, and the angel who stood upon the sea and upon the earth shall proclaim that time shall be no longer!

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTEMPORARIES OF COLUMBUS—(CONTINUED).

PINZON—CABOT—CABRAL.

It would be impossible fairly to judge Columbus and his contemporaries without briefly noticing some of the most meritorious and notable of the latter, who, though less renowned than Vespucci, are well worthy a place beside him, and above Columbus.

Martin Alonzo and Vincent Yanez Pinzon were among the most deserving and worse maligned of these. It appears to have been the spirit of history to lessen the fame of the eminent navigators contemporaneous with Columbus, that he may appear preëminent. It seems sad to us that those who first visited the shores of our continent should occupy so small a space in history; that while many ignore even the names of Cabot and Cabral, and regard Vespucci as an impostor, Columbus should be styled by every school-boy the discoverer of America; it seems sad, we say, yet these wrongs appear as just when compared with the ingratitude of which the Pinzons have been the victims—the Pinzons, the life-blood of the first expedition of this very Columbus, who climbed to notoriety by means of their purse and good-will, and of one of whom he afterward speaks with the little-mindedness which characterized the man, as "one Pinzon," of whom he seems to preserve but a vague recollection.

When Columbus entered Spain, friendless, penniless, leaving behind him a history of piracy and crime which would cause all who knew, to distrust him, he first arrived at Palos, a little town, scarce more than a village, situated near the sea; he begged at the gates of the Convent de la Rabida for bread and lodging for himself and child. The prior ministered to his wants, and to this friar, Juan Perez by name, Columbus imparted the informa-

tion he had received of there being certain lands to the west of the Canaries. Juan Perez introduced the wayfarer to the Pinzons, the first family of the place, men noted for their courage and nautical skill. Martin Alonzo, head of the family, listened with interest to the tale of Columbus, the more so as he also, during a visit to Rome, had heard rumors of the existence of these lands;[63] indeed, many seem to have suspected it, for among the Spanish state papers is a letter from Don Pedro de Ayala, dated 1498, in which he states that the merchants of Bristol had for seven years been sending out ships for the discovery of the island of Brazil, thus running back to a period more than a year anterior to the first voyage of Columbus.

During his conversation with Martin Alonzo, Columbus stated his desire to visit the court of Spain and solicit ships and the funds necessary for an expedition to reach and conquer these lands, but he was lacking wardrobe, money, and influence. Martin Alonzo provided him with the first two necessaries, and Juan Perez with the third, in the shape of a letter to Fernando de Talavera, confessor to the queen. After a lapse of several years, through these influences, Columbus returned to Palos with an order from Queen Isabella on the inhabitants of the town for two caravels equipped and manned, providing Columbus were to defray the expense of a third; this, of course, he would have been unable to do, had not the Pinzons come to his aid, Vincent Yanez laying down one million maravedis, which was the eighth part of the expense Columbus had boasted he would defray.[64] The ships were made ready, but so great was the repugnance of the inhabitants of Palos to follow an unknown adventurer across the seas in search of distant lands, that the first caravels were scuttled and sunk. After they were replaced, Columbus found it impossible to persuade the mariners to accompany him. Martin Alonzo, who had been absent, now returned; he and his brother each took command of a vessel—Martin Alonzo of the Pinta, Vincent Yanez of the Niña. When the inhabitants of the town saw those brave and honest men, whom they loved and respected, putting their fortunes and their lives into the enterprise, they took courage and came forward with alacrity. Thus Columbus owed every thing, in this first expedition, to "the brave broth-

[63] *See* Navarette, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. iii., p. 559.

[64] *See* previous reference; also Irving, "Life of Columbus," book ii., chap. ix.

ers Pinzon" as they have been most justly termed. When we contrast the conduct of these men with that of Columbus, we are filled with admiration. While the latter for years refused to undertake the expedition unless receiving the greatest honors or emoluments, while sharing none of the expense, and while he succeeded in excluding all competitors by obtaining subsequently a revocation of the order allowing Spanish subjects to search for lands at their own expense for the benefit of the crown, thus narrowing the field of discovery, the Pinzons expend money and influence, leave their home and the town where their fathers had lived respected for generations, apparently without making any conditions for reward.[66] With such conduct before us, how can we for a moment entertain the idea that Columbus was actuated by a desire to promote science, to benefit mankind, or by any other motive than cupidity?

On the 3d of August, 1492, the three ships sailed, the one commanded by Columbus, the St. Mary, being the largest and finest; nevertheless, during the whole of the voyage, she was in the rear, the Pinta leading, as testified by Columbus's own journal. Here, also, explodes another popular error founded on the untruthfulness of Columbus, and those who have sung his praises. It is said that the men mutinied, that the rest of the expedition desired to return to Spain, but were led on and encouraged by the constancy of Columbus. Now, as we have stated above, the St. Mary was always in the rear, the others having frequently to lay by for her. It is scarcely probable that the Pinta and Niña would have continued thus in advance, had their commanders wished to turn back; besides, according to the testimony of several witnesses in the celebrated lawsuit of Don Diego Columbus against the crown, Columbus himself, after sailing some hundred leagues without finding land, wished to return, but was persuaded by the Pinzons to continue the voyage! Although we do not vouch for the truth of this testimony, it appears more probable than that the Pinzons, who were so greatly interested in the success of the expedition, should wish to abandon their projects.

[66] In the testimony in the lawsuit, already alluded to, it is stated that Martin Alonzo stipulated with Columbus for half the profits which should accrue to the latter. This may be true, but Columbus's habitual unfaithfulness caused him to ignore any such condition; and, the expedition not being a lucrative one, no claims were preferred at the time by the Pinzons, so that the matter remains uncertain.

Columbus, ignoring the ocean-current which drifted him northward, was sailing out of the track which had been laid down for him, when the Pinzons called his attention to this northward tendency, and urged him to adopt a more southerly course. He obstinately refused, alleging as a reason that it would shake the confidence of his men, and tend to lessen his importance, for him to appear uncertain as to where the land lay; nevertheless, as they did not find it, he finally consented to adopt a more southerly course, and thus arrived at the island of Hispaniola, which but for this change of route he would never have done. To whom, then, was the credit due, to Columbus or to Pinzon?

During the consultations with the Pinzons, as to a change of route, we read that from time to time maps and charts were consulted, by which Columbus was sailing. One of these was no doubt that of Alonzo Sanchez, the dead pilot, of whom we shall speak elsewhere, and from whom it is more than probable Columbus received nearly all his information regarding lands in the West.

After reaching the Caribi islands, by the route indicated by the Pinzons, Columbus declared he would have followed that course from the beginning had he not been *told that the land lay from north to south across his track;* he thus demonstrated himself that the voyage was based upon information received, and in no wise upon his own studies, conjectures, or knowledge. A reward of ten thousand maravedis annuity had been offered by the king and queen to the man who should first discover land. On board the Pinta, which, as we have said, was generally ahead of the two other vessels, there was an old mariner, Roderigo de Triana by name, who had long served under Martin Alonzo. The latter was evidently much attached to him, so much so that he wished him to obtain the above reward, and arranged in such sort that he should have every opportunity for doing so. In due time Roderigo declared land to be in sight, and the Pinta fired her gun as a signal. Columbus, when it was ascertained that the alarm was not a false one, stated that he had seen a light on the previous evening, and had *privately* spoken of it to Peter Gutierrez, groom of the chamber to the king. None of his crew were aware of the fact or had seen the light, and Columbus had made no demonstration; moreover, his ship being at that time

far in the rear, it is less than probable that such was the case. Columbus, however, did not scruple to despoil the old mariner of his well-earned reward, and we read in Herrera: "But their majesties declared that the reward of ten thousand maravedis annuity belonged to the admiral, and it was always paid him at the shambles of Seville, because he saw a light amid darkness, meaning the spiritual light that was then coming into those barbarous people." [66]

Roderigo de Triana, after this warning that he should put no confidence in princes, disgusted at the injustice of the "admiral" and his sovereigns, left his country and turned Turk.[67]

While at Hispaniola, Columbus lost his ship, and was taken on board the Niña, commanded by Vincent Yanez. Martin Alonzo sailed round the island, desiring to obtain a knowledge of the country. Columbus, when excusing himself to Ferdinand and Isabella for not bringing back as much gold as he had promised, ascribed his failure to this so-called desertion on the part of Pinzon, whom he declared to have been insubordinate. Martin Alonzo, who had so nobly befriended Columbus in adversity, was thus maligned by him, and through his unjust accusation forbidden to appear at court; his pride must have been deeply wounded, but it is probable that the ingratitude of Columbus touched him still more keenly. He died, it is said, broken-hearted at Palos, shortly after his return. He deserved a better fate.

Vincent Yanez soon after fitted out an expedition of four fine ships at his own expense,[68] took with him two sons of Martin Alonzo, and sailed west till he discovered Brazil, three months before Cabral in May, 1500, accidentally reached its shores.

Charles V. raised the family of the Pinzons to nobility or *hidalguia*, and gave them an escutcheon, on which are seen four caravels and the motto arrogated to Columbus:

> "A Castilla y a Leon,
> Nuevo Mundo dio Pinzon."

[66] Herrera, "West Indies," vol. i., chapter xii., Stevens's translation.

[67] Navarette, "Colecc. Dip," vol. iii.

[68] When a private individual could do this, the absurdity of the statement contained in most works on the subject, that Isabella pawned her jewels to raise the necessary funds for equipping the three little caravels forming the first expedition,

This is substantially all that is recorded of the Pinzons: History passes lightly over their names, but Fate seems to have made all the reparation in her power; for, while the family of Columbus, which, so far as regards name or fame, began with him, has long since become extinct, the worthy Pinzons still flourish in their numerous descendants, who have perpetuated the virtues as well as the name of their illustrious ancestors, and on many of whose houses in the little towns of Palos and Moguer, to which they have remained faithful, the escutcheon (the only reward received by these noble and enterprising men from their sovereign) is still emblazoned.

John Cabot was possibly the first modern discoverer of America; of his birthplace we have no certain information, but we know that he was by adoption, if not by birth, a citizen of Venice, for we find in the archives of that city an act dated March 29, 1496, by which the senate unanimously grants denization to Zuan Caboto, which act states that citizenship is granted him "as usual within and without for fifteen years;" we may, therefore, infer that he was of Venetian birth, as it was not usual to grant citizenship to foreigners residing in foreign countries, while it had been customary to grant it to citizens proposing to make a long sojourn abroad. Moreover, in the second license granted him by Henry VII., he is styled "Kabotto Venician." He had evidently, however, resided some time at Bristol in England, when the above act of citizenship was passed, and in 1497 Henry VII. granted him a license authorizing him and his heirs and assigns to make search for islands, provinces, or regions in the Eastern, Western, or Northern seas, and to occupy such territories as vassals of the English king, paying him one-fifth of the profits on merchandise. With this charter John Cabot, in 1497, embarked with one vessel, and sailed west seven hundred leagues. The particulars of this voyage and the impressions it created at the time are interestingly preserved to us in a letter by one Lorenzo Pasqualigo, Venetian merchant in London, to his brother in Venice, which is found in the archives of that city.

Lorenzo writes: "The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol, in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered land, the

and which, as we have seen, were provided solely at the expense of the Pinzons and people of Palos, becomes apparent.

territory of the Grand-Khan" (*Gram Cam*). "He coasted for three hundred leagues, and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. He says that the tides are slack, and do not flow as they do here. The King of England is much pleased with this intelligence.

"The king has promised that in spring our countryman shall have ten ships armed to his order, and at his request has conceded to him all prisoners, except such as are confined for high-treason, to man his fleet. The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then, and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons. His name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the great admiral. Vast honor is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides. The discoverer of these places planted on his new-found land a large cross, with one flag of England and another of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian, so that our banner has floated very far afield.

"LONDON, *August* 23, 1497."

The promise of ten ships above alluded to is restricted in the second license granted by the king on February 3, 1498, to six English vessels, which Cabot has authority to impress, as also to enlist companies of volunteers. According to Lorenzo, he would not have much difficulty in doing this. Nevertheless it does not appear that John Cabot made any voyage under this license, nothing further of him being recorded; neither the date nor place of his death is known, and we are in equal ignorance as to his age. It is generally supposed that Newfoundland was that upon which he first touched in 1497, yet the description he gives of the country and of the animals therein leads us to suppose that Labrador must have been the main-land of which he speaks. We know, however, that he coasted three hundred leagues southward, and most probably visited Newfoundland also. Columbus,

on his own showing, only visited the continent four months later.

Purchas says with some justice that these lands should rather have been called Cabotta. However that may be, the merit of priority seems to rest between Cabot and Amerigo Vespucci, as they both touched the continent in the same year; but, as the latter prosecuted his discoveries in a more scientific spirit and to a greater extent, the name which the land now bears may be regarded as a just tribute. Mr. Irving, who, like many extravagant admirers of Columbus, would at all cost annihilate the claims of Vespucci, admits, in his endeavors to do so, the justice of those of Cabot, and confounding the son Sebastian, who took part in the expedition with the father, John Cabot, writes: "In fact, the European who first reached the main-land of the New World was most probably Sebastian Cabot, a native of Venice, sailing in the employ of England. In 1497 he coasted its shores from Labrador to Florida."

Sebastian Cabot was probably twenty years of age when he accompanied his father on the voyage of 1497. Much might be written of the character and achievements of this navigator. The wisdom and moderation which governed most of his undertakings stand out in relief against the barbarous deeds of many who attempted the discovery, conquest, and settlement of America.

The English authorities claim that Sebastian was born at Bristol, while the Venetians are equally anxious to prove him their compatriot by birth as well as parentage. The question, however, still remains undetermined. In 1498 he sailed with two ships, under the patent granted him jointly with his father, for the purpose of discovering the northwest passage. He sailed so far north that in the middle of July the daylight was almost continuous, and the numerous icebergs compelled him to change his course; in so doing, he touched upon the Continent of America, and perhaps upon Newfoundland. He sailed along the coast of the continent until he reached the latitude of Gibraltar, when he returned to England—disappointed that the object of his voyage had not been effected, and regarding his important discoveries as of so little moment that he allowed his patent to become void. Upon the death of Henry VII., he was summoned to Spain, to assist at the council for the New Indies; and in 1518

he was appointed Pilot-Major of Spain by Charles V., a circumstance which manifests in how great repute was his skill in navigation.

Having failed in his attempt to discover a northwest passage, he turned his thoughts upon the possibility of there existing a southwestern one, and went in search of the same in 1526. During this voyage he arrived at Brazil, sailed up the river La Plata, and discovered Paraguay. He remained about three years in this country, and then returned to Spain, where he continued to exercise his functions of pilot-major until 1548, when he was recalled to England; and a pension granted to him of two hundred and fifty marks (£166 13*s.* 4*d*). He was afterward requested to return to Spain, but declined.

He seems to have been much looked up to in England, and to have been consulted on the most important questions. Hakluyt writes: "Our merchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to be in small request about us and near unto us; and that those merchandises which strangers, in the time and memory of our ancestors, did earnestly seek and desire, were now neglected, and the price thereof abated, although they be carried to their own parts; and all foreign merchandises in great account, and their prices wonderfully raised. . . . And, whereas at the same time, Sebastian Cabota, a man in those days very renowned, happened to be in London, they began first of all to deal and consult diligently with him; and, after much search and conference together, it was at last concluded that three ships should be prepared and furnished out for search and discovery of the Northern part of the world, to open a way and passage for our men, and for travel to new and unknown lands." [66]

It was thus that through his influence was organized an expedition which, rounding the cape of Norway, was to discover a northeast passage to China. This expedition, though of course unsuccessful in its object, reached Archangel, and established trading operations with the Russians, which resulted afterward in the formation of the Russian Trading Company, one of England's greatest sources of wealth.

Charles V. wrote urgently in 1553, requesting that Cabot might return to Spain, where his services had been very valuable; but this he declined, and still continued in England. He

[66] Hakluyt, "Voyages," p. 280.

had made the deviations of the compass a study, and had sought to discover the point where they should cease. We find him demonstrating his opinions, and instructing the youthful King Edward on this point. He has, therefore, been styled by some the discoverer of the variations of the compass. It is more than probable, however, that neither he nor Columbus is entitled to this credit, but that the said variations have been noted and commented upon centuries before the birth of either.

In 1556 Sebastian organized another expedition of discovery, of which Stephen Burrough was the commander. In the latter's journal we find the following: "The 27th of April, being Monday, the Right Worshipful Sebastian Caboto came aboard our Pinnesse at Gravesende, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen, who, after that they had viewed our pinnesse, and tasted of such cheere as we could make them aboard, they went on shore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards; and *the Goode olde Gentleman*, Master Caboto, gave the poor most liberale almes; wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the Serchthrift, our pinnesse. And then, at the sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banketted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheere. And, for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which, being ended, he and his friends departed most gently, commending us to the Governance of Almighty God."

On the death of Edward VI., he resigned his pension; and we find little more of this great man recorded in the history of the country which he had so greatly served. All that we learn of his character inspires us with respect. In Ramusio, he is described thus by one who had seen him: "I found him a most gentle and courteous person, who treated me with great kindness, and showed me a great many things; among the rest, a great map of the world, on which the several voyages of the Portuguese and Spaniards were laid down."

Much has been said in extenuation of the cruelty of Columbus, about the spirit of the times being one of bigotry and intolerance. We find no proof of any such spirit in the following items of the regulations written by Sebastian for the governance of Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition in 1553. The good sense

therein displayed materially increases our admiration for the man:

"22d item: Not to disclose to any nation the state of our religion, but to pass it over in silence, without any declaration of it; seeming to bear with such laws and rights as the place hath where you shall arrive.

"23d item: Forasmuch as our people and shippe may appear unto them strange and wondrous, and theirs, also, to ours—it is to be considered how they may be used—learning much of their natures and dispositions by some one such person as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboard your ships; and there to learn, as you may without violence or force; and no woman to be tempted or intreated to incontinence or dishonestie.

"26th item: Every nation and region is to be considered advisedly; and not to provoke them by any disdaine, laughing contempt, or such like; but to use them with prudent circumspection, with all gentlenesse and curtesie. And not to tarry long in one place, until you shall have attained the most worthy place that may be found; in such sort as you may return with victuals sufficient prosperously." [70]

During the last part of his life, and after his death, Sebastian Cabot was the victim of great ingratitude on the part of the English; on which Mr. Biddle, his most able and exhaustive biographer, thus touchingly comments:

"The English language would probably be spoken in no part of America but for Sebastian Cabot. The commerce of England, and her navy, are admitted to have been deeply, incalculably, his debtors. Yet there is reason to fear that in his extreme age the allowance, which had been solemnly granted to him for life, was fraudulently broken in upon. His birthplace we have seen denied. His fame has been obscured by English writers, and every wild calumny against him adopted and circulated. All his own maps and discoveries, 'drawn and written by himself,' which it was hoped might come out in print, 'because so worthy monuments should not be buried in perpetual oblivion,' have been buried in perpetual oblivion. He gave a continent to England, yet no man can point to the few feet of earth she has allowed him in return."

[70] Hakluyt, "Voyages," p. 259.

This ingratitude is in great measure traceable to the partiality of which Columbus has ever been the object. Sebastian returned to England from his discoveries at the time when the famous negotiations were taking place for the marriage of Isabella's daughter to the Prince of Wales. Henry VII., crippled by internal dissensions, and desirous of obtaining an alliance with Spain, abandoned his plans of discovery at the suggestion of its sovereign, as the regions in which they were to be prosecuted were alleged to be within the limits of the grant of Pope Alexander to Spain.[11] And it was evidently the intention of that country to allow no rivals in the field; policy, therefore, suggested to Henry that his wisest course was to desist, and the achievements of Sebastian were ignored.

History seems to have also resolved, with little reason and less justice, to allow no rival to Columbus. And it is evident that Sebastian Cabot is one of the many victims whose fame has been sacrificed to increase that of the former.

Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, though little mentioned in most histories of the discovery of America, was probably one of the most intelligent and meritorious of the many adventurers who early reached that continent.

He was born in Portugal, toward the close of the fifteenth century. At that time the commerce of the East belonged, so far as regarded Europe, entirely to Venice. Portugal was thus excluded, and, desirous of securing to herself this great source of wealth, she sent out expeditions for the purpose of ascertaining whether, by coasting along the shores of Africa, a route from Portugal to India might not be discovered, by which to divert for the benefit of Portugal a part at least of the commerce of India. The feasibility of this plan had been demonstrated first by Bartholemew Diaz and afterward by Vasco de Gama, who in 1497 rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The King of Portugal, animated by this success, manned a fleet of thirteen ships with fit and experienced men, and placed them under the command

[11] On the 28th of March, 1496, Ferdinand and Isabella wrote to De Puebla, their ambassador in London, thus: "You write that a person like Columbus has come to England for the purpose of persuading the king to enter into an undertaking similar to that of the Indies. . . . Take care that the King of England be not deceived in this or in any other matter. . . . Besides, they" (voyages of discovery) "cannot be executed without prejudice to us, and to the King of Portugal."—*Spanish State Papers.*

of Cabral. This fleet was, perhaps, one of the finest sent out at that period. There were on board twelve hundred seamen and soldiers, besides numerous Franciscan friars, who were to act as missionaries in the new settlements to be founded. Cabral with justice regarded the coasting voyage effected by Vasco de Gama as a tedious and dangerous one, and conceived the idea of the present route by taking a southwesterly course till reaching the latitude of the cape, thus crossing the ocean twice. It was during this westerly digression that, sailing from the Cape Verde Islands, he came in sight of Brazil, latitude 10° south, on the 3d of May, 1500.

Coasting southward about seven degrees, he took possession of the continent in the name of King Emmanuel, of Portugal. Brazil remained thereafter a Portuguese possession, notwithstanding the Spaniard Vincent Yanez Pinzon had visited its shores in the month of January previous. Cabral had with him twenty men banished from Portugal, whom he had orders to leave in the different regions he discovered, as he thought fit. Two of these he left in Brazil; one of them we read of as having become expert in the language of the natives, and acting as interpreter.

Cabral now sent one of his ships back to Portugal with the news of this discovery, and with the remaining twelve sailed for India. While crossing the cape, he encountered severe storms, in one of which he lost four vessels. With the diminished remains of his once splendid fleet he reached India, touching at Mozambique and Calicut, at which latter he made some settlements and succeeded in establishing a factory; he then returned to Portugal, laden with the rich merchandise of the East. On his arrival in his native land he was received coolly by the king, owing to the losses he had sustained; nevertheless these losses were attributable to the dangers incurred during the voyage, and not to any want of skill or foresight on the part of Cabral, who from the evidence we have already cited had proved himself an able seaman, far abler than the much-lauded Columbus, who, let it be remembered, generally lost the vessel under his own immediate command, even when the others escaped. Cabral's own vessel weathered all storms. He also proved himself the more intelligent of the two on another point. When Columbus landed in Cuba, he imagined himself within three days' jour-

ney of China, and dispatched a messenger with a letter to the Grand-Khan, to return in six days! Cabral labored under no such delusion, but, after taking possession of the new country in his sovereign's name, immediately set sail for his original destination (India), in an opposite direction. We find no mention of Cabral after July, 1501, the date of his return to Portugal. He has been allowed to sink into semi-oblivion; nevertheless he was incontestably an able man, and deserved more gratitude from his sovereign, as well as more notice from posterity.

CHAPTER IX.

COLUMBUS—WHO AND WHAT WAS HE?

THE history of most famous men generally and most naturally begins with the date of their birth, and some particulars as to their parentage and birthplace; but the historian who attempts to discover these particulars with regard to Columbus, undertakes a long and fruitless task. Volumes might, indeed, be filled with an enumeration of the views entertained or professed by different authors on the subject, but so conflicting and various are they that, after reading them, the conscientious author must needs disregard them *all*.

Monferrat, Bogliasco, Chiavara, Oneglia, Quinto, Albisola, Nervi, Pradello, Cogoleto, Savona, Ferrara, Piacenza, and Genoa, have each in their turn been designated as the birthplace of Columbus.

The diverse opinions of contemporary authors are quoted by his son Fernando, who declares his inability to decide the question, and, after much apparent research, which amounts in reality to nothing, he dismisses the subject as a matter of no importance.

Herrera, after examining many authorities, among others the above, does not scruple to affirm that he was born at Genoa, "as all who write or treat of him do agree."

The reader may judge of the degree of credit to which the statements of Herrera are entitled after reading the evidence in this particular case, and observing the somewhat extraordinary conclusion at which he arrives.

Indeed, the partiality and prejudice evinced by extravagant eulogists of Columbus are very apparent in their attempts to determine the place of his nativity. One author (Salinero) declares

that whoever should deny Genoa the honor of giving birth to this incomparable man ought to be regarded as a monster.

For our part, regarding Columbus as chiefly the creation of an after-thought, we believe that his birthplace has become the subject of invention, even as his exploits and learning have existed principally in the imagination of his biographers. A most accurate register of births was kept at Genoa, wherein very humble and obscure families can be traced back to a period anterior to Columbus, yet nowhere is his name to be found. We believe, therefore, that the honest wool-carder, Dominic Colon, who, it is asserted by one kind author, was the father of our hero, may be absolved from the charge; especially as he pursued the decidedly terrestrial vocation of wool-carding, while Fernando tells us, his father's ancestors always "traded by sea," a mild term for piracy.

If the birthplace of "the admiral" is yet unknown, all attempts to discover whence or from whom he derived his name have hitherto been still more fruitless. In vain have some, endeavoring to cast the glamour of noble descent over this created hero, sought his parentage among noble families bearing a name somewhat similar to that of Columbus. In vain others, wishing to make his individual greatness stand out in bolder relief, have made him the son of poor and even ignoble parents. There being no evidence, no real facts, each author has placed his hero in that rank of life which he himself considered most likely to give him prestige in the eyes of the world.

Perhaps, however, with the aid of an historian who certainly would not intentionally seek to bring disrepute upon Columbus (we speak of his son Fernando), we may be able to cast some light upon this hitherto vexed question.

In the fifth chapter of Fernando's history of his father, we find mentioned "a famous man of his name and family, called Colon, renowned upon the sea, . . . insomuch that they made use of his name to frighten children in the cradle. . . . This man was called Colon the Younger."

Here is the unqualified statement of Fernando, that Christopher was of the name and family of the individual known as Colon the Younger. He further states that in company of this Colon, a pirate, his father sailed "for a long time;" and describes an encounter between these pirates and some Flanders

galleys, in which Christopher barely escaped to Lisbon with his life.

In the archives of Venice are the following particulars relative to the same affair, which throw a clearer light upon "the name and family" of the "great navigator" than his son is able or willing to do.

By reference to the above authority, we learn that six or seven ships, commanded by one called Columbus the Younger, and having on board the man now known as Christopher Columbus, lay off Cape St. Vincent, watching for the arrival of four Venetian merchant-ships, termed Flanders galleys; these they attacked on the 21st of August, 1485, and, after much slaughter, carried off an immense booty, stripping the officers and crew even of their clothing.

This affair is formally communicated by the Venetian senate to their various ambassadors abroad. The first mention is found in a dispatch, dated September 18, 1485, from the doge and senate to the ambassador at Milan:

"The capture of the Flanders galleys by ships commanded by a *son of Columbus* and Giovanni Griego."

Marin Sanuto, in his MS. "Lives of the Doges," preserved in St. Mark's Library, recounting the capture, says:

"Our galleys fell in with Colombo, *that is to say, Nicolo Griego.*"

In a decree of the Venetian senate, December 2, 1485, we find:

"Our Flanders galleys captured by Colombo's son and Zorzi Griego."

Again, in a document, dated April 9, 1486, treating of the capture of the galleys:

"Nicolo Griego, who is called Columbus junior (Colombo Zovene)."

One fact is hereby established beyond a doubt, namely, that the *Columbus junior*, *Colombo's son*, the Colon the Younger mentioned by Fernando, was in fact named Nicolo Griego. We, moreover, gather from the Venetian documents that three pirates Giovanni Griego, Nicolo Griego, and Zorzi Griego, occasionally assumed the name of Columbus. That the family name of the subject of this history was Griego, is therefore proved by the statement of his son, who says that Columbus the Younger "was

of his name and family;" the said Columbus the Younger being always spoken of, in the Venetian state papers, as Nicolo Griego, sometimes called *Columbus the Younger.*

Of the two other Griegos mentioned as having taken part in the capture of the galleys, one was probably the father indicated in the allusion to Colombo's son, and the name Colon the Younger; the other was undoubtedly our Christopher, who, his son tells us, sailed a long time with Colon the Younger (Nicolo Griego), and assisted in the said capture of the galleys. He was then of the name and family of Griego, and sometimes adopted the *alias* of Columbus, as did his kinsmen; under this *alias*, thenceforth to become his name, he came to Spain. It was probably not till he had formed the pious project of obtaining the protection of the Church by representing himself as the CHRIST-BEARER, carrying the Gospel across the waters to heathen nations, that he changed his name of Giovanni or Zorzi, to that of Christopher, on the peculiar significance of which his son dwells at such length in his first chapter (from which we shall presently quote) naïvely avowing, however, that the particulars of his name and surname are not without some mystery; and elsewhere, speaking of the falseness of the statements made by Giustiniani, touching Columbus's parentage and early pursuits, he says: "If Giustiniani tells so many lies concerning things well known" (his discoveries, etc.), "it is not likely that he would tell the truth concerning the admiral's parents and profession, *all particulars concerning which are hidden.*"

Whether the mystery which hung as a cloud over the many years of Columbus's life previous to his relations with the Spanish court, was known to the son, who, well aware how charitably it covered a multitude of sins, was unwilling to remove it, or whether, which is far from probable, he was really ignorant of the facts which the Venetian state papers reveal,[72] we shall not here attempt to decide, nor can we be certain that Griego was

[72] Fernando, who in his preface, in which he declares all former histories of his father to be incorrect, promises unreserved frankness and sincerity, does not in his work fulfill this promise. He was, for years after the death of his father, in daily intercourse with his uncles Bartholomew and Diego. Why did he not ask them touching the name and family of this "incomparable" father, whom he modestly declares to be "worthy of eternal memory?" They were certainly competent to reveal the particulars which are "hidden." He evidently knew the history of which he professes ignorance, and knew also that mystery was the safest shroud.

the real name of any of the worthies who bore it. There is no mention of their being Italians; for aught we know they may have been Greek pirates, known in Italy, where the people are so apt to give significant titles by the name of their country only. Certain it is that Griego was the name most universally known, for we read "Nicolo Griego, sometimes called Columbus;" while, if the latter had been the name in most frequent use, it would be *Columbo, sometimes called Nicolo Griego.*[73]

As to the date of Columbus's birth, authors generally assert that it was *about* the year 1445 or 1446. We think, however, that, from motives easily discernible, they have abridged his career, and that fifteen or twenty years earlier would have been a more correct date.

The son, unable or unwilling to account for the period of his life which preceded 1485, was naturally desirous to make that period as short as possible, believing no doubt thirty years are more easily bridged over than fifty.

It is very safe to suppose that Columbus was fifty years of age, at least, at the time of the capture of the galleys, his illegitimate son Fernando (reported to be his younger son) professed to have witnessed the fitting out of the galleys, and to have been old enough to judge of their strength, etc.[74] He moreover, tells us that his father was a light-haired man, and that at thirty his hair was quite white. This would be a physiological phenomenon, it being well known that light or sandy-haired people do not usually become gray until very late.

Ferdinand then tells us that his father was educated at Pavia, but the details already revealed as to his real name and antecedents render this improbable.

We are then told, on the same authority, that he early began a seafaring life, and made some voyages "to the East and West, of which, and many other things of those his first days, I" (Fernando) "have no perfect knowledge."[75] The delightful vagueness

[73] In addition to the above array of names, we find other authors declaring that he was known by, or confused with the names of, *Guillaume de Casseneuve*, surnamed *Conlomp*, *Conlon*, or *Colon*, whom history records as a pirate, while in English works it has been surmised that Christopher Columbus and *Christofre Colyns* were identical, not to mention the appellation of Christofer *Tauber* (dove) by which we find him designated in German works.

[74] *See* Fernando, "Historia del Amirante," chapter v.

[75] It is singular that, while giving the details of his father's youth and education,

of this allusion to voyages to the East and West is not much elucidated by the letter of Columbus to the Spanish sovereigns, in which he modestly extols his own knowledge in the following terms:

"MOST SERENE PRINCES: I went to sea very young, and have continued it to this day, . . . it is now forty years that I have been sailing to all those parts at present frequented, . . . and our Lord has been favorable to this my inclination, and I have received from Him the spirit of understanding. He has made me very skillful in navigation; knowing enough in astrology;

COLUMBUS DRAWS HIS MAP UNDER DIVINE INSPIRATION.—CUBA IN ASIA.

and so in geometry and arithmetic. God has given me genius, and hands apt to draw this globe; and on it the cities, rivers, islands, and all parts, in their proper places."

This modest panegyric of himself, in which the Almighty is represented as having exempted him from the usual laborious course of study by which the sciences he alludes to are ordinarily acquired by less favored mortals, does not contain the details or

he should be thus ignorant of the events of his adult life; but the good old adage is here illustrated: "Where ignorance is bliss, 'twere folly to be wise."

particulars of any one voyage, nor are such details to be found in any authority of the period. It is not probable that a navigator who had visited all the known parts of the world would have been so utterly ignored by his contemporaries.

That he led a seafaring life we are ready to believe. His son tells us his being addicted to sea-affairs was owing to the pirate of his name and family (Nicolo Griego), Colon the Younger. In the profession of piracy he most probably infested those seas where the richest booty was to be captured, the chief of which was the Mediterranean. We need not say that such a life is not particularly inducive to study, and that its votaries are not generally inclined to deep thought. For fifty years, almost the natural period of man's life, Columbus could scarce have entertained the slightest idea of making voyages of discovery, or of visiting the Indies; what accident subsequently induced him, in his latter years, to propose the project, we shall presently state.

He speaks of a voyage, made for the King of Naples, to capture a certain ship. This voyage is not improbable—sovereigns sometimes employed pirates in affairs of like nature—but the principal fact upon which he dwells in recounting it is, that he "changed the points of the compass" and deceived his men: "So at break of day we found ourselves near Cape Cartegna, all aboard thinking we had certainly been sailing for Marseilles."

This boast furnishes a clew to the whole character of the man; falsehood and deceit are ever, we shall find, its most prominent traits.

As to the voyage he professes to have made, "an hundred leagues beyond Thule" (Iceland); "whose southern part is seventy-three degrees distant from the equinoctial," we have but his own authority, while all the probabilities are against it. A pirate would find little to induce him to such an undertaking, the booty to be captured being much inferior to that abounding in the Mediterranean. He does not give any reasons for such a voyage, nor mention the ship he sailed in, or the port he sailed from; he gives nothing, in fact, but the most vague assertions. All contemporary writers, state papers, etc., are silent upon the subject, when less important matters are recorded.

For some years, it is unknown at what precise period, Columbus was engaged in the Guinea slave-trade—in which he sub-

sequently showed himself such an adept with regard to the unfortunate Indians—as well to deserve the compliment paid him by Mr. Helps, who calls his proceedings and plans worthy "of a practised slave-dealer."[16]

That he was long addicted to piracy; that he was of the name and family of one Nicolo Griego; that he was past the

COLUMBUS.—(From a Picture in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris.)

prime of life in 1485, is, therefore, really all that can be gathered of the history of Christopher Columbus previous to that date. Those who propose to furnish this Griego with honest parents of the name of Columbus in Genoa, or any other place, undertake

[16] Helps, "History of Columbus," chap. x., p. 191.

a task as bootless as that of tracing back the lineage of the numerous family of doves, which flourish in the Place St. Mark in Venice, to the fugitive dove of Noah.

The reader has now seen how much the imagination of the various biographers of "the admiral" has been taxed to supply the circumstances of his birth and parentage. It is not, therefore, extraordinary to find that, in that other important task of describing the personal appearance of their hero, imagination has also played its part.

The several likenesses of Columbus engraved in this work, taken from his numerous histories and biographies, purport each

BUST OF COLUMBUS AT GENOA.

to be a copy "of *the only* original portrait of Columbus;" and from the resemblance they bear each other one would scarce suppose them to represent the same man. Indeed, it is admitted that, although living in an age when portrait-painting was universal, and when the features of most men of any note, and of many persons of humble rank, were thus handed down to posterity, Columbus appears to have been too insignificant for any country to have desired his likeness: those who have created the

hero, have also invented the portraits. This subject received a thorough examination a few years ago, when a monument was about to be erected in Genoa to the memory of the navigator.

"It was wished," says Spotorno, "and very properly, that a likeness of the navigator should grace the monument. . . . There are several portraits of him, *but not one of them resembles another. . . . No one can flatter himself that Spain can produce a true portrait of Columbus.* . . . What, therefore, are we to conclude? We must adopt the conclusion of Prof. Marsand; after observing the difference between the various supposed portraits of Petrarch, not one resembling another, he says: 'Therefore they are all false; if they had been taken from life, they must have preserved more or less the original features, as in the case of Dante.' For these weighty reasons the sculptor, in executing the bust, was bound to copy none of the portraits hitherto published."

The pertinence of the above remarks, and the soundness of the conclusions to which they may have led, must be manifest to all who have studied these pretended portraits or their history. We have seen many; some published in Spain, some in Italy, others in England and America, in none of which is it possible to detect the least resemblance, except in those few that are copies of a fictitious original. These reproductions are rarely seen, save in England and America. The European publisher seems to have preferred the status of inventor to that of copyist; hence each *created* for himself a new and original portrait of the navigator, as unlike the other "originals" as could well be conceived.

Fernando, in symbolizing the person of his sire, makes no allusion to any painted or sculptored semblance of him; had there been any, he surely would have said that they did or did not resemble him.

In struggling on, without the aid of a painter, he says his visage was long, his eyes were white, he had a hawk nose; others say his hair was red, and that he had a pimpled face.[77] That which has come down to us touching his person is not calculated to make a favorable impression upon the mind of the physiologist.

The supernatural far more than the real has ever been the mainstay of Columbus's eulogists. Fernando, one of the first, and

[77] Fernando, "Historia del Amirante," chapter iii.

M. De Lorgues, one of the last of his historians, may be said to be the two extremes which meet and rival each other in their mystic interpretations, and in ascribing miraculous and divine attributes to their hero.

Fernando thus admirably accounts for the *assumed* name of Christopher Columbus, and gives us an insight into the motives which induced its bearer to adopt it:

COLUMBUS REPRESENTED AS THE CHRIST-BEARER.

"We may mention many names which were given by secret impulse to denote the effect those persons were to produce, as in his are foretold and expressed the wonder he performed. For if we look upon the common surname of his ancestors, we may say he was true Columbus, or Columba, forasmuch as he conveyed the grace of the Holy Ghost into that New World,

which he discovered, showing those people, who knew him not, which was God's Son, as the Holy Ghost did in the figure of a dove at St. John's baptism; and because he also carried the olive-branch and oil of baptism over the waters of the ocean, like Noah's dove, to denote the peace and union of those people with the Church, after they had been shut up in the ark of darkness and confusion. And the surname of Colon, which he revived, was proper to him, which in Greek signifies *a member*, that his proper name being Christopher, it might be known he was a member of Christ, by whom salvation was to be conveyed to those people.

METHODS OF CONVERTING THE INDIANS.—(From Las Casas's "Crudelitates Hispanorum in Indiis patratæ.")

"Moreover, if we would bring his name to the Latin pronunciation, that is, Christophorus Colonus, we may say that as St. Christopher is reported to have borne that name because he carried Christ over the deep waters with great danger to himself, whence came the denomination of Christopher, and, as he conveyed over the people whom no other could have been able to carry, so the Admiral Christophorus Colonus, imploring the assistance of Christ in that dangerous passage, went over safe himself and his company, that those Indian nations might become

citizens and inhabitants of the Church triumphant in heaven; for it is to be believed that many souls which the devil expected to make a prey of, had they not passed through the water of baptism, were *by him* made inhabitants and dwellers in the eternal glory of heaven."

Whatever may be the deficiencies of Don Fernando as a logical writer, he has an unfailing resource in his piety. In every difficulty he can bring religion to his aid, and find a special Providence, "some secret impulse," in matters which to minds less favored have a somewhat ugly look. Columbus, he shows us, was entitled to all his names and to all his changes (he is wisely silent on the Griego question, as it would be difficult to find a holy meaning in that word). Throughout the history of this man, particularly as written by his son, fanaticism and hypocrisy are forever fathering the crimes of man upon the beneficence and justice of Heaven, converting into special providence and mysterious intention, deeds which, when related in plain language, are denominated as infamous by every honorable mind.

The peace which Columbus bore the hapless Indians was the peace of the grave; his olive-branch the scourge, the cruel tortures which drove them to that bourn; while the souls thus rescued from the hands of the devil were the descendants of countless generations of souls which, according to the miserable logic of Fernando, a beneficent God had left wholly in the power of the arch-enemy of man.

CHAPTER X.

SOURCE WHENCE COLUMBUS DERIVED THE INFORMATION WHICH INDUCED HIM TO UNDERTAKE HIS VOYAGES.

ALTHOUGH the history of Columbus after 1485 is not so perfectly veiled in obscurity as it is up to that period, yet we shall find it any thing but succinct or clear, owing chiefly to the systematic attempt to mislead as to dates and facts; which is most palpable in Fernando's history, and in all other histories which have been more or less influenced by it. An attempt is constantly made to carry *back*, as far as possible, the period at which Columbus first formed the project of a Western voyage.

Fernando tells us that his father's coming to Lisbon was the cause of his discovering the Indies; also, that he came to Lisbon after the piratical assault upon the Venetian merchant-ships; which is proved, on the unimpeachable authority of the Venetian state papers, to have taken place in 1485. Only seven years, therefore, elapsed between his arrival in Lisbon—"*which was the cause of his discovering the Indies*"—and his departure on his first voyage in 1492. Fernando is careful, however, to suppress the date of the engagement with the galleys, and writes his history in such wise as to make it appear that a long interval elapsed between the arrival of his father in Lisbon and his subsequent arrival in Spain; which, he tells us, took place in 1484. We see at a glance that this date is false, for the capture of the galleys took place in 1485, and Fernando recounts how his father, saving himself with the aid of an oar, swam ashore; came to Lisbon; married there; subsequently went to Madeira, where he resided some time; returned to Portugal; negotiated with the king of that country; and, finally, as his exorbitant conditions were not acceptable to the Portuguese monarch, came to Spain in 1484—a year previous to his first arrival in Lisbon! He

also gives what purports to be the copy of a letter, written by Paul Toscanella, upon navigation and geography, to Ferdinand Martinez, a servant of King John of Portugal, dated Florence, June 25, 1474.

TOSCANELLA was a renowned Italian astronomer of the period. He erected the famous solstitial gnomen at the cathedral in Florence. The presence of the above letter from him among the

TOSCANELLA IN HIS STUDY.

papers of Columbus, or his son and historian, as well as the manner in which the latter seeks to account for its possession, and the use he appears desirous to make of it, must create distrust in the minds of such as shall give the matter a careful examination.

Fernando tells us his father "got knowledge" of the above letter, "and soon by means of Laurence Gerardi, a Florentine residing at Lisbon, writ upon the subject to the said Mr. Paul." He does not, however, tell us at what time Girardi, acting as secret agent, opened correspondence with Toscanella or Columbus upon the subject. The copies of the letters of Columbus to his middle-man in Lisbon, or to Paul Toscanelli, which would be invaluable in this place, are nowhere forthcoming; but, in lieu thereof, Fernando gives what he would have his readers believe

to be the copy of a letter from the learned Florentine to his father. This is shorn of its date and destination, and, moreover, contains expressions which stamp it as a forgery.

Fernando thus quotes, or professes to quote:

The Letter from Paul, a Physician of Florence, concerning the Discovery of the Indies.

"To Christopher Colon Paul, the physician, wishes health.

"I perceive your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced, and therefore, in answer to a letter of yours, I send you the copy of another letter, which some days since I writ to a friend of mine—and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile—in answer to another he writ to me, by his highness's order, upon the same account. And I send you another sea-chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands.

"The copy of that letter is this."

Then follows the letter from Toscanella to Martinez, with its date 1474.

Above is all that is given of the pretended letter from Paul, the physician, to Columbus; and it is also the authority upon which historians affirm that the latter had formed his project of discovery as early as 1474. A careful analysis of the letter we quote, and consideration of the facts regarding it, will, however, raise suspicion, which amounts to certainty the further we investigate the affair, that it was never written by Toscanella to Columbus:

1. Ferdinand tells us his father first arrived in Lisbon after the capture of the Flanders galleys (1485), and that his coming to Lisbon was the cause of his discoveries. It is abundantly proved that Columbus actually took part in this engagement; *he was not therefore in Lisbon, and had not been there when Toscanella wrote to Martinez.*

2. It was not in keeping with Italian courtesy, and the courtly character of Toscanella himself—had Columbus, in fact, ever made application to him for information and instruction touching the Western passage to India—to send the latter the copy of a letter, written to another person, retaining the date, destination, and sundry personal observations, that were un-

doubtedly pertinent as to Martinez, but certainly not in their application to Columbus.

3. The purported letter of Toscanella to Columbus was evidently written by one who endeavored to prove too much. In order that Columbus may appear to have entertained his ideas of discovery in 1474, and for fear lest the reader should suppose that the copy was sent some years after the original had been written, Toscanella is made to say:

"I send you the copy of a letter which I writ *some days since*, to a friend of mine, and servant of the King of Portugal, *before the wars of Castile*."

Does it not appear peculiar that he should thus specify a letter as having been written before a great historic event, which was only written some days since? Where was the necessity of such a declaration to Columbus, who upon receipt of the letter would have inferred from its date at what period it was written? What have the wars of Castile to do with the letter?—clearly nothing. The allusion to them can have no reference to the *status* of Martinez, as the fact that he was *then* in the service of the King of Portugal is not only proved in Toscanella's letter to him, dated June 25, 1474, but is corroborated in the pretended letter to Columbus. The latter's having been written long *after* the death of Toscanella, and *after* the wars of Castile, may account for its having occurred to the writer that it would help his case to insert such a clause.

Then, too, the words "in answer to a letter of yours" have the suspicious appearance of having been written by one who was eager to prove that Columbus had written to Toscanella, and feared that fact might be doubted. A correspondent might indeed write, "In answer to your letter of such a date," but "In answer to a letter of yours" would be somewhat superfluous information, as he to whom the letter was addressed would be fully advised in the premises.

Furthermore, Toscanella, in furnishing a stranger with the copy of a letter which had been written by request of the King of Portugal, and the original of which was preserved in the archives of that country, would have betrayed the confidence of the monarch and committed a gross indiscretion. Toscanella, the companion of princes, the friend of the glorious Medici, wise, learned, and experienced, would hardly provide a needy

adventurer at the capital of Portugal with the means of driving an unscrupulous and exorbitant bargain with the sovereign with whom he corresponded upon the same subject.

Who and what Columbus was, we have already shown, a nameless pirate (if, indeed, one bearing so many *aliases* may be termed nameless).[18] Had the learned Florentine known him, he would not, we believe, have corresponded with him, and, not having known him, it is still less probable that he did so. The testimony of Columbus is insufficient to remove suspicion, or rather to disprove the forgery which the circumstances we have cited render so apparent.

Many able writers, upon the sole authority of the words *some days since* in this pretended letter from Toscanella to Columbus, and of the letter to Martinez, dated 1474, affirm that Columbus was that year in Lisbon. Among these may be cited Mr. R. H. Major, of the British Museum, who, speaking of the encounter with the galleys, doubts the fact of Columbus's having been present thereat and declares Fernando's relation to be somewhat apocryphal, basing his doubts upon the letter from Toscanella, "for it is certain," he says, "that Columbus was in Lisbon previous to 1474 (for in that year he has a letter addressed to him in that city, in reply to one written by himself from the same place").[19]

Now, as it is by no means certain that Columbus was in Lisbon, for there is nothing to prove it save the words "some days since" in the evidently forged letter without a date, and as the statement that Columbus was on board one of the pirate-ships that attacked the galleys is made in an unqualified manner by Fernando and confirmed by public documents, we think Mr. Major and other authors rashly discard a plain and evidently truthful statement for one that is merely hypothetical.

There could hardly have been any correspondence between Toscanella and Columbus *after* 1485, as the aged and worthy Florentine, unfortunately for the glory of our hero, died in 1482; we believe therefore that Columbus "got knowledge" of the letter to Martinez at least ten years after it was written, and by means unknown to us, but undoubtedly surreptitious, obtained a copy thereof, probably about the year 1486. Fernando at a subsequent period inserted it in his work, that he might lead his read-

[19] Major, "Introduction to Letters of Columbus," p. xxxix.

ers to believe that the project of his father was coeval with the said letter of 1474, thereby bridging over an awkward chasm. Whether the forged preface, purporting to have been addressed by Paul to Columbus, was the work of the latter or his son we know not; either was capable of such an act in such a cause. Fernando had ample opportunities; he was a priest, engaged in collecting a library, in recording and magnifying the glory of his family, regardless of propriety or truth; he was also a member of the same literary junta with Juan Vespucci, who succeeded to the department in navigation, created by or for Amerigo, where it is to be presumed the originals or copies of all important papers relative to navigation were kept, especially those bearing upon the long-sought-for passage to India by the West. It may be urged that his holy vocation would render him incapable of such a crime as forgery, but this clerical plea will scarce avail, when we consider the character of the clergy in his time. It was the age of Alexander VI., the notorious Borgia—of assassination, forgery, and perjury, far more than of sanctity and prayer; and when the archbishop forges the papal bull granting a dispensation to Ferdinand and Isabella from the penalties of an incestuous marriage,[79] why might not Fernando indulge in the comparatively innocent occupation of manufacturing epistles and falsifying dates to brighten the escutcheon of the Christ-bearer?

We are safe, in the case of the piratical assault, to follow the narrative of Fernando, discarding and correcting as far as possible all dates that are flagrantly inaccurate. He tells us that the ships caught fire; that the crews, to save themselves, leaped into the water, where his father, being an expert swimmer, seized a floating oar, and with its aid reached the shore.

Behold, then, our hero struggling onward, clinging to an oar, behind him the burning galleys, before him the shores of Portugal! These he reaches, is succored, and proceeds to Lisbon, according to his son, "to begin a new state of life;" and as he did nothing wrong, behaved well, and "was comely," he married Doña Felipa Muniz de Perestrela. With respect to his beginning a new life, we know not precisely whether we are to infer that he proposed to betake himself to a seafaring life, or to abandon it. Was he about to give up a nefarious pursuit and lead

[79] Prescott, "Ferdinand and Isabella," chapter lii., p. 121.

the life of an honest man, or was he to continue piracy in a new field, upon a grander scale?

However this may be, his stay in Lisbon was short; his wife's father having left some possessions in Madeira, he and his wife took up their abode in that island.

A year could hardly have elapsed before the event took place which, it is evident, first attracted the attention of Columbus to Western lands, and was as it were the turning-point in his life. Modern authors affect to ignore or treat with contempt the story of Columbus's having received his first information from a shipwrecked pilot who died in his house; but their answers to a statement which is to be found in almost all early writers (except Fernando, who seems anxious to give any other reason for his father's undertaking, and evinces a desire to lead us as far as

COLUMBUS ESCAPES FROM THE BURNING GALLEYS.

possible from this one, though he makes a vague allusion to it in his eighth chapter, speaking of Oviedo's mention of it, which he endeavors in a manner to nullify by diverting attention to an opposite direction), are not what may be considered erudite or convincing.

Spotorno says: "As to the idle tale which was current in

Spain, that he had taken the idea of the New World from a pilot of whom a number of fables are told, I shall not stop to refute it." [80]

This summary dismissal of the subject is about the best and most satisfactory answer to the story that we have found. Mr. Irving naïvely shows us the reasons which have induced the eulogists of Columbus to discredit it. He frankly admits that "its veracity would destroy all his" (Columbus's) "merit as an original discoverer." [81] The idle tale, so current in Spain, rests, however, upon the very authorities the biographers of Columbus so often quote. It is related by Oviedo, who was a contemporary of Columbus, and had spent more than forty years in the royal service of Spain, beginning with Ferdinand and Isabella, and who had visited, and been appointed royal historiographer of, the Indies.

It is recounted, at length, in Gomara's "History of the Indies," which was published in the Spanish language, within the realm, and sanctioned by the license of the Archbishop of Saragossa. Gomara was himself a priest, and cannot therefore be supposed to have written any falsehood detrimental to Columbus, especially as he represents the latter as so saintly a character that he asserts "rude crosses erected by him healed the sick and performed miracles many years after his death." [82]

Garcilasso de la Vega also gives perfect credence to the history of the pilot; and Eden prefixes it to Locke's English translation of Peter Martyr, "for the better understanding of the whole work."

Alonzo de Ovalle, a Jesuit father, whose "Relation of the Kingdom of Chili" was printed in Rome in 1649, does not agree with Mr. Irving, that to give credence to the story of the pilot, which he evidently regards as truthful, is to detract from the glory of Columbus.[83] Indeed, most early authors considered the fact as established, and argued for the greatness of Columbus in spite of it. The deviation from truth has yearly widened as authors became more extravagant and bigoted in their adulation, so that it was finally discarded.

This is so important a matter that we cannot forbear giving

[80] Spotorno, "Historia Memoria," p. 29.
[81] Irving, "Appendix," No. xi.
[82] Gomara, "Historia de las Indias," cap. xxxiii.
[83] Churchill's "Voyages," vol. iii., p. 88.

here the various accounts to be found in early writers, with the still more convincing proof of the history having been incorporated in 1666, by Captain Galardi, in the introduction to a work which he dedicated to the legal representative of the family of Columbus.

An Extract from "The Royal Commentaries of Peru," written originally in Spanish by the Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, and rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut, in the Year 1688:

"About the year 1484, a certain Pilot, Native of *Helva* in the County of *Niebla*, called *Alonso Sanchez*, usually Traded in a small Vessel from *Spain* to the *Canaries;* and there Lading the Commodities of that Countrey, sailed to the *Maderas*, and thence freighted with Sugar and Conserves, returned home into *Spain;* this was his constant course and traffick, when, in one of these Voyages meeting with a most violent Tempest, and not able to bear sail, he was forced to put before the Wind for the space of twenty-eight or twenty-nine days, not knowing where or whither he went, for in all that time he was not able to take an observation of the height of the Sun; and so grievous was the storm, that the Mariners could with no convenience either eat or sleep: At length, after so many long and tedious days, the Wind abating, they found themselves near an Island, which it was, is not certainly known, but it is believed to have been *San Domingo*, because that lyes just West from the *Canaries*, whence a storm at East had driven the Ship, which is the more strange, because the Easterly Winds seldom blow hard in those Seas, and rather make fair weather, than tempestuous. But God, who is all-sufficient, intending to bestow his mercies, can make causes produce effects contrary to their nature; as when he drew water from the Rock, and cured the blind with Clay; in like manner his immense goodness and compassion, designing to transmit the light of the true Gospel into the new World, made use of these unusual means to convert them from the Idolatry of Gentilism, and from their foolish and dark superstitions, as shall be related in the sequel of this History.

"The Master, landing on the shore, observed the height of the Sun, and so noted particularly in writing what he had seen, and what had happened in this Voyage out, and home; and, having supplied himself with fresh water and wood, he put to Sea again;

but having not well observed his course thither, his way to return was the more difficult, and made his Voyage so long, that he began to want both water and provisions, which being added to their former sufferings, the people fell sick, and died in that manner, that of seventeen persons which came out of *Spain*, there remained but five only alive, when they arrived at *Terceras*, of which the Master was one. These came all to lodge at the House of that famous *Genoese*, called *Christopher Colon*, because they knew him to be a great Seaman and Cosmographer, and one who made Sea-carts to sail by; and for this reason he received them with much kindness, and treated them with all things necessary, that so he might learn from them the particulars which occurred, and the discoveries they had made in this laborious Voyage: but in regard they brought a languishing distemper with them, caused by their Sufferings at Sea, and of which they could not be recovered by the kind usage of *Colon*, they all happened to dye in his house, leaving their labours for his inheritance; the which he improved with such readiness of mind, that he underwent more, and greater, than they, in regard that they lasted longer; and at length he so well succeeded in his enterprise, that he bestowed the New World, with all its riches, upon *Spain*, and therefore deservedly obtained this Motto to be inscribed on his Armes:

'To Castile, *and to* Leon,
The New World was given by Colon.'

"In this manner the New World was first discovered, for which greatness *Spain* is beholding to that little village of *Helva*, which produced such a Son, as gave *Colon* information of things not seen, or known before; the which secrets, like a prudent person, he concealed, till under assurances of silence he first disclosed them to such persons of authority about the Catholick Kings, as were to be assistant and usefull to him in his design, which could never have been laid, or chalked out by the art of Cosmography, or the imagination of man, had not *Alonso de Sanchez* given the first light and conjecture to this discovery; which *Colon* so readily improved, that in seventy-eight days he made his Voyage to the Isle of *Guanatiancio*, though he was detained some days at *Gomera* to take in Provisions."

Extract from "Eden's Preface to Peter Martyr's Decades:"

"*Certaine Preambles here followe, gathered by* R. EDEN *heretofore, for the better Understanding of the whole Worke.*

"*Of the First Discovering of the West Indies.*

"A Certayne Carauell sayling in the West Ocean, about the coaastes of Spayne, hadd a forcible and continuall winde from the East, whereby it was driuen to a land vnknowne, and not described in any Map or Carde of the Sea, and was driuen still along by the coaste of the same for the space of many daies, vntil it came to a hauen, where in a short time the most part of the mariners, being long before very weake and feble by reason of hunger and trauayle, dyed: so that only the Pilot, with three or foure other, remayned aliue. And not only they that dyed, did not enjoy the Indies whiche they first discouered to their misfortune, but the residue also that liued had in maner as litle fruition of the same: not leauing, or at the least not openly publishing any memorie thereof, neyther of the place or what it was called, or in what yeere it was founde: Albeit, the fault was not theirs, but rather the malice of others, or the enuie of that, which we cal fortune. I do not therefore marueile, that the auncient histories affirme, that great things procede and increase of small and obscure beginninges, sith we haue seene the same verified in this finding of the Indies, being so notable and newe a thing. We neede not be curious to seeke the name of the Pilot, sith death made a short ende of his doinges. Some will, that he came from *Andaluzia*, and traded to the Ilandes of *Canaria*, and Iland of *Madera*, when this large and mortall nauigation chaunced vnto him. Other say that hee was a *Byscanne* and traded into Englande and France. Other also, that hee was a Portugall, and that either he went or came from *Mina* or *India:* whiche agreeth well with the name of the newe landes, as I haue sayd before. Againe, some there be that say that he brought the *Carauell* to Portugall, or the Ilande of *Madera*, or to some other of the Ilandes called *De los Azores*. Yet doe none of them affirme anything, although they all affirme that the Pilot dyed in the house of *Christopher Colon*, with whom remayned all suche writinges and annotations as he had made of his voyage in the said Carauell, as well of such thinges as he observed both by land and sea, as also of the eleuation of the pole in those lands which he had discouered."

"*What manner of man Christopher Colon (otherwise called Columbus) was, and how he came first to the knowledge of the Indies.*

"Christopher *Colon* was borne in *Cugureo*, or (as some say) in *Nerui*, a village in the territory of *Genua* in Italie. Hee descended as some thinke, of the house of the *Pelestreles* of *Placentia* in *Lombardie*. He beganne of a chylde to bee a maryner: of whose arte they haue great exercise on the ryuer of *Genua*. He traded many yeeres into *Suria*, and other parts of the East. After this he became a maister in making cardes for the sea, whereby he hadde great vantage. Hee came to *Portugall* to know the reason and description of the South coasts of Affrica, and the nauvigations of the Portugalles, thereby to make his cardes more perfect to be solde. Hee maryed in Portugall, as some say: or as many say, in the Iland of *Madera*, where he dwelt at such time as the said Carauell arryued there, whose Pilot sojourned in his house, and dyed also there, bequathing to *Colon* his carde of the description of such newe landes as he had found, whereby *Colon* hadde the first knowledge of the Indies. Some haue thought that *Colon* was well learned in the Latine tongue and the science of Cosmographie: and that he was thereby first moued to seeke the lands of *Antipodes*, and the rich Iland of *Cipango*, whereof *Marchus Paulus* writeth. Also that he had reade what *Plato* in his dialogues of *Timeus* and *Cicias*, writeth of the great Ilande of *Atlantide*, and of a great lande in the west Ocean vndiscouered, being bigger than Asia and Affrica. Furthermore that he had knowledge what *Aristotle* and *Thephrastus* saye in their bookes of Maruayles, where they write that certayne marchauntes of Carthage, sayling from the strayghtes of *Gibralter* towarde the West and South, founde after many daies a great Ilande not inhabited, yet replenished with all thinges requisite, and hauing many nauigable riuers. In deede *Colon* was not greatly learned: yet of good understanding. And when he had knowledge of the sayde newe landes by the information of the deade Pilotte, made relation thereof to certayne learned menne, with whom he conferred as touching the lyke thinges mentioned of olde authors. Hee communicated this secrete and conferred chiefely with a Fryar named *John Parez* of *Marchena*, that dwelt in the *Monastery* of *Ribida*. So that I verily beleeve, that in manner all that he declared, and manie thinges more that

hee left vnspoken, were written by the sayde Spanyish Pilotte that dyed in his house. For I am purswaded, that if *Colon* by science attained to the knowledge of the Indies, hee woulde long before haue communicated this secrete to his own countreymenne the *Genuenses*, that trauayle all the worlde for gaynes, and not have come into Spayne for this purpose. But doubtless hee neuer thought of any suche thing, beefore he chaunced to bee acquainted with the sayd Pylotte, who founde those landes by fortune, according to the sayinge of Plinie, *Quod ars docere non potuit, casus inuenit.* That is, That arte coulde not teache, chaunce founde. Albeit, the more Christian opinion is, to thinke that GOD of his singular prouidence and infinitte goodnesse, at the length with eyes of compassion as it were looking downe from heauen vpon the Sonnes of Adam, so long kept vnder Sathan's captiuitie, intended even then (for causes to him onelie knowne) to rayse those windes of mercy whereby that Carauell (herein most lyke vnto the shyppe of *Noe*, whereby the remnant of the whole worlde was saued, as by this Carauell this newe worlde receyued the first hope of their saluation) was driuen to these landes. But wee will nowe declare what great thinges followed of this small begynning, and howe *Colon* followed this matter, reuealed vnto him not without GODS prouidence."

"After the death of the Pilot and maryners of the Spanyishe Carauell that discouered the Indies, *Christopher Colon* purposed to seeke the same."

Extract from "Purchas's Pilgrimage," edition of 1625:

"This history is thus related by *Gomara* and Joannes Mariana: a certain caravel sailing in the ocean, by a strong east wind long continued was carried to a land unknown, which was not expressed in the maps and charts. It was much longer in returning than in going; and arriving, had none left alive but the Pilot, and three or four mariners, the rest being dead of famine and other extremities; of which also the remnant perished in few days, leaving to *Columbus* (then the pilot's host) their papers, and some grounds of this discovery. The time, place, country, and name of the man is uncertain. Some esteem this pilot an Andalusian, and that he traded at Madeira, when this befell him. Some, a Biscayan, and that his traffic was in England and France. And some, a Portuguese, that traded to Mina

(India). Some say he arrived in Portugal, others at Madeira, or at one of the Azores: all agree that he died in the house of *Christopher Columbus*. It is most likely at Madeira."

Were we to attempt to give extracts from all the old writers who corroborate the story of the dead pilot, we might fill a volume; the above will, however, suffice, and we will conclude with the following extract from a dedication to the Duke of Veraguas, the legal representative of the family of Columbus, dated 1666; written by Captain Galardi, the duke's secretary, on the personal history of Columbus; put forth as the authorized family version, founded on the documents of the house.[84] We believe it is time that over-zealous historians, and the world at large, should cease to be more jealous of the honor of Columbus than were his immediate descendants and heirs to his honors.

"*To the Right Honorable* LORD DON PEDRO NUÑO COLON (*Columbus*) *and Portugal*; GRAND ADMIRAL OF THE INDIES, *Grandee of Spain, Duke of Veraguas and de la Vega, Marquis of Jamaica, Count of Gelves, Marquis of Villa Mizar, Captain-General of the Naval Army, and Admiral of the Low Countries, Camp-Master-General in the Army, and Captain-General of the* ROYAL, *which is on the high-seas.*

"MY LORD: . . . .

"If I am unfortunate enough to be suspected of adulation, I can bring in support of my apology the entire world, which owes to your ancestors the finest, noblest, most opulent and magnificent of its possessions. The annals of the foregoing century, as well as ours, will advance at my head, and it is thence that I borrow my just defense, and it is there that what I advance will be gloriously authorized. But it is too bad, my lord, to dwell upon the bark when it is time to enter into the essence and substance of the matter.

"I will here omit any detailed account of your remote ancestry. Suffice it to say that you drew your origin from Terraro Colon (Columbus), lord of the castle of Cucaro, who rendered very important services to his country, as had also done his illus-

[84] This extract forms part of a "Dedicatory Letter to a Summary of European Politics, specially of Spanish Affairs," during the century 1550–1650, published at Madrid, 1666.

trious progenitors Emery and Lanca. I go on to Dominic Colon (Columbus) who gave birth to Christofle (Christopher), that unique glory and the admiration of his age. But the wonderful grandeur of an event so glorious demands some amplification, and some pause in this relation of a family history which has filled the universe with its praise and applause. Christopher Columbus, whose courage was intrepid, and his industry equal to the greatness of his soul, obligingly entertained in his house in the island of Madeira, the pilot of a vessel which the violence of a storm had carried off very far into the ocean, *and in sight of unknown lands.* That man, who also had a nobly-constituted nature, touched with the kind interest with which his host generously endeavored to reëstablish his strength, left him at his death a striking testimony of his esteem and of gratitude proportioned to that ingenuous benevolence which Columbus had displayed to an unknown and unfortunate man. In fact, he left to Columbus the very important legacy of his instructions concerning that which had happened to him on a voyage so painful and difficult, and gave him such sketches of the lands, and directions as to its position and distance, as were possible.

"This was probably the essential cause and first impulse of his persuasion that the earth had other limits, and that the sun rose and set in another hemisphere. He opened his mind upon this idea to Don Alonzo V., King of Portugal, who decried it as wild and imaginary. Henry VII. of England added mockery to reproach, and told him that he did not feed upon deceptive notions, the ridiculous effect of a cracked and wounded brain. Columbus took no offense; he offered up this shame as a sacrifice to the utility to posterity of his great idea, satisfied that it would add to the praises of a just gratitude, the laudation of a patience which was proof against injuries, insults, and contempt. Ferdinand and Isabella were his last resource, to gain whom the credit of the Cardinal Mendoza contributed very largely, facilitating an audience which he had been demanding for seven consecutive years, with so much ardor, and it was then that his reasons made a breach in the opinion of those great kings, who promised to sustain this important undertaking. But as the conquest of Granada had exhausted their finances, Luis de St. Angel, secretary of Ferdinand, lent for the expedition the sum of sixteen thousand ducats.

"This small amount of money, three vessels, and one hundred and twenty men, were the entire fleet, the army and the treasure, to put an entire world under the glorious dominion of Castile, with more than a thousand millions of souls. Columbus left Palos and carried on full sail toward the goal to which his greatness of soul urged him. He had, however, less to encounter from the boisterous ocean than from the opposition and obstinacy of his crew, who clamored against his persisting in so apparently imaginary and hopeless an enterprise. Before so many evils, Columbus never faltered, and at length overcame in a conflict in which the four elements were in concert with his fellow-creatures to damp his energy and defeat his invincible constancy.

"Toward the coast of Florida he came upon the Lucayan Islands, and discovered at different times Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and the Island San Juan, with a great part of that immense continent which stretches from the Straits of Magellan to the promontory of Bogador, through a prodigious extent of seas and coasts, fully five thousand leagues counted from the antarctic to the arctic pole.

"On his return from his first voyage (he made four voyages altogether), Ferdinand and Isabella, as a mark of their peculiar esteem, heard him seated; and, besides the confirmation of the tenth part of their taxes in the Indies, declared him their hereditary grand-admiral. Yet, however, during his lifetime and after his death, his successful enterprise was applauded, it is quite certain that the reward never equaled the greatness of the service nor the utility which it unceasingly renders to the state. Indeed, Columbus might with much greater reason make that touching reproach with which Ferdinand Cortez subsequently moved the heart of Philip II., when, long unable to obtain an audience of the king, driven to despair and reckless of his life, he one day accosted that Solomon of his age, taking him by the arm and stopping him short, in these words:

"'V. M. escuche un hombre que le ha ganado mas Reynos que los que le dexaron su padre y sus aguelos.'

"'Sire! listen to a man who has gained for you more kingdoms than those which were left you by your father and ancestors.'

"Philip on this replied very obligingly:

"'Teneis razon, padre!'

"'Quite right, old friend!'

"And at the same time sent him away very well satisfied. In like manner Columbus might well have maintained before Ferdinand, without offending the majesty of that august monarch, that he had acquired and facilitated the conquest of more states than the king had received by hereditary succession from his ancestors. Don Diego Columbus, his son, succeeded Christopher as Marquis of Jamaica and first Duke of Veraguas, by a special grace of Charles V., who did it only at the instance of Don Ferdinand Henriquez, erecting into a duchy his land of Medina del Rio Seco. Ferdinand, brother of Diego, left at his death to the great Cathedral of Seville his library of thirteen thousand volumes, and among them his own work, the life of his incomparable father, which in a very elegant style he devoted to posterity.

"Don Luis was the universal heir of Don Diego, and Don Nuño Colon and Portugal received after him this grand inheritance as the second son of Don Alvaro de Portugal, Count of Gelves, and Doña Leonara de Cordova, his wife, granddaughter of Don George of Portugal, first Count of Gelves and Doña Isabel Colon (Columbus), third daughter of Don Diego Colon, Duke of Veraguas, Grand-Admiral of the Indies. Finally, Don Alvaro Colon and Portugal was the successor of Don Nuño, as you are of the former. . . .

"This, my lord, is a sketch of the glory of your illustrious progenitors. A bolder hand will one day make the sketch complete, with all its colors and details proportioned to the glory and finish of the subject.

"It is my own ambition, but for the present I must be content to subscribe myself for my whole existence, my lord, your very devoted and obedient servant,

(Signed) "P. FERDINAND DE GALARDI,

"Captain of cavalry in the service of his Catholic Majesty, and secretary to the Duke of Veraguas," etc.

Upon what authority, we ask, do historians reject a statement made in such unqualified terms, by *quasi* contemporary authors who wrote in the praise of Columbus—who were licensed by the Church? Above all, how can they suppose that Galardi,

while extolling in most fulsome terms the greatness of Columbus to the representative of his family, would introduce into his eulogy a falsehood detrimental to the glory of his hero? The very fact that he mentions the history of the dead pilot *in such a place, to such a person*, proves, it appears to us, that it was universally admitted.

It is but natural that Fernando should make no direct mention of it. He seems to have possessed certain distorted ideas of greatness which caused him to become exceedingly indignant with Justiniani for saying his father was a mechanic—a sentiment which comes with but bad grace from an ecclesiastic. When, therefore, he devotes several lengthy chapters to show how Columbus was led by a study of the ancients, his own reason, and the letter from Toscanella, to perform his voyage, he evidently seeks to lead us as far as possible from the true motive (the death of the pilot and the papers he left in Columbus's hands) which would greatly simplify the proceeding, and has not so learned an appearance as the reasons he gives; these seem rather to have been assigned to parry a fatal blow, for sailing by a chart already laid down by one who had performed the voyage, was no very extraordinary feat, as he no doubt felt. Yet, notwithstanding all his efforts, there is much in his history which supports the statement.

Had Columbus really, by deep study, arrived at the conclusion that land must exist to the westward, would he have been as positive of the exact situation of that land as he shows himself; and as his son shows him to have been throughout? He admits of no hypothesis, but asserts that, by sailing a given distance in a westerly direction, they shall reach certain lands which, he tells us, *he has been informed stretched from north to south across his track.* On one occasion he refuses to alter his course, "because," says Fernando, "he thought it was lessening the reputation of his undertaking to run from one place to another, seeking that which he always asserted he well knew where to find."

This conduct is precisely the reverse of that which a discoverer would pursue. The latter would run from place to place, seeking that which he was to discover, and could not well know where to find. Again, we are told by Fernando:

"He had always proposed to himself to find land according to the place they were then in, since, as they well knew, he had

often told them he never expected to find land till he was seven hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of the Canaries, within which distance he had further said he should discover Hispaniola, which he then called Cipango; and there is no doubt but he had found it *had not he known it was reported* to lie in length from north to south, for which reason he had not inclined more to the south to run upon it."

Is this the language of a discoverer? Is it not rather that of one who had inherited the labors of Alonzo de Sanchez or some other navigator, who is robbed of his well-earned fame? Who reported the land to lie in length from north to south and at the distance west from the Canaries of seven hundred and fifty leagues? Surely no one who had not seen it. The information touching the distance and position of the land is too specific to have been derived from any but an eye-witness, and, having received this information from such a source, he could not believe that Hispaniola was Cipango (Japan). No intelligent man, above all, no navigator or traveler who had visited India, China, or Japan, or studied the geography of the period, could mistake the island of Hispaniola for any of these countries. Toscanella, in his chart, laid down a western passage to Asia, but was too learned a man to make a mistake of half the circumference of the globe, as he would have done had he placed India and the known portions of Asia seven hundred and fifty leagues west of the Canaries.

Again, Pinzon wished Columbus to change his course, believing (correctly) that land was near them to the southwest; but the admiral, writes Fernando, "knowing for certain it was no land, he would not lose time to discover it, as all his men would have had him; forasmuch as he was not yet come to the place where he expected, by his computation, to find land."

Columbus, on his own testimony, corroborates, in a great measure, the statement that he sailed by the log-book of the unfortunate mariner, "who happened to die in his house." In his journal, September 25, 1492, we read:

"Martin Alonzo Pinzon conferred with the admiral on the *chart in which lands were laid down*, as the ships were then in their neighborhood—and had been for three days—in which the admiral agreed; but, as the ships had not seen them, it was considered they had been drifted northward of them by the current.

. . . The admiral directed the course to be altered to the south-west."

"*October* 3, 1492.—The admiral considered the ships were to the westward of *the islands marked on the chart.*"

These statements, and the fact that he professed to know the exact point where they should find land, prove this to have been no voyage of discovery, and Columbus to have been erroneously termed a discoverer.

That it was no study or scientific knowledge which imbued him with the idea of his Western voyage, must be evident to all

THE SHIPWRECKED PILOT ENTERS THE HOUSE OF COLUMBUS.

who shall give the matter consideration, and shall read, with unbiassed judgment, the various histories which have been written upon the subject—from that of his son Fernando, which Washington Irving terms the "corner-stone of the history of the American Continent," down to the brilliant but unreliable work of Irving himself—and the enthusiastic and ecstatic history by M. de Lorgues, who will not rest content till Columbus be numbered among the saints.

Without a knowledge of the history of the dead pilot, we vainly endeavor to explain the many inconsistencies we have

mentioned; with that knowledge, all becomes clear, simple, and probable.

Columbus, the needy adventurer, and but half-reformed pirate, receives into his house, on the lonely shores of Madeira, a pilot and three sailors, sole survivors of a crew whose ship had been driven westward by adverse winds, till it touched upon land unknown to European navigators at that time. The pilot had recorded exactly the latitude and longitude of these lands, the distance he sailed, and the course he pursued. He and his companions all *happen to die in the house of Columbus*, into whose hands fall the papers of the deceased. Seeing in these documents matter wherewith to make his fortune and acquire fame, at small risk or peril, Columbus determines to profit by them, and profit largely, too. His conditions are not those of a learned and honest navigator exposing his views, which might be carried out by any experienced seaman, but of one who, being possessed of certain secret information, proposes to sell it at a high price.

Where, then, is the extraordinary courage so much extolled by his biographers, as they represent him, guided only by his own intuitive knowledge, or scientific research, sailing across what was supposed to be a boundless ocean, and discovering a land which he alone had divined? Did it require such wonderful fortitude to undertake a voyage every league of which was laid down by one who had already performed it?

Columbus was as certain of his course, and of the distance between the Canaries and the lands in question, as he was that he was not sailing to Asia, but to certain islands where his ambition and vanity would be gratified by the sounding titles of viceroy and admiral. Viceroy, indeed, over naked savages!—Admiral of three fishing-smacks! But there is much in a name, or at least our hero thought so.

With these facts before us, Columbus—as he is, and as historians have made him—reminds us of the Arabian fable, in which we are told how a poor fisherman brought up in his net a small casket. Upon his opening it, a great smoke emerges, which assumes the proportions of a gigantic human form—a powerful genius—striking wonder, admiration, and terror, into the heart of the fisherman. But soon the great genius dissolves into smoke, his huge form subsides into the tiny casket which has hitherto contained him; and the fisherman, no longer fearing or ad-

miring, may fling the casket back into the waves whence he drew it.

Columbus, in his own day, was but lightly esteemed, as he and his historians admit. Yet the latter have surrounded him with such a mist of fiction, with such incense of praise, that his real character, being veiled or but partially revealed, he has appeared to many great and wonderful. Let the test of reason and judgment, however, be applied; let the reader of these histories calmly scrutinize these statements, and pause to consider what were the actions which are the theme of so much laudation, and the mist is dispersed, the incense disappears, and the character of Columbus shrinks into its really diminutive proportions. Well would it be for him if his name could be cast into the sea of oblivion, where his crimes and petty arrogance might never more be the subject of horror and contempt!

CHAPTER XI.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

THE pilot being dead, Columbus determined to trade upon the papers he had left, with the aid of which he hoped to attain rank and fortune.

According to Fernando, his father had obtained information which induced him to "believe for certain that there were such islands." Here is evidence that it was upon information *received* that the latter based his operations, which might appear somewhat inexplicable when we have been told, by Fernando, that study and thought were the incentives to the discovery, did we not bear in mind that it applies perfectly to the dead pilot. The information received, which caused such certainty in the mind of Columbus, was the waif of Alonzo de Sanchez; and the former, believing this knowledge and opinion to be "excellently well founded," he resolved to put it in practice, and to sail westward in search of these countries.

This he could not do without the protection of some monarch. It was also necessary that the nautical skill and pecuniary expense of the expedition should be provided by other parties. He therefore proceeded to Portugal, to lay his plans before the king of that country, "because he lived under him."

His terms, the same which he subsequently offers in Castile, are justly thought by the King of Portugal too exorbitant for him to accede to. "The admiral," says Fernando, "being of a noble and generous spirit, would capitulate to his great benefit and 'honor.'" We fail to perceive a noble and generous spirit in one who greedily exacts immense benefit and reward, while totally dependent on others for the means wherewith to carry out his scheme. It has required this assurance from Fernando, and the corroboration it has received from subsequent historians,

to make the conduct of the admiral appear other than grasping, and unworthy of true greatness. This, at any rate, was the opinion which the King of Portugal evidently entertained. He refused to accept the conditions; but, according to Fernando, "resolved to send a caravel privately to attempt that which the admiral had proposed to him;" that, in the event of the countries having been found, he might not be called upon to give the immense rewards Columbus had claimed. This story rests upon the unreliable testimony of the Columbos, and should therefore be regarded with suspicion; yet, had the king so acted, it would have been but just.

If the name and history of the dead pilot are unknown to fame, it is the fault of Columbus, who culminates a long life of piracy by robbing, of the glory that belonged to him, a dead man, whom he had received in double trust, who had died beneath his roof! And, though he will be more wary in Spain, he had evidently revealed to the King of Portugal the source whence he derived his information. That monarch may not have thought it more dishonorable to revisit these lands on his own account, than for Columbus to drive an unscrupulous bargain over the spoils of a dead man; he may rather have thought it a meritorious act to

> . . . "spoil the spoiler as we may,
> And from the robber rend the prey."

It is this reported conduct on the part of the king that Fernando assigns as a reason for his father's becoming disgusted with, and leaving, Portugal; "stealing away privately, lest the king should stop him," and accept his conditions. There exists, however, a document which leads us to suppose that Columbus feared to be stopped by the *alguazil* rather than by the relenting monarch. A Portuguese document plainly shows that he had become liable to arrest for debt and crime.[86] This accounts for the extraordinary aversion he suddenly evinced for the kingdom of Portugal, as also for his flight into Spain, where we next find him begging, penniless, at the Convent de la Rabida, receiving from Pinzon the money, and from Juan Perez, prior of the convent, and former confessor of the queen, the letter wherewith to present himself at the Spanish court, whither he resolves to journey, and there make the offers which the King of Portugal had

[86] Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 10.

refused. "But," says Fernando, "for fear lest the King (Queen?) of Castile should not consent to his undertaking, and he might be forced to propose it to some other prince, which would take up much time, he sent a brother he had with him, called Bartholomew Colon, to England, to confer with the king of that country."

Bartholomew is said to have fallen into the hands of pirates, yet, nevertheless, reached England, and presented Henry VII. with a map or chart, at the same time telling him of the offer his brother Christopher made, to discover lands in the West, for the English kingdom. The king, we are told, readily accepted the offer, and ordered Columbus to be sent for. All this, according to Fernando, took place in the year 1480! "But," continues the latter, "God having reserved it for Castile, the admiral had, at that time, gone on his voyage, and returned with success."

It may not be amiss, in order to prove further the deplorable want of exactitude, with regard to dates, which pervades Fernando's history, to call attention to the year 1480, set down by him as that in which Bartholomew presented the king with the map and the conditions offered by Christopher. It is more than twelve years previous to his first voyage (1492). The action of the king appears to have been prompt: "Having seen the map" (he is represented as having seen it in 1480); "and what the admiral offered him, he readily accepted of it, and ordered him to be sent for." Yet we are told, on the same authority, that, by the time Bartholomew informed Columbus of a matter which was of such vital importance to him, he had performed his first voyage and returned; at a time, too, when intimate relations, both commercial and diplomatic, existed between England and Spain; and when, therefore, a period of twelve years was not necessary for the transmission of a communication from one country to the other. We merely mention this to show how inconsistent Fernando proves himself throughout, for it is not possible that Bartholomew could have gone to England on any such errand in 1480, as Columbus did not visit Lisbon till 1485. Fernando here, again, attempts to antedate the dead pilot.

Columbus did not, evidently, steal into Spain till 1487. We have already said that Pinzon provided him, on his first arrival, with money sufficient to carry him to court. The reader will be prepared to believe that his finances soon ran low; and we find

that, on the 5th of May, 1487, a stranger, called Christopher Columbus, came to Seville, asked for and received, by order of the Bishop of Palencia, a sum of money equal to about thirty dollars.[86] This is said to be the earliest authentic date, proving his presence in Spain, which can be found. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the space of time between his first arrival in Lisbon, and his stealthy flight therefrom in March or April, 1487, was chiefly spent in Madeira, attending to the matter of the dead pilot, and arranging for the successful use of his charts; thence

CONFERENCE BETWEEN COLUMBUS AND JUAN PEREZ.

he returned to Lisbon, proffered his services, staid but a very short time, to arrive in Spain in 1487. This is the only manner in which the history of Columbus can be made consistent and clear throughout, because it is evidently the only true version of that history.

When Columbus arrived at the convent-gate at Palos, hungry and penniless, he was received and cared for by the charitable monks. To the prior, Juan Perez, he spoke of his plans. This worthy friar advised him to confer with the Pinzons, the most influential family of the town, and experienced navigators.

[86] Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. ii., p. 11.

Martin Alonzo Pinzon, having, during a recent sojourn in Rome, heard rumors of Western lands, saw nothing improbable in the recital of Columbus, and advised him to lay his plans before the sovereigns. The latter informed him of his destitute circumstances, which would not allow him to perform such a journey, much less appear at court. Pinzon liberally advanced him the necessary funds, while Juan Perez offered to care for his little son, and furnished him with a letter of recommendation to his successor as confessor to the queen.[87]

All these circumstances, though far less shameful than many others of his career, Fernando ungenerously fails to mention, but accounts for Columbus having obtained audience with their Majesties by his being "affable and of pleasant conversation;" and would make it appear that he contracted friendships at court with such persons as were likely to favor his enterprise. The son seems unwilling to let us perceive the destitute condition of his father when he arrived in Spain; and, above all, he would conceal the fact that the Pinzons, whom Columbus so shamefully requited, were the first to encourage and assist him.

With the letter from Juan Perez, Columbus arrived at Cordova, where the court was then held, and laid his plans, or as much of them as he chose to reveal, before their Catholic Majesties, who commanded them to be submitted to the Prior of Prado, and other cosmographers, who were so ignorant, *we are told*, and so far behind this "unlettered admiral," in geographical knowledge, that they condemned the scheme, for reasons both various and absurd, and reported that what Columbus proposed was impracticable. For these reasons, according to Fernando and other historians, and because the conditions of Columbus were considered too exorbitant, their Majesties refused to accept his proposition. Here is a gross slander upon the learned men of that period. Let us bear in mind that the Arabs had for centuries enlightened Spain with their learning; that the schools of Cordova, of Salamanca, and other cities, possessed spheres, zodiacs, etc., which had long aided to instruct thousands, giving them just ideas of the heavens and the earth; yet Fernando, and even modern writers, would have us believe that the most learned of these schools scoffed at the idea of antipodes, and of the sphe-

[87] Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. iii.; Probanzas del Fiscal; Irving, "Columbus," book ii., chapter i.

ricity of the globe, and were more ignorant than the unlettered seaman who tells us the world is pear-shaped!

The exorbitancy of Columbus's claims seems to have been the only reason for the refusal. The latter evidently exposed no theory, but merely spoke of certain lands of which he had mysterious knowledge, and which he proposes to conquer for their Majesties. When called upon to be more explicit, he refuses "so far to explain himself," as he had done in Portugal, lest he should be deprived of his reward—that is, he forbore mentioning the history of the dead pilot; and, as he would not show more plainly upon what he based his stupendous claims, the affair was allowed to drop.

Had Columbus based his project on theory, why need he have refused to explain that theory? A scientific discussion would have done little to convince men so obstinate in their error as historians represent the *savants* of Salamanca to have been; but the circumstance of the dead pilot would have carried conviction into the heart of the most unbelieving; and that is why Columbus refused to explain himself further, lest he should be deprived of his reward. He evidently had information as to a specific spot, not mere scientific data for argument. No doubt, in his attempt to account on scientific principles for this information, he showed himself as ignorant as he does in his writings, and may justly have incurred the ridicule of the assembled scholars.

The reader will not be surprised that the sovereigns hesitated in acceding to the claims of Columbus when he perceives how advantageous to him they were. The following were the terms agreed upon by their Catholic Majesties, on the 17th of April, 1492:

"First: Their highnesses, as sovereigns of the ocean, constitute Don Christopher Columbus their admiral in all those islands and continents, that, by his industry, shall be discovered *or conquered* in the said ocean, during his own life, and after his death to his heirs and successors, one by one forever, with all the preëminences and prerogatives to that office pertaining; and in the same manner as *Don Alonzo Henriquez*, their Great-Admiral of Castile and his predecessors in said office had enjoyed the same within their districts.

"Item: Their highnesses appoint the said Don Christopher

Columbus their viceroy and governor-general of all the islands and continents which (as has been said) he shall discover or conquer in the said ocean, and that he choose three persons for the government of each of them, for each office; and that their highnesses take and make choice of one of them, as shall be most for their service, and so the lands will be the better governed, which our Lord shall permit him to discover, or conquer, for the service of their highnesses.

"Item: That all and whatsoever commodities, whether pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spice, or other things whatsoever; or merchandise of any kind, name, or manner whatever, they may be, that shall be bought, exchanged, found, won, or had, within the limits of the said admiralship, their highnesses, from this time, grant to the said Don Christopher; and it is their will, that he have and enjoy the tenth part of it for himself, deducting the charges that shall be made toward the same, so that, of what shall remain clear and free, he have and take the tenth part for himself, and dispose of it at his own will, the other nine parts remaining for their Majesties.

"Item: In case that on account of the said merchandise, which he shall bring from the said islands, or lands, which shall (as has been said) be discovered or conquered, or of those that shall be taken in exchange of them of other merchants, any lawsuit should happen to arise, in the place where the said commerce and trade shall be made and carried on, if by reason of his said office of admiral it shall belong to him to take cognizance of such controversy, it may please their highnesses, that he or his deputy, and no other judge, shall try the said cause, if it appertains to the said office of admiral as the same has been enjoyed by the Admiral Don Alonzo Henriquez, or his predecessors in their districts, and according to justice.

"Item: That all ships which shall be fitted out for the said trade and commerce, whensoever and as often as they shall be fitted, shall be liable to the said Don Christopher Columbus, if he shall think fit to lay out the eighth part of what shall be expended in fitting them out, and that he accordingly have and receive the eighth part of the profits of such ships."

Herrera, from whom the above terms are quoted, carefully omits, however, the important preliminary articles which were

drawn up, and upon which these terms were based. His reason for this is obvious: In these preliminaries, preserved among the state papers of Spain, Columbus wisely makes a provision by which, in the event of its being discovered that he traded upon knowledge received from the dead pilot, *his claims might still be protected.* This preliminary document, written in April, 1492, commences with the following significant clause:

"The favors which Christopher Columbus has asked from the King and Queen of Spain, and which *they grant him, in recompense for the discoveries which he has made in the ocean seas,* and as recompense for the voyage which *he is about to undertake,* are the following." [88]

No author, not even Fernando, with his manifest exaggeration of his father's achievements and knowledge, pretends that Columbus had been on a voyage of discovery previous to 1492; to what, then, does the phrase "discoveries which he has made in the ocean seas" allude? It is distinctly stated that he has already made discoveries; this could not apply to scientific theory and speculation, which yet remained to be proved, but it applies perfectly to the very specific knowledge received from the pilot Sanchez, upon which Columbus bases his claim of having *already discovered.*

The phraseology of the contract, the excuse given by the sovereigns for their refusal at first to accept it—which was that, being engaged in fighting the Moors, they could not enter upon any *other* war just then—the large number of armed men crowded into the three small vessels which formed his first expedition (for, though Fernando says it was composed of ninety men, other authors assert that "he was sent with one hundred and twenty soldiers, besides seamen")—the cannon with which they were provided—Columbus's repeated after-allusions to his conquest, when insisting upon a share of the spoils and in the government of the people—all prove that he did not rest his claims entirely upon discovery, but more upon *conquest.*[89] Under the clause

[88] State papers, 1492; document 70.

[89] When complaining that a judge had been sent out by Isabella to investigate his conduct, he writes: "I ought to be judged as a captain, sent from Spain to the Indies, to conquer a nation numerous and warlike . . . where, by the Divine will, I have subdued another world to the dominion of the king and queen, our sovereigns. . . . I ought to be judged by cavaliers who had themselves won the meed of victory; by gentlemen, indeed, and not by lawyers." He seems here to have forgotten that, of this

"*or conquer*," his prerogatives are as completely protected as they could be by all the discoveries that it was possible for him to make or imagine; besides which, they could not be prejudiced, should the lands have been previously discovered by a hundred dead or living navigators; that is, if the contract were legal. He professed to the sovereigns of Spain that he was undertaking an embassy from them to the grand-khan, as he clearly states in his journal, which he pompously opens as follows:

"*In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi:*

"*Whereas*, most Christian, most high, most excellent, and most powerful princes, King and Queen of the Spains, and of the islands of the sea, our sovereigns, in the present year 1492, after your highnesses had put an end to the war with the Moors, who ruled in Europe, and had concluded that warfare in the great city of Granada, where, on the 2d of January of this present year, I saw the royal banners of your highnesses placed by force of arms upon the towers of Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and beheld the Moorish king sally forth from the gates of the city, and kiss the royal hands of your highnesses, and of my lord the prince; and immediately, in that same month, in consequence of the information which I had given your highnesses of the lands of India, and of a prince who is called the Grand-Khan—which is to say, in our language, King of kings—how that many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome, to entreat for doctors of our holy faith to instruct him in the same, and that the Holy Father had never provided for them, and that so many people were lost believing in idolatries, and imbibing doctrines of perdition; therefore, your highnesses, as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and promoters of the holy Christian faith, and enemies of the sect of Mohammed, and of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see the said princes, and the people, and the lands, and discover the nature and disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the East, by which it is the custom to go, but by a voyage

numerous and warlike people, he once wrote: "So loving, so tractable, so peaceable, are these people that, I swear to your Majesties, there is not in the world a better nation," etc., etc.

to the West, by which course, unto the present time, we do not know for certain that any one hath passed.

"Your highnesses, therefore, after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and territories, commanded me, in the same month of January, to proceed with a sufficient armament to the said parts of India; and, for this purpose, bestowed great favors upon me, ennobling me, that thenceforward I might style myself Don, appointing me high-admiral of the ocean sea, and perpetual viceroy and governor of all the islands and continents I should discover and acquire, and which henceforward may be discovered and gained in the ocean sea; and that my eldest son should succeed me, and so on, from generation to generation, forever.

"I departed, therefore, from the city of Granada, on Saturday, the 12th of May, of the same year, 1492, to Palos, a seaport, where I armed three ships well calculated for such service, and sailed from that port well furnished with provisions, and with many seamen, on Friday, 3d of August, of the same year, half an hour before sunrise; and took the route for the Canary Islands of your highnesses, to steer my course thence, and navigate until I should arrive at the Indies, *and deliver the embassy* of your highnesses to those princes, and accomplish that which you had commanded."

This short extract is a sample of the writings of Columbus, for it contains two manifest falsehoods. We know that it was not he who armed the vessels for the expedition, as he boasts to have done; nor are we to suppose that he believed the countries he was in search of to be the rich and well-known regions of India in Asia, which it had hitherto been customary to reach eastward by land. The dead pilot had well informed him of the nature of the lands and people, but by the pretense of sailing to Asia, the trade with which was the subject of so much rivalry, he, in the language of his son, "sought to tempt their Catholic Majesties," and induce them to grant the extraordinarily advantageous terms he craved.

When his solicitations had been refused at the Spanish court, he returned to Palos, that he might confer with those who had befriended him. Fernando tells us, he made up his mind to offer his services to France; but we believe this pretense of his

having laid his plans before all the powers of Europe, is merely made to increase the importance of Columbus. We are confirmed in this belief by the incongruity of Fernando's narrative. In his eleventh and twelfth chapters, he tells us his father was not informed that Henry VII. had acceded to the proposals made by Bartholomew Columbus till after his return from his first voyage; that he stole away from Portugal because the king of that country did not accept his terms, and had deceived him. In his fourteenth chapter, we read that he was "very desirous that Spain should reap the benefit of his undertaking, . . . because he had long resided there, while following his project, and because he had got children there; which was the cause why he rejected the offers made him by other princes, as he declares in a letter he writ their highnesses, in these words: 'That I might serve your highnesses, I refused to take up with France, England, and Portugal.'"

It is possible, as Columbus was nowise scrupulously veracious, that he may have written in such terms to the Spanish sovereigns, thinking that, should they believe other sovereigns competed with them, they would be the more readily persuaded to grant his requests; but the fact that he did refuse to serve the nations above mentioned is by no means thereby established.

According to Fernando's own showing, his father only knew that the King of England would accept his offer after he had returned from his first voyage; he could scarcely, therefore, be said to refuse that which had not been tendered him. That he traded with France is a statement made and supported only by Columbus and his son.

He appears to have returned to Palos, where he urged his case upon his friends Juan Perez and the Pinzons, the former thinking he might possibly retain some of his old influence over the queen, whose confessor he had once been, borrowed a mule and departed at midnight for the royal camp of Santa Fé, before Granada, where it is probable his persuasions induced the queen to accede to Columbus's demands, giving an order on the town of Palos for two caravels, a third to be fitted out, at the expense of Columbus.

Fernando tells us it was one Luis de Santangel, who remonstrated with the queen upon her refusal, and that the latter, in her repentance, offered to pledge her jewels in order to defray

the expense of the expedition. This story is as absurd as many others coined by Fernando to embellish the history of his father. The coffers of Spain were then well filled. The treasury of the queen had received an extraordinary increase from her perfidious conduct toward the Moors of Malaga, from whom she had obtained millions, holding out the hope of ransom, who, when they had given all the treasure they possessed, were sold

JUAN PEREZ ON HIS WAY TO COURT.

into slavery. The ostentatious luxury of Castile was the wonder of neighboring nations. Artisans could indulge their wives and daughters in a rivalry of display with nobles, at a cost far exceeding that of the contemplated expedition. It would seem extraordinary, therefore, that the expense of providing three small vessels, should have rested so heavily upon the royal coffers, that her Majesty should be obliged to resort to some Hebrew gentlemen to whom she might pawn her jewels. But had this

been so, had the queen been as destitute as she is represented, it is evident that the expedition in question cost her little or nothing, and that she never had any necessity for pawning her property. The expense necessary for it was levied upon the little town of Palos, as a punishment for some offense against the crown, as appears from the following royal order, with which Columbus returned to that town:

"*Requisition upon the Municipality of Palos.*

"In consequence of the offense which we received at your hands, you were condemned by our council to render us the service of two caravels, armed at your own expense, for the space of twelve months, whenever and wherever it should be our pleasure to demand the service.

"April 30, 1492."

Many private individuals of moderate means would have been able, in any event, to furnish the outlay. The Pinzons provided Columbus, who possessed not a maravedi, with the eighth part of the expense which he had boasted he would defray; and thus, without outlay from the crown, a poor fishing-town, and two private gentlemen, equipped the fleet of three little vessels, which the Queen of Spain is represented as unable to do, unless she pawned her jewels.

Columbus, on arriving at Palos with his orders, did not meet with an enthusiastic reception from the inhabitants; they were unwilling to follow an unknown adventurer on a long voyage. Two of the ships, when provided, were secretly scuttled. The delay and difficulty increased, and threatened seriously to impede the undertaking, when the Pinzons, those brave brothers, seeing how matters stood, and having part of their fortune embarked in the enterprise, came forward and offered each to take command of a caravel. The men of Palos, by whom the Pinzons were held in great esteem and respect, now came forward willingly. Two small caravels, the Pinta and the Niña, were commanded respectively by Martin Alonzo and Vincent Yanez Pinzon; the St. Mary, the somewhat larger vessel equipped at the expense of the Pinzons, was under the command of the thenceforth "Admiral Don Christopher Columbus," his right to which title, like all new-born nobility, neither he nor his son

will ever forget. As men are born poets and artists, so it would appear Columbus was born admiral. The opening chapter of Fernando's history makes the title ascend, on the Chinese principle beyond his birth, and thenceforth every incident of his life is referred to "*the admiral;*" when speaking of his early life, of his piracy, it is "*the admiral;*" when recounting his solicitations for the title at the Spanish court, it is "*the admiral*" who solicits.

This prospective enjoyment of a ponderous title is amusing in view of the ultimate grandeur of his command: three small vessels, ordinary fishing-smacks, of from thirty to sixty tons burden, two of them without decks, and for the best of these he is indebted to the man whom he will afterward gratefully term "one Pinzon."

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

WITH this fleet Columbus set sail from the little port of Palos, on Friday, August 3, 1492, for the Canaries.

During the transit the rudder of the Pinta gave way, which

"Suddenly an immense sea-fish (some call it *balena*) was before them, and upon the body of this, holding itself immovable as a rock, the pilots moor their ships, and these most sacred men, celebrating the holy sacrifice of Mass, with previous confession, distribute the Paschal Lamb to all their companions, that is, the sacred communion. . . . What a sight do you imagine this to have been! What joy to these pious and simple men, seeking God with all their mind and strength; when in so immense a beast they saw the pledges offered to their divine Father."—(PHILOPONO, "Christophorus Colombus," 1621.) Such is the character of the histories which have given Columbus his fame, such the incidents they record!

accident Columbus attributed to the malice of those who fitted out the vessel. Fernando, still more unjust, ascribes the accident to the "malice of Pinzon," who commanded her, which is

not only ungenerous, but absurd, when we bear in mind that Pinzon, more than Columbus or the sovereigns of Castile, had aided in fitting out the fleet for which "the admiral" had so long solicited in vain.

Columbus, although unable to afford Pinzon any assistance in repairing his damaged rudder, yet, flushed with his new-born honors, must needs come alongside, "as was the custom for commanders at sea." Martin Alonzo, however, stood in little need of assistance; his ingenuity enabled him promptly to repair the damage; but the imperfect rudder was unable to withstand the heavy sea they encountered, and again broke loose. It was therefore considered advisable to seek another vessel at the Canaries. Columbus for this purpose put in at the island of Gomera. Here he found no ship available, but was told that the Lady Beatrix Bobadilla was expected shortly with a vessel of *forty tons* burden; he, therefore, deeming such a vessel suitable for his undertaking, determined to wait for and impress it into his service, to replace the damaged Pinta.

The Lady Beatrix, sailing earlier than was expected, Columbus was balked in his design upon her ship; he therefore rejoined the Pinta at the Grand Canary, and ordered her repaired.

There is a trifling incident, during the transit from one island to another, which may prove how persistently facts are distorted by historians to magnify the glory of Columbus.

Fernando tells us that the Peak of Teneriffe in eruption was discerned by the seamen, and they *admired thereat.* This simple statement has been exaggerated by subsequent writers, till Mr. Irving, whose narrative is taken principally from that of Fernando, tells us that the men were terrified until reassured by Columbus.

There is certainly but little necessity for coloring Fernando's history of his father: that Mr. Irving did not think so is, however, rendered manifest by his converting the "*men admired*" into the men "*were terrified.*" Putting this exaggeration of Fernando's statement aside, it is absurd to suppose that sailors who had navigated the Mediterranean, as did most Spanish seamen at that time, and who were therefore familiar with the volcanoes of Etna and Vesuvius, should have been so terrified at beholding a phenomenon of like nature.

The Pinta being repaired, the three little vessels once more

put to sea, touching at Gomera for provisions, and finally losing sight of land on the 9th of September, 1492.

It is needless to follow them in the narrative of Fernando, or in Irving's still more highly colored one. The most prominent feature of both is the glorification of Columbus; for this purpose they twist and turn circumstances which are detrimental to their object till they make them redound to the glory of their hero. Yet what was his real object?

> "What sought he thus afar?
> Bright jewels of the mine,
> The wealth of seas, the spoils of war,
> The enslavement of his kind."

The sailors are represented as weeping at the slightest squall, trembling in abject terror during a calm, complaining of favorable winds, while Columbus reassures and encourages them.

We are told that the fleet's crew mutinied and was fain to turn back, till overawed by the determination and courage of "the admiral;" that they had even gone so far as to have resolved to throw Columbus overboard, and account for his disappearance by declaring that he fell into the sea while making observations.

We are not told how Columbus (upon whose authority the story was circulated) was informed of these sinister intentions. It would seem improbable that the conspirators should have made him their confidant, unless indeed they conspired and divulged the conspiracy from an amiable desire to contribute their mite to the aureole with which his biographers have encircled the head of Columbus. It needs but little reflection to perceive the improbability of this story. Sailors, even when really alarmed and in imminent danger, never act in the childish manner described, but are too absorbed, in their efforts to weather the storm, to weep or tremble; and human nature has not changed materially since the days of our hero.

The impossibility of a mutiny is evident, Columbus's own log-book showing that Martin Alonzo and Vincent Yanez kept their vessels ahead during the whole voyage (and were obliged constantly to "lie by for the admiral"); this they would scarce have done had they desired to turn back.

Martin Alonzo first observed that the current had drifted them northward of the islands laid down in the chart of the dead

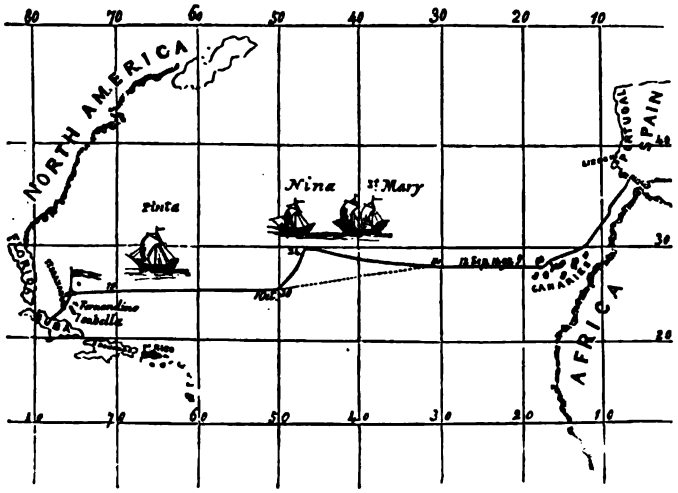
pilot. To this he drew the attention of Columbus; the latter, with characteristic false pride, refused to alter his course, lest he should appear more ignorant than Pinzon, and lessen his own importance.

At this, the men on board his ship may indeed have murmured. They knew, as did Columbus, that they were bound for a given point, and when they heard their commander refuse to sail toward that point, when borne too far north of it by the ocean-current, of which he was ignorant, for the paltry reason that his mistake had been discovered by another, it is but natural they should have felt indignant.

In his desire to appear the sole navigator of the expedition, Columbus gives himself undue credit for deceit: he alleges that he kept one log-book for himself, containing a true reckoning, another containing a false, for the purpose of deceiving his crew, in which he diminished the distances made each day, that they might not lose courage at the vast distance they had sailed. No doubt our hero would have relished this deception, but it is to be feared that in this case we must take the will for the deed, as there is too much contradictory evidence to any such proceeding. Both the Pinzons were skillful navigators, each of them commanded a caravel, and they were generally ahead. They naturally made frequent observations; the pilots also could not have been so easily deceived. Should we, therefore, give credence to this story, we must make the Pinzons, the pilots, and officers, parties to the fraud, an imputation for which there is no basis save the statement of Columbus. Besides, if the latter had thus deceived his crew, it would have rendered another of his statements futile. On leaving the Canaries he declared that, when they had sailed seven hundred and fifty leagues west, they should reach land. The false reckoning and its diminished distances, in leading the men to believe they were farther from their destination than they really were, and that the voyage would be prolonged beyond their expectations, would therefore have defeated his avowed object. For these reasons we believe this deception to have existed only in the imagination of Columbus, who in vanity would make it appear that he alone in that first expedition possessed the courage necessary for so arduous an undertaking, and sufficient knowledge to make correct calculations. He contradicts the latter inference, however, by his own state-

ment, contained in his journal for September 17, 1492, in which he writes that he ordered the pilots to make an observation of the heavens. The idea that skillful pilots and captains could be deceived by false reckonings is too absurd for belief.

When Columbus finally consented to adopt the more southerly course recommended by the Pinzons, the signs of land multiplied, whereupon he declared that he had always proposed to find land *just there.* Fernando relates that he made the crew an impressive speech to this effect, when signs of land became so numerous as to be incontestable, calling upon all to remember how he had commanded, upon leaving the Canaries, that, after



ROUTE PURSUED BY COLUMBUS ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE.

sailing seven hundred leagues westward, they should lie by from midnight till morning lest they should run upon land unawares. This harangue must have lost its intended effect of inspiring the hearers with an exalted idea of the speaker's infallibility, when they remembered that but for the Pinzons he would have drifted far north of the islands to which he professed to be sailing, and of the location of which he was so certain.

"He now desired the men to keep a lookout for land, promising him who should first descry it a doublet of velvet in addition to the thirty crowns a year to be awarded by the sovereigns to the first discoverer."

This promise he was very certain not to be called upon to fulfill, as he had evidently fully determined to defraud whomsoever should rightfully earn either reward.

At ten o'clock of that same night, which was that of October 11, 1492, "the admiral" thought he saw a light ashore, but said it was so blind he could not affirm it to be land; he therefore *privately* called Peter Gutierrez, groom of the chamber to the king, who saw it. He then called Roderigo Sanchez de Segovia, who, probably "through malice, and a desire to rob Columbus of his well-earned fame," could not see it.

Be this as it may, Columbus made no demonstration; his crew knew nothing of what he alleges to have transpired. At two o'clock the next morning, the Pinta, "being far ahead," fired a gun, in signal of land, which was first discovered by one Juan Rodrigues Bermejo, generally called Roderigo de Triana. This mariner, who so justly earned the reward, was, however, defrauded, and the pension granted to Columbus because he had seen a light in darkness, signifying the spiritual light he was to spread in these dark regions.

This spiritual light seen by Columbus at ten o'clock in the evening is evidently but an invention for the purpose of increasing his revenue at the expense of a poor sailor. The story rests solely upon the testimony of Columbus. Peter Gutierrez, who was so privately called, and who is said to have seen the light, was one of the unlucky crew left in the island of Hispaniola and massacred before the return of Columbus. It was, therefore, safe to make him a witness, as he could affirm or refute nothing. According to his own showing, Columbus was in the rear of the Pinta, we will suppose two leagues, which is a reasonable estimate, as it is stated that the Pinta was far ahead; add four hours' sailing before the wind, at the rate of, say, ten miles an hour, and the two leagues the Pinta was distant from land when she fired the gun, and we have a distance of over fifty miles from the point at which Columbus invented his spiritual light, and the low, flat shore of the island of San Salvador. The vessels of Columbus were small; the globular form of the earth would render a torch in the hands of a man upon shore invisible to those on board Columbus's craft even at half the distance they were from land on the evening of October 11th. Irving, who perceived the inconsistency, very justly observes: "Had Columbus seen a light

ahead, four hours' swift sailing would have brought him high and dry upon the shore; while, on the other hand, had he seen a light in any other direction, it is scarcely probable he would have sailed *from* it." Besides which, he says nothing till *after* the signal from the Pinta, when he claims the reward which, in common justice, belonged to Roderigo de Triana, and which was paid Columbus yearly at the shambles of Seville; an indication, it would seem, of the ignominious means by which he obtained it. The whole fraud is too palpable to leave a doubt as to its perpetration. Indeed, his son seems to have had some misgivings as to the apparent probability of the story; so he once more brings in the superhuman, and causes his father to perceive a *spiritual* light from a point at which no real light could have been distinguished by mortal vision, as all who have carefully observed the swell of the ocean will bear witness.[90]

[90] Navarrete, in one of his observations (vol. iii., p. 612) on the testimony in the lawsuit between Diego Columbus and the crown, notes the impossibility of Columbus having seen a light. He writes: "The admiral says that '*this island*' (Guanahani, or San Salvador) '*is very flat, without any mountain.*' How then can he pretend to have seen, at ten o'clock at night, at a distance of fourteen leagues, a light which rose and fell on a flat shore destitute of elevations?" A note is here inserted by Navarrete, to the following effect: "Calculating by the table of tangents of the horizon according to the altitude of the point from which they advanced, and supposing the vision of the observer to be elevated twelve feet (Burgos) above the level of the sea (which is as much as can be supposed, when the smallness of the caravels is borne in mind), the result is, that the land must have had an elevation of twenty-two hundred and fifty-four feet above the level of the sea, for its summit or highest point to have been visible at fourteen leagues' distance." He continues: "How is it that the men of the Pinta, which was in advance, did not see it" (the light) "even as they discovered land at two in the morning? Why did he not shorten sail and lie-to when, at ten at night, *he was certain he was near land*—as was done when the Pinta sighted it—as prudence and reason would have required, when we consider the swift sailing of the ships? Why does he say that at first he saw the light so confusedly that he dared not affirm it to be land, as it would appear to few an indication thereof, and that he, nevertheless, afterward *held it for certain*, yet took none of the precautions which such certainty of opinion would have required? Might this not have been the binnacle or some other light of the Pinta which was ahead, or of the Niña, which would have been visible at another point of the compass (for he does not inform us in which direction he saw the light)?—and it might very well have been alternately visible and invisible according as the ship rose and fell. Those who think that the light seen by Columbus was Watling's Island, in the neighborhood of which he must have passed at ten o'clock at night, have not considered or traced his route, and seen that, according to this supposition, the rate of sailing and the situation of that island, he had, at the hour indicated, crossed its meridian, leaving it southeast when he was navigating west."

All this considered, Navarrete concludes that credence should be given to the many witnesses who testified that it was Juan Rodriguez Bermejo (Roderigo de Triana),

After the signal from the Pinta, the fleet lay by till daylight, when the whole expedition landed. After weeping abundantly and kissing the ground, with other demonstrations equally absurd, Columbus named the island San Salvador, taking possession for Castile. And then, bidding all swear allegiance to him as Viceroy of India, and the crew, we are generally told by historians, fawning and kissing the feet of Columbus, beg his forgiveness for all their misdeeds; which servile scene is as improbable as the story of the mutiny is evidently false.

The natives flocked to the shore, and Columbus, believing himself in India, named them Indians, which name the aborigines of America still bear, in commemoration of his ignorance or duplicity. They admire and wonder at the white men greatly. "The admiral especially," says Irving, "attracted the attention of the natives, his commanding height, his air of authority, his scarlet dress, together with the attention paid him by his companions, all pointed him out as *the* man." We presume that, with the naked savage of the forest, the scarlet dress was alone sufficient to excite admiration, the other imposing qualities are, we believe, gratuitous embellishments on the part of Irving.

The friendliness of the Indians is amply dwelt upon by Columbus and his son, as also their innocence and childlike harmlessness. Seven of them, however, Columbus captured and carried off *to act as interpreters;* and here we remark the extraordinary gift of language with which Columbus or the Indians (most probably the former, who may have added the gift of tongues to his other miraculous attainments) are favored.

Immediately on landing in the midst of a race totally different from any he had hitherto seen, speaking a language which bore not the slightest resemblance in formation to those of Europe, he nevertheless converses with them, is directed by them to lands where gold is found, hears from them of neighboring warlike people; in fact, obtains with ease all the information he requires. In other words, we are amazed at the falsehoods

a sailor on board the Pinta, who first sighted land, and whom the generous and noble-minded admiral was mean enough to deprive of his just reward; but refrains from one word of censure of Columbus, and merely says, he supposes that the granting of the pension to the latter was but "one of those favoritisms so frequent in courts, as *after the death of Pinzon* the influence of the admiral increased and spread." Such is the blind partiality with which historians record one of the basest acts of a base man.

of Columbus, who, finding the lands, though fertile, devoid of those Asiatic treasures which were the object of the voyage, and which Spain prized so highly, and fearing to lose the royal patronage, must needs represent them as rich in mines; pretending, that he may be the more readily believed, to have received information to that effect from the natives.

Bent, above all, upon the acquisition of treasure, he forbade all trade with the natives, save for gold, of which he could procure but small quantities, but hears or pretends to hear of abundance in other parts. It is probable the little gold found in the island was the particles in the rivers and sands, which the Indians converted into small ornaments. He confesses that San Salvador contained no riches, and proceeds to another island, which he named St. Mary of the Conception. Here one of the Indians who had been captured at San Salvador escaped to a canoe of natives, who paddled ashore and fled to the woods; the canoe was seized by the Spaniards and carried off as a prize. "Such," to quote Mr. Irving, "were the gentle and sage precautions continually taken by Columbus to give the natives a favorable impression of the Spaniards."

Next to St. Mary of the Conception, Columbus visits Fernandina, which he declares the most fertile of all the islands. Here he professes to inhale the odors of the rich spices of Asia, which he is, however, unable to find, but is told by the ever-accommodating natives that they abound to the southwest.

Here also the veracious admiral informs us nightingales are so numerous as in their flight to darken the sky!

The *hamacs* and cotton aprons of the natives, indications of the real wealth of the island, are disregarded or but lightly dwelt upon, Columbus being eager to find the gold he was in search of.

Fernandina they leave for Isabella, called by the natives Saometto; hence they proceed to Cuba, which Columbus named Juanna; this he explored, to what effect we may judge, when we read in his own letter to Santangel, which is preserved in the archives of Spain, that here are men with tails[91] (elsewhere he writes of men with dogs' heads); that the island is

[91] "One of the provinces is called Cavan. Men having tails are born there."—Columbus's letter to the Escribano de Racion of the islands of the Indies, February 15, 1493.

larger than England and Scotland, that it abounds in spices, mines, etc.

He declared that he had reached the Continent of Asia, and Irving relates an incident which here occurred, with so little apparent consciousness of its reflecting discredit upon Columbus that we will give it in his own words:

"He imagined that he must be on the borders of Cathay, and about one hundred leagues from the capital of the grand khan. Anxious to delay as little as possible in the territory of this inferior prince, he determined not to await the arrival of messengers, but to dispatch two envoys to seek the neighboring monarch at his residence.

"For this mission he chose two Spaniards, Roderigo de Jerez, and Luis de Torres; the latter a converted Jew, who knew Hebrew and Chaldaic, and even something of Arabic, one or the other of which languages Columbus supposed might be known to this Oriental prince.

"Two Indians were sent with them as guides, one a native of Guanahani, and the other an inhabitant of the hamlet on the bank of the river. The ambassadors were furnished with strings of beads and other trinkets for their traveling expenses. Instructions were given them to inform the king that Columbus had been sent by the Castilian sovereigns a bearer of letters and a present, which he was to deliver personally, for the purpose of establishing an amicable intercourse between these powers. They were likewise instructed to inform themselves accurately about the situation and distances of certain provinces, ports, and rivers, which the admiral specified by name from the descriptions which he had of the coast of Asia. . . .

"With these provisions and instructions the ambassadors departed, six days being allowed them to go and return. Many, at the present day, will smile at this embassy to a naked savage chieftain in the interior of Cuba, in mistake for an Asiatic monarch."

It is not probable that Columbus imagined himself in Cathay. His son denies that such was the case, declaring that he never mistook the New World for Asia,[92] but that he had sailed, as *pro-*

[92] While censuring one Mr. Roderick, Archdeacon of Seville, who with his followers "blamed the admiral" for calling those parts Indies which are not Indies, Fernando tells us his father did not give them that name because he really thought them to be

fessed ambassador to the grand-khan we know from his own statement, already quoted, in which he declares this embassy to be the object of his voyage. The following is the missive which he had undertaken to deliver to the Asiatic prince:

"*Ferdinand and Isabella to King* ——

"Have heard that he and his subjects entertain great love for them and for Spain; are, moreover, informed that he and his subjects very much wish to hear from Spain; send, therefore, their admiral, Christopher Columbus, who will tell him that they are in good health and perfect prosperity.

"GRANADA, *April* 30, 1492."

COLUMBUS, IN CUBA, SENDS AN EMBASSY TO AN ASIATIC PRINCE.

He evidently made some pretense of carrying out this mission. When his messenger returned, instead of glowing ac-

the Indies, but "because he knew all men were sensible of the riches and wealth of India; and therefore by that name he thought to tempt their Catholic Majesties, who were doubtful of his undertaking, telling them he went to discover the Indies by way of the West."—"Historia del. Amirante," chapter vi.

Herrera corroborates this statement thus: "There was no other ground for calling this New World by the name of Indies, than the design of the Admiral Christopher Columbus to excite the princes he was treating with the more."

counts of flourishing populous towns, and a civilized, luxurious people, they speak of towns composed of five huts, of naked though kindly savages, from whom they receive little gold trinkets, and three of whom accompany them on their return. All of which, if we are to believe his biographers, did not dissuade Columbus from the idea that he was in those opulent regions described by Marco Palo in gorgeous and glowing colors.

The vessels now left Cuba in search of the supposed Babeque, during which search Martin Alonzo became separated from the other caravels. At this, Columbus was greatly disconcerted; he seems to have been very dependent upon Pinzon, and, upon the departure of the latter, becomes pusillanimously discouraged, alleging for every failure in what he had promised or represented, that, had Pinzon remained with him, it would have been otherwise.

Many authors can hardly find sufficient vent for their indignation at what they term this desertion on the part of Pinzon; but the latter, who had been one of the chief promoters of the scheme, can hardly have been expected to take no other part in the exploration save that of following Columbus, to whom he certainly owed nothing, but who may be said to have owed him nearly every thing in the accomplishment of his enterprise.

It was on the 7th of December that Columbus first landed on the beautiful island of Hayti, which was thenceforward to be the chief scene of his inhumanity and crime.

Here were signs of greater civilization; the ground was cultivated. The people, however, who fled in affright, were naked, like the inhabitants of the other islands.

The Spaniards captured a young and handsome woman, whose sole apparel was a small gold ornament in the nose; this, small as it was, served to awaken the covetous greed of Columbus. He took possession of the island, planting, in sign thereof, a huge wooden cross; the same, perhaps, to which Gomara ascribes such miraculous healing powers in after-years.

Peter Martyr gives a touching and it is believed substantially truthful description of the inhabitants of this lovely island, showing that they had little need of missionaries; above all, such wolves in sheep's clothing as Columbus.

"It is certain," he writes, "that the land among these people is as common as the sun and water; and, that 'mine and thine,' the seeds of all misery, have no place with them. They are con-

tent with so little that, in so large a country, they have rather superfluity than scarceness; so that they seem to live in the golden world, without toil, living in open gardens, not intrenched with dikes, divided with hedges, or defended with walls.

"They deal truly one with another, without laws, without books, and without judges.

"They take him for an evil and mischievous man who taketh pleasure in doing hurt to another; and, albeit they delight not in superfluities, yet they make provision for the increase of such roots whereof they make bread, content with such simple diet, whereby health is preserved and disease avoided." [88]

When we read the above, and remember how all this happiness and virtue was converted into misery and crime upon the advent of the Christian, we might almost fancy the following a "leaf from the log-book" of Columbus, so admirably does it portray the case:

"A purple island on our lee
Of coral-growth to-day we made,
And down the simple natives ran,
Half in surprise and half afraid.
'Poor heathen souls!' our chaplain cried,
And all his mission zeal awoke;
A boat was lowered, he shot the reefs,
And singled out a chief and spoke:

"'We come' he said, 'across the seas,
From a great land, that soars sublime,
Rich in a faith direct from God
And in the garnered spoils of time;
There man is great and woman fair,
And all in life and death are free,
And wealth and culture make the earth
What God designed his earth to be.'

"'Religion there has lost its taint,
No superstition clouds the mind;
We either worship God or saint,
Or both are in one creed combined.
All mysteries are narrowed down—
We have no doubt of right or wrong—
Mere questions about bread and wine,
And burning candles all day long!

[88] Peter Martyr, "Decade I.," book iii.

"'Science has made us wise as gods,
Has made us strong and potent too,
Happy as well, I need not add,
Since there is naught we cannot do.
Each word—our land is great in words—
By courier through the empire flies,
We ride on horses and on mules,
And that *must* make us good and wise.

"'Our rich are favorites of Heaven;
Each seeks the other to outvie,
By trying to create a want,
Or wants created, to supply.
Their virtues make them shining lights,
Their vices public service aid;
Luxurious living scatters wealth,
And wanton waste is good for trade.'

"'These men are blest!' the savage cried,
'Favored of Fortune o'er and o'er;
But all your people are not rich?'
'Well, no, of course, we have our poor:
Their toil is hard, their food is scant,
But then they clearly understand
That God designed them to be thus,
And not to perish from the land.

"'No doubt some hunger day by day,
Some toil on toil incessant heap;
But they have *all one* day of rest,
Besides the rest they get in sleep!
And they are taught that work exalts,
That toil the lot of man will leaven,
And, failing happiness on earth,
They can make sure of it in heaven.

"'And then'—'No more!' the savage cried,
'Hence! to your favored nation go,
Leave us our skies, our shores, our sea,
The simple freedom that we know,
Leave us long days of happy ease,
Not toilsome weariness of breath;
Leave us a life that *is* a life,
And not endurance filched from death.'"[94]

[94] This poem, entitled "A Leaf from a Log," appeared in an English periodical of recent date. We have slightly altered the fourth verse, in order to render it applicable to the epoch of Columbus.

When the natives had overcome their instinctive fear, their reception of the Spaniards was most kindly. A delegation of the latter was sent to explore the interior, and returned full of praises of the hospitality they had received; still, there were no signs of gold in abundance. Columbus, indeed, heard reports of banners of wrought gold, of pearls and precious stones, but, beyond a few trinkets from the natives, he can procure nothing. He understands, however, that, in *another* region, there is abundance. He receives some masks, with eyes and ears of gold, and some plates of gold, which are "very thin."

On the 24th of December, while lying off the coast of Hispaniola (which was the name he gave Hayti), "it pleased the Lord, seeing me gone to bed," writes Columbus, "and we being in a dead calm—and the sea as still as water in a dish—all the men went to bed, leaving the helm to a *grumete* (apprentice). Thus it came to pass that the current easily carried away the ship upon one of those shoals which, though it was night, made such a roaring noise that they might be heard and discovered a league off."

Here the vessel struck; several of the crew lowered a boat and fled to the other caravel. Columbus, perceiving imminent danger, as the tide was ebbing, ordered the masts to be cut down, but this tardy precaution was in vain. The St. Martha, the best and largest of the caravels, was completely wrecked. Vincent Yanez Pinzon refused to receive the fugitive crew on board the Niña. They therefore returned to the wreck, and Columbus bade them seek the king of that part of the country, and inform him of the disaster, telling him the vessel had been lost in an attempt to *visit and serve him*, and begging his assistance. This he did, that he might make the chief feel in a measure responsible, and secure his aid, with that of his followers, to transport the goods from the wreck ashore. There was no necessity for this lie, as the well-disposed, kindly natives would have probably tendered all the assistance in their power to the strangers they had so hospitably received without it, but Columbus could never persuade himself to adopt a straightforward course where a crooked one was possible.

To his appeal the good Guacanagari responded, not only by sending all the canoes and men he could muster to transport the

freight ashore, but himself standing guard while this was being done, that all might be safely delivered to the Spaniards.

The sheer carelessness and incapacity of Columbus, in thus losing his vessel in a dead calm, are fully demonstrated. We do not wonder he had need of the skill and superior knowledge of Martin Alonzo Pinzon. In his relation of the accident, he again shows the inconsistency which characterizes him. We are first told that the current carried the ship to the shoal; then that the sea was ebbing from the shoal, so that the ship could not move. Thus did the elements combine and change at his will, that he might appear blameless in the disaster.

The hospitality and the gentle nature of the savages, who are the subjects of the many eulogiums pronounced by Columbus, Peter Martyr, and others, together with the loss of his vessel, which would render it almost impossible for the whole crew to return to Spain, determined him to form a colony at the spot where he had landed, which he called La Navidad. Here a fortress was built from the remains of the wreck, "strong enough," says Columbus, "to subjugate the whole island."

He also writes in his letter to Santangel, that La Navidad is conveniently situated for commerce with the grand-khan, and with the continent; and also offers great facilities for *the export of slaves*, showing thus early what were his designs upon the simple natives he so much extolled.*

His preparations being complete, and some forty men having been selected to remain in the island, in charge of the fortress, under Peter Gutierrez and Diego de Arana, orders were given them by Columbus to collect as much gold as possible against his return. He then determined no longer to delay his departure for Spain; he feared that Pinzon would arrive there before him, and complain of him or speak against the enterprise. Like all guilty consciences, he feared an informer; and, though Pinzon

* "Has taken possession of all the islands in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella who can dispose of them as absolutely as of the kingdom of Castile. Has taken possession of a place in the island of Hispaniola, which is very well situated for commerce with the continent and with the grand-khan. He baptized the town Navidad. Has fortified it.... Has made the king his best friend, so that he is very proud of the settlement. But even should the natives change their minds, they would be unable to do any harm to the garrison.... The garrison would suffice to destroy the whole island.... Slaves might be exported to any extent which might be wanted."—CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS *to the Escribano de Racion, February* 15, 1493.

would not be likely to represent as a failure an enterprise in which he had so much involved, he may have had it in his power to expose many evil or absurd doings on the part of Columbus. This the latter resolved he should have no opportunity of doing. He therefore bade farewell to Guacanagari, and, to inspire the natives with awe for the war-implements of the Spaniards, Fernando tells us his father shot a bullet at the ship, which passed right through it and fell into the water. What ship was thus treated we are not told; the material of the wrecked St. Martha had been employed in building the fortress, and it is improbable that Columbus would have thus riddled a hole in the Niña, his only remaining ship. Fernando tells us also that his father showed the natives swords and rapiers, and other arms, out of which statement Mr. Irving's brilliant and vivid imagination conjures up a princely entertainment of tournaments and mock fights, which it is scarcely probable the crew of the little caravels would have been competent to enact.

Columbus now set sail on his return-voyage. Before leaving Hispaniola he was hailed by the Pinta, and, though excessively indignant with Pinzon, we are told that he restrained his wrath, knowing that, should an open quarrel take place, the greater portion of the crew would side with Pinzon. He pretended that Pinzon had traded for much gold, which he appropriated to himself and crew. How Columbus acquired this information remains a mystery; the crew of the Pinta would hardly have revealed a secret so profitable to themselves, still less would Pinzon himself have made the confession.

Although Columbus had himself seized more than a dozen natives to carry to Spain, he insisted that four which Pinzon had on board should be sent back to their native land. Petty spite and envy, together with that base ingratitude, common to all little minds, which causes them, when under deep obligations (as was Columbus to Pinzon), to seek some excuse for quarrel, that they may appear justified in forgetting past favors, seem to have actuated his conduct toward Martin Alonzo.

Several days were spent among the islands. Columbus saw three mermaids,[96] and two islands opposite each other, the one inhabited solely by women of a warlike nature, the other solely by men; the latter, he recounts, visit the former once a year to

[96] *See* Columbus's journal; "Herrera, West Indies," decade i., book ii., chapter i.

perpetuate the race: the male offspring is sent to the males, and the female portion is retained by the Amazonian natives of the first isle.

Irving, speaking of Columbus's repeated descriptions of these islands, and of many other falsehoods of which he was guilty—such as reporting encounters with mermaids, men with tails, dogs' heads, one eye, together with his assertions that the small

THINGS SEEN BY COLUMBUS ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE.—(Grouped from De Bry.)

island of San Salvador contained a harbor capable of holding all the ships in Christendom, besides other embellishments, such as hearing the song of the nightingale, unknown in the Western Hemisphere—indulgently states that he was constantly *deluding himself* into the belief that his best hopes were realized, that he was in Asia. It would certainly appear, however, from the testimony of his son, already quoted, Herrera, and others, that Columbus was *the deluder*, *not the deluded*, and that these fables

were invented by him as seeming corroborations of his statement that he had been in those regions described by Marco Polo. We do not see how one who pretends to have seen what never existed, can be called *self-deluded*. By this mild expedient all extravagant tales of travel and adventure need no longer be regarded as false. Sindbad the sailor, Baron Munchhausen, Gulliver, might merely have been self-deluded men, who believed implicitly in the truth of their own stories; at any rate, the same credence should be vouchsafed to them as to the creator of fables of mermaids, tailed and one-eyed men, Amazons, men with dogs' heads, etc., etc.

While coasting round Hispaniola, the Spaniards encountered a warlike tribe of natives, differing wholly from the gentle creatures they had hitherto dealt with. The first skirmish here took place between the Indians and Christians. The former were routed. Their chief, after sending Columbus the wampum-belt of peace, visited him, and on returning to his home sent him a coronet of gold for a present. Columbus continued to sail west for some time, in search of the island of the Caribs, but finally resolved to return with all haste to Spain. A favorable wind arising, the prows of the two caravels were therefore turned eastward.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOMEWARD VOYAGE.

From the outset of this voyage, Columbus, according to most historians, encountered the most terrible storms that ever tossed helpless mariner upon the huge billows of the deep; other storms have raged, and will rage, but none so awful—they would have us believe—as those which assailed our hero on his homeward voyage.

Even after the vessels had emerged from the tract swept by the trade-winds, the storm continued, and Columbus sought to propitiate Heaven by holy vows. First, he and his crew cast lots, which of them should make a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadaloupe. The lots consisted of as many beans as there were men—on one of the beans a cross had been marked—he who drew this one performed the pilgrimage. The admiral drew first, and the lot fell to him. Twice more were lots cast, and once again the lot falls to Columbus, but, the storm not abating, the whole crew made a vow that they would go barefoot in their shirts to a shrine dedicated to the Virgin, at the first land they should reach.

Columbus, during this voyage, "sought to confuse the pilots in their reckoning, so that he alone might possess a clear knowledge of the route," a proceeding which elicits any thing but censure from his biographers.

The Pinta, scudding before the strong south wind which prevailed, became separated from the other vessel, and was soon lost sight of altogether. The waves ran high, and the Niña, according to Fernando and others, was in imminent danger for want of ballast, so that Columbus ordered the empty water-casks to be filled with sea-water.

The various accounts of the terrible weather which prevailed are very apochryphal, inconsistency and contradiction being constantly apparent; thus, while the son and the majority of historians report that the ship was too light, and had to be ballasted as above, Columbus, in his letter to Santangel, speaking of this same storm, makes no mention of any such expedient, but says, on the contrary, that the ship had to be lightened by throwing the cargo overboard. It is difficult to decide which account is truthful, or whether either of them is to be believed.

We are next told of Columbus's expedient, when in imminent danger, for making the world acquainted with his discovery.

ARREST OF THE CREW ABOUT TO PERFORM THEIR PIOUS VOW IN THE ISLAND OF ST. MARY.

He wrote, according to his own statement, a detailed account of the voyage, describing the situation of the islands, their resources, etc., sealed and addressed it to the king, wrapped it in a waxed cloth, placed the whole in the centre of a cake of wax, and, passing the package through the bung-hole of an empty cask, which he stopped up, cast it into the sea. This story is, to say the least, improbable; and its improbability, together with the inconsistency of the reports as to the ballast, leads us to believe that this terrific storm was magnified and exaggerated, to make Columbus appear the greater in nautical skill, ingenuity, and pious endurance.

The Niña finally reached the island of St. Mary (one of the Azores), where a detachment of the crew was sent ashore, *minus* all clothing save their shirts, to accomplish the pious vow above recorded.

The governor of the island, Castañeda, had known Columbus in his former days of piracy, and, upon perceiving this motley crew parading the streets in such unseemly guise, and learning under whom they sailed, he may not improbably have imagined a piratical enterprise. He had the whole detachment arrested, and their boat seized. Upon Columbus indignantly remonstrating, and declaring that he was sailing in the service of the crown of Spain, the governor, at first incredulous, finally sent officers on board to examine the papers of the quondam pirate. Rather to his surprise, the assertions of Columbus were found to be correct, whereupon the men were released, the boat restored, the crew supplied with provisions, and Columbus himself treated with all courtesy and kindness. These are the bare facts in the case, which Fernando and his successors do not fail so to embellish as to make the proceeding rather magnify the glory of Columbus than otherwise.

The former relates that the King of Portugal had ordered the arrest of the "admiral," that Spain might be deprived of his services. We read, moreover, that, upon the governor's refusal to release his men and boat, "the admiral" made a solemn vow, which he called his whole crew to witness, that he would not depart thence "till he had taken one hundred Portuguese, to carry them into Castile, and destroyed all the island."

All this is related in such high-flown language as to inspire the reader with an exalted idea of the dignified defiance of "the admiral." But, when we remember that forty men of this small expedition had been left in Hispaniola; that the Pinta, the larger of the two remaining vessels, was on her way to Spain, separated from Columbus; and when we read, in the same chapter[97] which records his vow to take prisoners and devastate an island, that he had but *three* able seamen left on board, and that he was without a boat, his threat savors much of the Bombastes Furioso.

As to the pretended orders from the King of Portugal to arrest Columbus, had any such been issued, the commissions and

[97] Fernando, "Historia del Amirante," chapter xxxix.

papers of the admiral would have had little power to induce the governor to disobey them.

The arrest was made by Castañeda on his own authority, he having been acquainted with Columbus's piratical antecedents,[96] but, on learning that the latter was "leading a new life," he released his men without further ado.

We, moreover, learn from Fernando how "the admiral" informed the people of St. Mary that he was Viceroy of the Indies, which he had discovered, whereat they are reported to have been greatly elated.

That Columbus was absurdly boastful, we are ready to believe. Like all *parvenus*, he could not remain silent as to his rank and achievements, lest perchance they should be ignored; but we are less ready to believe that the Portuguese of St. Mary rejoiced so exceedingly because an adventurer in the employ of a rival power had visited certain lands, of what importance soever they might be.

Columbus, after a short sojourn at St. Mary, resumed his homeward voyage. Another storm arose, another vow was made, and lots are cast to determine who shall go barefooted, in his shirt (a costume which seems to have been a favorite with our hero), on a pilgrimage to the Virgin of Huelva, and spend the night upon his knees before the shrine; again the lot falls upon Columbus, "God showing thereby," says his son, "that his offering was more acceptable than those of the others."

Las Casas gives a somewhat different explanation; he says: "Thus again was expressed the disapproval of his proceedings by Providence; and that these repeated visitations were sent, in punishment, for his having torn from their home the unfortunate natives who were on board the Niña."

Did we believe in the miraculous, we should consider the latter explanation by far the more valid of the two; but it was evidently a trick of Columbus, whereby he might increase his pious reputation, and gain credit with the Church. It was not difficult, we presume, for him to draw out what he already held, and the frequent repetition of the farce makes it evident that he had the marked bean in his hand, and thus manœuvred, that he might appear miraculously to draw it every time, in testimony that his offering was the most acceptable.

[96] A. B. Becher, "Landfall of Columbus," p. 268.

The tempest was still at its height when the vessel sighted land, which proved to be the rock of Lisbon. Here Columbus was obliged to put in, because of the fury of the storm; and, not content with enlarging to the people upon the unheard-of wealth of the countries he had discovered, he spread, or caused to be spread, abroad a report that the Niña was loaded down with gold. And then he wrote to the King of Portugal, informing him of his discoveries, and demanding permission to go on to Lisbon, averring that he would be more safe, as the report concerning the gold might tempt the people, where he then was, to rob him.

COLUMBUS BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THE VIRGIN.

We are not surprised, knowing the boastful, false pride of the man, to find him contemptibly elated at being thus able to flaunt his discovery in the face of a prince who had refused to engage in it; but the arrogance and boastfulness of the pirate, become admiral, exceed all belief.

When an officer summoned him to give an account of himself, he replied, that the king's admirals were not obliged to obey such summons, and it was with difficulty he was persuaded to show his papers; but upon his doing so, if we believe his son, these very Portuguese, toward whom he is bearing himself thus

haughtily, come in all humility with fifes and drums to receive him. The people of Portugal rejoice with exceeding great joy that their rival Spain has acquired new territory, and, according to this admiral, endless riches. They might indeed have envied, but it was not in human nature to rejoice. The whole of this enthusiasm was evidently invented by Columbus and his son, and but too greedily caught up and exaggerated by subsequent writers.

Irving, after the brilliant account he gives of the reception of Columbus in Portugal, and of the honors paid him there, somewhat inconsistently adds:

"His rational exultation was construed into an insulting triumph, and they accused him of assuming a boastful tone when talking with the king of his discoveries, as if he would revenge himself upon the monarch for having rejected his proposition. . . .

"The Portuguese historians, in general, charge Columbus with having conducted himself loftily with the king. . . . Faria y Souza, in 'Europa Portuguesa,' goes so far as to say that Columbus entered into the port of Rastello merely to make Portugal sensible, by the sight of the trophies of his discovery, how much she had lost by not accepting his propositions."

Knowing what we do of the character of Columbus, far from considering this view of the case exaggerated, we should have been surprised had he not so conducted himself. What surprises us is, that historians should represent the King of Portugal as humbling himself to the utmost, notwithstanding all this flaunting arrogance. He invited (we read) Columbus to see him; the latter (always magnifying his own importance, and always a coward) feared that his assassination was intended, but finally condescended so far as to visit the monarch. The latter (according to the universally-repeated story) bade him sit in his presence, don his cap, and, of course, that the importance of the affair may be complete, insinuated that this great conquest belonged by right to Portugal, etc., etc. The most prominent man of the kingdom was assigned as the host of Columbus; the queen earnestly entreats him not to pass her by without visiting her; in short, this *ci-devant* pirate (should we believe his son and other biographers) is, at the court of the monarch who had refused his services on account of his exorbitant claims, and

from whose dominions he had ignominiously fled, a second Mordecai, the man "whom the king delighteth to honor!"

Allowing this extremely improbable relation to be true, and Columbus to have received these honors, it was wanting in good taste and delicacy for him to accept them; his reporting his discoveries to another and rival monarch, before doing so to the sovereigns who had employed him, was itself an act deserving the severest censure, and which no desire to excite the envy and regret of Portugal can justify or palliate.

RABO DE JUNCO.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARRIVAL IN SPAIN, AND RECEPTION AT BARCELONA.

Columbus remained in Lisbon ten days; and finally, on Friday, the 15th of March, 1493, arrived at the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days having elapsed since his departure therefrom, August 3, 1492.

Here, on the same day, Martin Alonzo Pinzon anchored before his native town. He had sent the sovereigns word of his return, but they had already received a dispatch from Columbus, at Lisbon, in which he had basely enlarged upon what he termed the "insubordination of Pinzon." The latter, therefore, received a prohibition to appear at court, which so deeply wounded his pride, and so bitterly reminded him of the ingratitude of men, that he returned to his home, sick at heart and in body. He shortly after died, it is said, of a broken heart, caused by the manner in which the sovereigns rewarded him for having bravely embarked in the enterprise at its unpromising outset, and at the return Columbus gave him for having protected him in adversity, supplied him with the funds without which he was powerless to carry out his scheme, and finally accompanied him to encourage an unwilling crew. Thus died a man both good and brave, a victim to the ingratitude of one who possessed neither of these qualities.

Time and history will each year show the name of Pinzon in a fairer light, while, should justice and truth obtain, that of Columbus will each year lose more and more of its borrowed lustre.

Leaving his broken-hearted benefactor to die, "the admiral" started from Palos to present himself to the sovereigns at Barcelona. He was a month in reaching his destination; "being

obliged," says his son, "to stay some little, by the way, though but never so little," to gratify the curiosity of the people in the cities through which he passed. We presume it required little persuasion to induce the admiral to make all the parade in his power.

Fernando, in his life of his father,[92] would have his readers believe that there was much joy in Barcelona upon the arrival of the latter. His statement is indorsed by Herrera, but Mr. Irving gives a still more glowing account of the transaction.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.—(From Herrera's "West Indies.")

For various reasons we believe, however, that no such demonstration took place as that described by Fernando. These reasons are obvious.

We will follow the gradual growth in the description of this pageant, as it passes from pen to pen, of the authors who vie with each other in covering Columbus with glory.

[92] "Historia del Amirante," chapter xlii.

The first account seems to have been written by Peter Martyr, a contemporary, who, in his correspondence with many distinguished persons of the day, noted most of the passing incidents and events of the Spanish court.

He thus relates the affair to Fernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, under date of February 1, 1494:

"The king and queen, on the return of Columbus to Barcelona, from his honorable enterprise, appointed him admiral of the ocean sea, and caused him, on account of his illustrious deeds, to be seated in their presence; an honor and a favor, as you know, the highest with our sovereigns. They have dispatched him again to those regions, furnished with a fleet of eighteen ships. There is a prospect of great discoveries in the antarctic antipodes."

This is all that Peter Martyr, the distinguished letter-writer, says of a reception which Irving leads us to believe was the talk of every tongue, the admiration of a world.

The next writer in chronological order, who speaks of the arrival of Columbus in Barcelona, is his son Fernando. With him the account given by Peter Martyr grows somewhat; he says: "Thus holding on his way, he got to Barcelona about the middle of April, having before sent their Highnesses an account of the happy success of his voyage, which was extraordinary pleasing to them, and they ordered him a most solemn reception, as to a man who had done them such singular service. All the court and city went out to meet him; and their Catholic Majesties sat in public with great state, on rich chairs, under a canopy of cloth-of-gold, and, when he went to kiss their hands, they stood up to him as to a great lord, made a difficulty to give him their hands, and caused him to sit down."

Herrera copies substantially from the above, but enlarges in his turn; and, passing over numerous other authors, we come to Mr. Irving's admirably-written but delusive history of Columbus, and find the following:

"The fame of his discovery had resounded throughout the nation, and, as his route lay through several of the finest and most populous provinces of Spain, his journey appeared like the progress of a sovereign. Wherever he passed, the surrounding country poured forth its inhabitants, who lined the road and villages. In the large towns, the streets, windows, and balco-

nies, were filled with eager spectators, who rent the air with acclamations. . . . It was about the middle of April that Columbus arrived at Barcelona, where every preparation had been made to give him a solemn and magnificent reception.

"The beauty and serenity of the weather in that genial season and favored climate contributed to give splendor to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many of the more youthful courtiers and *hidalgos* of gallant bearing, together with a vast concourse of the people, came forth to meet and welcome him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed to decree to conquerors. First, were paraded the Indians, painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with their national ornaments of gold. After these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants, supposed to be of precious qualities; while great care was taken to make a conspicuous display of Indian ornaments, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly-discovered regions. After this followed Columbus on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the countless multitude; the windows and balconies were crowded with the fair; the very roofs were covered with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing on the trophies of an unknown world, or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered. There was a solemnity in this event, that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was looked upon as a vast and signal dispensation of Providence, as a reward for the piety of the monarchs. . . . To receive him with suitable pomp and distinction, the sovereigns had ordered their throne to be placed in public, under a rich canopy of brocade of gold, in a vast and splendid saloon. Here the king and queen awaited his arrival, seated in state, with the Prince Juan beside them; and attended by the dignitaries of their court, and the principal nobility of Castile, Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon, all impatient to behold the man who had conferred such incalculable benefit upon the nation. At length Columbus entered the hall, surrounded by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers. . . . As Columbus approached, the sovereigns arose, as if receiving a prince of the highest rank.

Bending his knees he requested to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on the part of their majesties to permit this act of vassalage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence: a rare honor in this proud and punctilious court. At the request of their majesties, Columbus now gave an account of the most striking events in his voyage, and a description of the islands which he had discovered. . . . The words of Columbus were listened to with the most profound emotion by the sovereigns. When he had finished, they sank on their knees, and, raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, they poured forth thanks and praises to God for so great a Providence: all present followed their example, a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem of *Te Deum laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the melodious responses of the minstrels, rose up from the midst in a full body of sacred harmony, bearing up, as it were, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven. . . . Such was the solemn and pious manner in which the brilliant court of Spain celebrated this sublime event; offering up a grateful tribute of melodious praise, and giving glory to God for the discovery of another world."

Such events, in which display and pomp play the greater part, are generally most graphically described by contemporaries and eye-witnesses, who have the scene yet present to their minds; and these descriptions rather dwindle and weaken as they pass from one historian to another.

How much more distinctly does Froissart bring before us tournaments, processions, and ceremonies of his time, than the subsequent historians who recount them; how many details we find in his chronicles which conjure up the scene with startling reality, and which we look for in vain elsewhere: and this is owing, not so much to his superior powers of description, as to the fact that he was himself a spectator or participant in what he described. But with this reception at Barcelona the reverse takes place; the description increases in detail and coloring as it comes down to us, because the imagination, and not the facts, play the greater part: imagination, from a simple, unadorned statement of a prosaic or unimportant fact, will create a wondrous scene.

For the writer of fiction and romance this is a glorious gift, but a most dangerous one for the historian, who, when possessed of it, will too often represent facts as he would have had them, rather than as they were. Thus it is that out of the words of Peter Martyr ("caused him to be seated in their presence") a scene is created which, were we to believe Mr. Irving, was the grandest pageant history records. "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!"

Again, had all Spain gone forth to receive Columbus with acclamations, would Martyr, when writing, a year after the occurrence took place, to Fernando de Talavera, confessor to the queen, Archbishop of Granada, and member of the royal household, speak to him of the return of Columbus as of something of which he did not think it likely he would be informed? Would not the ready pen and fluent language of Peter Martyr have made the most of such a scene—particularly when we consider that he is represented as having been intimate with Columbus, and is declared by Las Casas to be the highest authority on matters relating to the discovery of the Indies, as he received his information from Columbus himself?

Nor are we without further evidence that the description of the reception prepared for Columbus at Barcelona is a gratuitous embellishment on the part of modern historians.

That eminent tourist, antiquarian, and scholar, the late Mr. George Sumner, gives the following curious item, which strongly corroborates our view of the case:

"From the brilliant description given by Irving and Prescott of the arrival of Columbus at Barcelona, and of his reception there by the Catholic sovereigns, it seemed to me as probable that some contemporary account of the arrival and reception, as well as of the sojourn of Columbus, might be found at Barcelona; and, while there, in the spring of 1844, I searched the admirably-arranged archives of Aragon, and also those of the city of Barcelona, for such notice, but without any success. I could not so much as find a mention of the name of Columbus. The 'Dietaria,' or day-book of Barcelona, notices the arrival of ambassadors, the movements of the king and queen, and even records incidents of as trifling note as those which in our day serve to fill the columns of a court journal; yet not a word appears in regard to Columbus. . . . In the 'Dietaria' of

Barcelona, under date of 15th of November 1492, is the following entry: 'The king, queen, and primogenito, entered to-day the city, and lodged in the palace of the Bishop of Urgil in the Calle Ancha.' This is followed by a description of the festivities which ensued: '1493, 4th February, king and queen went to Alserat. 14th, king and queen returned to Barcelona.'"

Thus is another popular error exploded upon which sensational historians have drawn so largely for their most striking chapters. Few of our readers will perhaps thank us for thus stripping Truth of the gay garments wherewith she has been decked for their greater delectation and amusement, but the truth, naked and prosaic, appears to have been that Columbus was received by the king and queen at the Calle Ancha, and allowed to sit in their presence while he gave the history of his voyage.

He assured their majesties that those whom he had left in the island could not fail to collect a ton of gold before his return. He dwelt upon the riches he professed to have heard of from the natives, and talked largely of being soon able to raise such an army as should release the Holy Sepulchre from the grasp of the infidel. Wealth, he declared, was to be gathered without cost and without labor. The riches of Asia were at the command of Spain. Upon these representations (how false we need not repeat) of the glowing success of his expedition, the title of admiral was confirmed to him by royal edict, as well as the privileges enumerated at length in the act granting him that rank.

An order, dated Barcelona, 30th of May, 1493, after the usual wordy preamble, reads as follows:

"To honor and promote you and your descendants and lineage in perpetuity, we have thought proper, and it is our desire, and we give you authority to bear on your shield of arms, a castle and a lion, which we give you for arms; that is to say, the castle *or*, on a field *vert*, in the *dexter* quarter; and in the *sinister* quarter, a lion *purpura*, *rampant*, on a field *argent*; and in the *dexter* base quarter, some islands *or*, in waves of the sea, and in the *sinister* base quarter the arms which you are accustomed to bear; which above said arms shall be acknowledged as yours, and those of your descendants in perpetuity hereafter."

We have read much of the motto—

"A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dio Colon"—

and of its being awarded to Columbus by the sovereigns, that he might bear it on his arms as some recompense for his mighty deeds; we find it, moreover, inscribed on the existing coat-of-arms of the family, by Captain Galardi, in the fulsome dedica-

tion from which we have already quoted, and from which we take the above engraving. It is therefore with some surprise that we find no mention of any such motto, not only in the above act granting the coat-of-arms, nor in any of the authentic documents in which the transactions between our hero and the crown are recorded. Nor is it once alluded to by Columbus; vanity would undoubtedly have prompted him to dwell largely, in the latter part of his life, when he had fallen into disgrace,

and was vainly seeking to secure some prestige at court, upon so striking and public an acknowledgment on the part of the sovereigns.

One of the early historians speaks of the coat-of-arms, as above, and says: "To this he" (Columbus) "afterward added the motto—

'To Castile and to Leon
A new world gave Colon.'"

Fernando does not even pretend that the device existed in the lifetime of his father, but speaks of it as having been placed on a magnificent tomb erected to his memory at Seville. No such inscription or tomb is there to be found, and as the reputation of Columbus has increased, or rather its glory been wholly created, since his death, we may safely presume, had such an inscription existed when Fernando wrote the history of his father, it would have been preserved to our time. Of this, however, we will speak more at length in due season (*see* Chapter XXVIII.).

That the motto in question was never granted Columbus as the legend of his coat-of-arms, is certain; whether it was the invention of Christopher, or Fernando Columbus, we cannot determine; but that it emanated from the fertile brain of one or the other is evident, for, had it been granted him officially, there would either be some mention of it in the act granting him a coat-of-arms, or, if it were afterward added, some formal statement to that effect would exist; but such a statement is not to be found.

With his too evident desire to mystify in all matters where the truth might belittle Columbus, Irving, speaking of the coat-of-arms, vaguely adds: "To this was afterward added the motto, 'A Castilla,'" etc.

He does not *say* it was granted by the sovereigns, but such would be the inference of every reader unacquainted with the truth.

The item of the grant which authorized Columbus to bear his *own* arms on the lower sinister quarter of the escutcheon was somewhat superfluous, though none of his biographers mention the fact. A coat-of-arms was an ensign of nobility, and Columbus's most zealous advocate, Spotorno, admits that he must have been of ignoble birth, very rationally adding that, had it been otherwise, "he" (Columbus) "would most certainly have

boasted of the fact to the haughty Spanish nobles," who could never consider the pirate admiral their compeer.[100] It is evident that he possessed no arms, as the quarter allotted to them was filled with several anchors; this goes far to prove that the much-talked-of coat-of-arms was granted rather from necessity than as a reward. The Admiral of Spain could not be other than noble; none were noble who bore no escutcheon; when, therefore, the rank of admiral, which gave him a place among the high-born of Spain, was confirmed to Columbus, the insignia of nobility was of necessity added.

[100] Spotorno, "Int.," pp. xciii., xciv.

THE MANATI, AS REPRESENTED IN PHILOPONO.—*See* Appendix.

CHAPTER XV.

SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

THE golden falsehoods of Columbus fired the cupidity not only of the sovereigns, but of many of the Spanish *hidalgos;* with all haste a dispatch was sent to the Pope (Alexander VI.), requesting a grant of the lands discovered, which was immediately granted. The promptitude with which the sovereign pontiff deeded a continent of unknown limits to Spain, can only be accounted for by the fact that he was himself a Spaniard by birth, and that, in her zeal for the Church and vigorous prosecution of the Inquisition, Isabella might be termed the right arm of the Church.

No sooner was the papal grant received, than a fleet of seventeen, according to some—eighteen vessels, according to others—was forthwith equipped; and so many of high and low degree were anxious to form part of the expedition, that this time it was not a question of compelling an unwilling crew to undertake the voyage, but of inducing equally unwilling citizens to remain behind.

On the 25th of September the fleet, well freighted with all the necessaries for colonization, and with about fifteen hundred Spaniards of all ranks, eager for the wealth Columbus had promised, left the port of Cadiz. They proceeded to the Canary Islands, on leaving which, Columbus gave to the captain of each ship sealed instructions containing directions as to the route he was to pursue; these, however, were only to be opened in case the ships became separated from Columbus by adverse weather; "for," says Fernando, "he did not wish the route to be known, unless there was great need"—another evidence that he regarded the enterprise as a secret which had fortunately come into his

possession for his own advancement, and not as the means of benefiting humanity or the kingdom of Spain.

Remembering the current which the unfortunate Pinzon had been the first to discover on the previous voyage, this time Columbus pursued a straight course, and, after twenty days' sailing, arrived, on the 3d of November, at an island which he named San Domingo, after the day of the week, which was Sunday. No inhabitants were seen. Another island was passed, and named Mari-galante, after the admiral's ship; the next, Guadalupe, after a monastery in Spain; this island was large, and on the shore they found a village, or settlement, the inhabitants of which had fled, leaving only children. Among various things which Columbus reports as having been found in this village, he speaks of an *iron pan*. Fernando, probably aware at the period in which he wrote his history that iron utensils were unknown among the natives, makes more explanation than the case would seem to require, unless he considered his father's reputation for veracity in peril. He conjectures that it might have been stone that resembled iron, that it might have come from the settlement at Hispaniola, or from the wrecked ships; he seems, in fact, most eager to prove his father truthful—a falsehood notwithstanding.

It is a matter of wonder to the reader of the history of Columbus, that he did not, upon arriving at the islands, at once proceed to the relief of the colony he had left at Navidad; but the reason soon becomes apparent when we read that at Guadalupe the admiral sent a boat ashore on the 5th of November, "to take somebody to inform him of his whereabouts, and which way Hispaniola lay." [101] A youth and six women were accordingly taken, and from them Columbus professes to learn that they are prisoners of a race of cannibals, who enslaved the women and devoured the men they captured in war.

This is the first time the grave charge of cannibalism is preferred against the natives of the New World, a charge which investigation and the laws of Nature alike show to be false. The Indians in those islands, on the showing of Columbus himself,[102]

[101] "Historia del Amirante," chapter xlvii.

[102] In the bull of Pope Alexander VI., deeding the lands to Spain, which is affirmed to have been granted *solely on the testimony of Columbus*, the inhabitants of the islands are described as "numerous, live peaceably, and, as it is affirmed, go naked, *and feed not upon flesh*."

lived chiefly upon the nutritious roots which grow in their fertile homes, a diet which they varied with the fish which were found in such abundance in their rivers and along their shores. Nothing in the temperature of that region, or the temperament of the natives, would lead them to such a practice.

What, then, were the reasons which induced Columbus to prefer against them so monstrous a charge?

They are obvious. His enterprise, unless the means of enriching Spain, would avail him nothing in the eyes of that kingdom or its sovereigns; the gold he had promised so largely was only forthcoming in the smallest quantities; the spices of Asia were not to be found at all; he then turned his thoughts toward the gentle natives, who—the reminiscences of his experience in the Guinea-trade present in his mind—suggested themselves as a source of wealth. It was his intention to enslave them from the first, as is manifest in his letter to Santangel, written on his return from his first voyage, and in which he speaks of the facilities which the port of Navidad offers for the export of slaves. He may have spoken of this to Queen Isabella, who, to do her justice, was unwilling, at the outset, when she expected to acquire wealth of a different nature from these islands, to treat her new subjects thus outrageously.

Columbus, still bent upon the establishment of slavery, sought some excuse, therefore, and the most plausible was, to represent his victims as monsters, feeding upon human flesh, whom to enslave was to civilize. The story, moreover, would appear as a corroborative proof that he was in Asia, as many fables were then current reporting the existence of man-eaters in the extreme east of the continent; he would thus accomplish a double object.

Accordingly, on his return to the islands on his second voyage, he prefers the charge; and the document he dispatched to the sovereigns during his second sojourn in Hispaniola, with the comments they made on his propositions, show alike his motive and the objections he strove to subvert.

The first part of this document relates to the necessary provision for the colony, and contains excuses for not sending gold, together with a request for permission to build a fortress, and to all this the sovereigns affix approbatory remarks. In the seventh paragraph Columbus boldly launches into a proposal to enslave

the Indians; he tells their highnesses he sends therewith some cannibals as slaves, to be converted, and taught the Spanish language, that they may act as interpreters. He omits no argument that might tend to hide the *venu* of his proposition; he affirms that the Indians of the other islands will greatly rejoice at the capture of their enemies. But the sovereigns are not thus to be blinded, and to this paragraph, adverting to the proposed conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith, they affix this comment: "This is well, and so it must be done, but let the admiral see whether it could not be managed there, that they should be brought to our holy Catholic faith, and the same with the Indians of the islands where he is."

In the next paragraph, Columbus systematizes his project. After enlarging on the benefits which will accrue to the souls of these monstrous devourers of human flesh, by their enslavement, he shows that the islands being in need of cattle and other domestic animals, a regular system of barter might be established, and ships coming to the colony laden with oxen, mules, etc., might return to Spain with a cargo of human live-stock, always from the cannibal portion of the population.

"These cattle," he writes, "might be sold at moderate prices, for the benefit of the bearers, and the latter might be paid with slaves taken from among the Caribs, who are a wild people, fit for any work; well proportioned, and very intelligent; and who, when they have got rid of the cruel habits to which they have become accustomed, will be better than any other slaves."

In his eagerness to show the value of this live-stock, he forgets, or is unaware that, in praising their intelligence, he furnishes a powerful argument against the truth of his imputation that they ate human flesh, for, wherever the disgusting practice has been found to exist, it has always been among human beings of the lowest order of intellect, scarce removed from brutes. "When they lose sight of their country," continues the admiral, "they will forget their cruel practices." This was evidently said in order that, when the gentle harmlessness of the poor slaves should surprise the Spaniards, they should believe they had only become thus gentle and harmless since they left their island-homes. He further adds, as a tempting suggestion to the sovereigns: "Their highnesses might fix duties on the slaves that might be taken over, upon their arrival in Spain."

Never was the establishment of slavery more deliberately planned and proposed. Ferdinand and Isabella at once perceived the enormity of the proposition, and to this paragraph they answer: "As regards this matter it is suspended for the present, until there come some other way of doing it" (converting the heathen there), "and let the admiral write what he thinks of this." A comment which disappointed but did not discourage Columbus. He knew the character of his royal mistress too well not to be assured that, when the natives should prove to be the only means of procuring wealth in the islands, she would herself consider their enslavement necessary for the salvation of their souls; and, in effect, though she will never consent to their exportation, yet by her order of 1503 she will compel them to work, as slaves only are compelled.

But to return to Columbus. From the six women and boy he captured, he asked information as to his whereabouts: not, according to his son, that he did not know the exact situation of Hispaniola, but merely because he wanted to hear what they had to say about it. He was now anxious to leave Guadalupe, but, nine of the men having gone ashore without his permission, he sent Alonzo de Ojeda and forty men to seek them. These returned, after a fruitless search, with marvelous accounts of the vegetable productions they had seen; and moreover affirmed, according to Columbus, that in traversing six leagues they crossed twenty rivers, an exaggeration which is so apparent to Fernando that he seeks to palliate his father's statement by suggesting that they might have crossed the same river several times. The truants found their way back to the ship, and so greatly was our humane admiral incensed at their having lost their way, that he ordered them put in irons, and their allowance of food retrenched!

They now set sail, and passed several islands, where they found coral and other curious productions. "Though the admiral," says his son, "was very desirous to know every thing, yet he resolved to hold on his course to Hispaniola; but, the weather being bad, he came to anchor on Thursday, the 13th of November, in an island, where *he ordered some Indians to be taken, to know whereabouts he was.*"

He did not finally arrive at Hispaniola till the 21st of November; thus, notwithstanding his anxiety to visit his colony,

and his perfect knowledge of its situation, he was nearly a month from the time he arrived at San Domingo before he reached the same; he would not stop to examine the productions of the various islands, yet was continually stopping to capture Indians, of whom to inquire his latitude and longitude, of which, says the son, he was well aware. Such conduct would have been absurd. We will believe that Columbus was anxious to rejoin those he had left, but the means employed show him to have been totally ignorant of the location of the island.

With the assistance of the natives, he at length succeeded in reaching it. He found the fortress, which, he had assured the

INDIAN WIDOWS DECORATING THE GRAVES OF THEIR SLAUGHTERED HUSBANDS WITH THEIR HAIR.—(From De Bry's "America.")

sovereigns, was strong enough to keep the whole island in subjection, destroyed, and the entire colony massacred.

The good Guacanagari averred their destruction to be the work of a neighboring tribe, that of the powerful Cazique Caonabo; but he and all the Indians with one accord proclaimed the Spaniards to have made themselves objects of fear and hatred throughout the island by their insolence and licentiousness; they also reported them as having quarreled among themselves, and dispersed, plundering native villages in small bands, so that

their destruction was regarded as an act of self-defense by the Indians.

Thus ominously did the first colony of Spaniards in the Western Hemisphere inaugurate their relations with the natives. Their fate was a terrible one, a violent death in a far-off land, where cries for assistance could reach no friendly ear, and would only bring around them their enemies in greater numbers; enemies so numerous that their little band dissolved before them like snow beneath a summer sun. But, terrible as was their death, they had brought it upon themselves; their enemies were the once friendly natives, whom they cruelly wronged, and who avenged the injuries heaped upon them by the stranger who invaded their homes, and made them desolate.

CHAPTER XVI.

SETTLEMENTS IN HISPANIOLA.

Columbus was apparently not so much concerned at the loss of his men as he was eager to find the gold which he hoped they had collected. He had left orders that, in case they were attacked,

Christopher Columbus.—(From De Bry's "America.")

they should throw all the treasure they might have amassed into a certain well. This was now carefully searched, but to no purpose—not a particle of gold was found. Columbus, being thor-

oughly disgusted, his opinion of the port of Navidad underwent a most radical change. Where before he saw a splendid harbor, whose situation afforded every advantage for the establishment of a flourishing colony and the building of an opulent city, he now perceives only flat, unhealthy ground, where to remain would be to perish. This fickleness is apparent throughout Columbus's transactions; he never attempted to represent matters as they were, but rather to make such statements as should secure favor for his projects. Hence, in the first place, he grossly exaggerates the advantages of Navidad as a seaport (particularly when he dwells upon its convenience for trade with Asia); and, in the next, he as grossly magnifies the disadvantages of the same place, that his abandonment of it might appear the more reasonable.

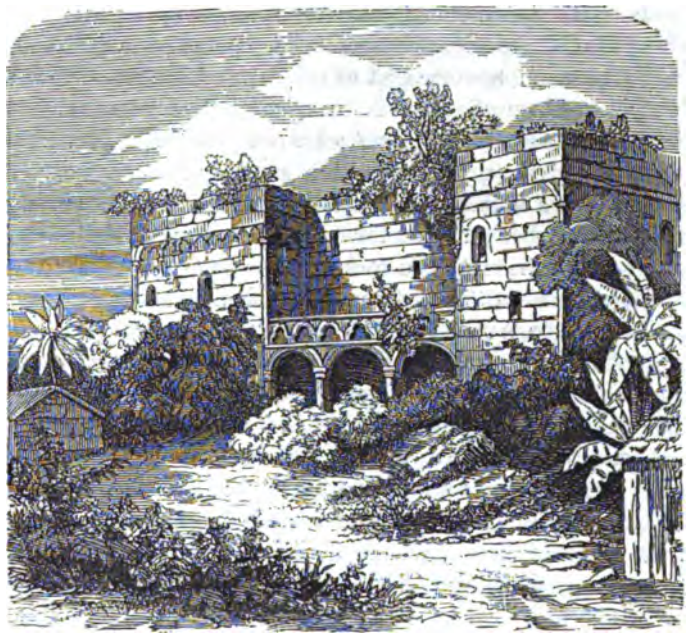
The site he next chose for a settlement was on the north side of the island. Here he resolved to build a town, as the situation, he declared, was unexceptionable. He therefore caused the ships to be unloaded, and proceeded to lay out a town, which he named Isabella.

Already the fatal effects of his falsehoods became manifest: here were hundreds of Spain's noblest sons, who had left civilized life and luxurious homes, allured by the tales of gold and Asiatic treasure to be gathered at will in a land as fair as Eden.

Upon landing at Isabella, provisions began to fail; the Spaniards were without a roof to protect them from the heavy and unwholesome night-mists which pervade those countries. Change of climate, scantiness of food, and exposure, brought sickness and death, while the gold was nowhere visible. The land was, indeed, fertile; and in a few years might be capable of sustaining thousands; but it was uncultivated, and the roots which served the simple natives as food were insufficient in quantity to sustain the large colony Columbus had brought out, even if the dainty palates of Castilian nobles could have accustomed themselves to such rude fare. Want and exposure spread sickness among all, particularly among the high-born. The first steps taken by Columbus toward building the new city were by no means calculated to alleviate the sufferings of his followers. He proceeded to build a church, a magazine, and a *house for himself*,[168] a triad which illustrates the ruling traits of his character

[168] Herrera, "Decade I.," chapter xl.

—hypocrisy, avarice, and selfishness. The latter is particularly apparent, in that he built shelter for himself before taking steps to secure greater comfort for hundreds higher born and gentler bred than he, who were dying from the effects of the hardships they endured, whom, sick and famishing, he compelled to labor in the erection of this very house. What wonder that, amid



House of Columbus in Ruins.

such a scene of disappointment, want, and sickness, murmurs became audible and discontent apparent? Historians are unanimous in their expressions of contempt for these Spaniards who expected to find in the New World the comforts of the regions they had left, and wealth beyond measure at their disposal besides. They represent Columbus as the much-injured victim of these visionaries, who reproached him with having allured them by inspiring false hopes; but these historians forget how rightly these reproaches were addressed to Columbus. He had not prepared his colonists for the hardships they were to endure. If they had indulged in golden visions, as delightful as illusive, Columbus was the magician who had conjured up such visions. He

had declared the wealth of the islands to be so great that, in a short time, sufficient could be procured to raise an army and free the Holy Sepulchre. The few men he had left were to have collected at least a ton of gold before his return, and this without labor or expense save that of a few worthless bawbles which they gave the natives in exchange for the precious metal.

Nor did he represent the country as a new one. Asia, with its rich civilization, was within a few days' journey; the land was so beautiful, the natives so gentle, that paradise itself could scarce have been a more delightful sojourn. Such was the tale by which he secured the wealth of Spain—the flower of her nobility—for his enterprise. And what was the reality? They reach the western shore to find their countrymen massacred; the lands, though a valuable acquisition to the crown, could only be made such by labor; the farmer and the mechanic, rude sons of the soil, and the poor inured to hardships—not noble cavaliers—should have been the first to people them. So would it have been, but for the base manner in which Columbus deceived the sovereigns of Spain and their subjects. Had he represented the necessity of labor; had he not been eager to increase his importance and wealth by borrowing from the tales of Marco Polo, that he might appear to have visited the countries of Asia, which Spain and Portugal so longed to reach; had he not, we say, practised the grossest deception (we have shown how impossible it was that he could have been deceived), a very different crew would have emigrated with him—smaller in numbers, of the lower ranks, looking forward to a life of trial—and the sufferings of this unhappy multitude would never have existed.

When the building of the town was fairly under way, twelve ships were dispatched to Spain, and with them Antonio de Torres, the bearer of the dispatches before mentioned, in which Columbus develops his system of slave-trade. These ships set sail on the 2d of February, 1494. Many a sad eye watched them wistfully as they disappeared; many a sad heart sank into deeper gloom, as the last white sail vanished beneath the horizon.

As the unhappy Spaniards awakened from their dreams of splendor to the reality of a country in which was found neither food nor shelter, dissatisfaction daily increased; hatred for the pirate-admiral, who had so craftily allured them to destruction, became more and more apparent; nor were the harsh measures

and tyrannical conduct of Columbus calculated to conciliate. At this early stage, bitter complaints are made against him; his disrespect of the Spanish gentlemen, his cruelty to the lower classes, the small pretenses upon which he reduced the rations of all ranks—all create ever-increasing indignation; and the disaffection, with which he now commenced to be regarded, will henceforth continue throughout his career.

This disaffection soon became more serious, and, at last, unable longer to restrain their indignation, many of the Spaniards organized a resistance against the tyranny of Columbus. Bernal Diaz de Pisa, who was controller of the expedition, and had occupied a position of some mark at court, headed the disaffected. The fact that a man of such standing protested against the conduct of Columbus, should cause unprejudiced writers to reflect whether such conduct could have been wholly blameless. This aspect of the case never seems, however, to present itself to the biographers of our hero. They record the falsehoods fabricated by him; they recount the disappointment and disaster which these falsehoods engendered; yet, when speaking of the just indignation of the deceived, they term it mutiny—rebellion, which could scarcely be punished too severely. Bernal Diaz wrote a detailed account of the misrepresentations perpetrated by Columbus; this was discovered, and we are called upon to admire the leniency of the latter, who merely confined Diaz on board a ship, to be sent to Spain for trial. The gentle narrators seem to think death itself would hardly have been too severe a penalty for so heinous an offense. It was, indeed, unheard-of audacity for any to presume so far as to assert that "the admiral" had exaggerated. Fernando writes: "Many had gone on that voyage upon the belief that, as soon as they landed, they might load themselves with gold, and so return, rich, home."

Such was indeed the case. But the falsehoods of Columbus had engendered that belief—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of most writers upon this subject.

This rebellion being quelled, Alonzo de Ojeda, with a company of men, was sent to the district of Cibao to verify the report of there being gold-mines in that vicinity. He returned with such favorable accounts, that Columbus went thither and founded the fort of San Tomas, and established mining operations.

His progress through the country on this expedition was

characteristic: his band was sickly, weary, and disheartened; yet he must needs enter every Indian hamlet with trumpets sounding and banners flying, so irrepressible were his vanity and delight in exhibiting his newly-acquired rank.

During this journey, the Spaniards beheld, for the first time, that glorious plain which they named the Vega Real, and which was to become the theatre of so many tragic scenes. The expedition to Cibao, prompted by Columbus's impatience to acquire treasure, was premature, and a gross error on his part. The infant town of Isabella should have presented a somewhat more prosperous appearance before he attempted further settlement; the colony should have become somewhat acclimated, its health restored, before mining operations were commenced in the sterile mountains of Cibao. The consequence of this premature journey was, that but little advantage accrued to the Spaniards from mining which was commenced under such adverse circumstances.

The fort of San Tomas being built, it was garrisoned with fifty men, under Don Pedro Margarite, a gentleman who possessed the confidence of both the sovereigns, and whom Columbus himself professed greatly to esteem. The latter then set out on his return to Isabella; he found that colony languishing and perishing fast, for lack of provisions and the unhealthiness of the situation. He seems to have been singularly infelicitous in his selection of locations; for this same town of Isabella, though Columbus, in his letters to the sovereigns, had dwelt largely upon the advantages of its situation, was afterward abandoned, and, when deserted, became an object of dread and horror, not only on account of its extreme unhealthiness, but also of the terrible cruelties and crimes which had been perpetrated against the Spaniards within its walls. So great was the horror with which it was regarded, that cries and groans were reported to resound through its deserted streets, while visions of headless cavaliers appeared to the superstitious.

To quell the discontent which was daily increasing, and was wellnigh turned into desperation, Columbus sent four hundred of the least sickly of the colonists to the interior; Ojeda was to replace Margarite in the superintendence of the mines of Cibao and in the command of Fort San Tomas, while the latter was to lead the four hundred men on a raid through the country. We are told that Columbus enjoined justice toward the natives, and

forbade violence; but, when we read that he instructed Margarite to conduct his expedition with the twofold object of overawing the natives and of feeding his men, without drawing on the colony for supplies, while they were to use every means in their power to take the cazique Caonabo prisoner, we are well assured Columbus never proposed the raid to be effected without violence.

SPANISH CRUELTIES.—(From De Bry's Las Casas.)

CHAPTER XVII.

FURTHER EXPLORATIONS.—CUBA DECLARED TO BE ASIA.

HAVING as he supposed insured the tranquillity of the colony, Columbus now intrusted its government to his brother Diego as president, with Bishop Boyle, who had been appointed by the Pope apostolic nuncio to those regions, and others as councilors, and sailed on a further voyage of discovery on the 24th of April, 1494.

During this voyage he discovered the island of Jamaica, and many smaller ones, but its most important feature was his coasting the island of Cuba under the impression that it was (or rather with a determination to represent it as) the Continent of Asia. Here his interpreter fails him, we are told; the Cuban dialects differing from those of the other islands.

Historians consider this as some excuse or palliation for the fables which our hero pretended to have heard from the natives, such as the existence of men with tails, who wore clothes to hide their deformity; and of a mighty monarch, entitled saint, who never spoke, but gave forth his commands in signs; and others equally absurd. It is said, so eager was Columbus to believe himself in Asia, that he readily misinterpreted signs, and regarded them as corroboration of his opinion that he was in the territory of the grand-khan. It is evident, however, that these stories were invented by him, that he might appear to be in those regions which Sir John Mandeville, Polo, and others, had described, and near the dominion of the fabled and saintly Prince Prester John.

That he knew he was not in Asia is evident from the extraordinary measures he took to convince the world he had reached that continent.

Had he been assured of that fact, he would have trusted to further investigation to establish its verity; on the other hand, if he knew he was practising a fraud, he would endeavor to procure as much testimony as possible to insure that fraud's gaining credence.

Which was the case, the reader may judge from the following passage in Irving's "History of Columbus," which scarcely needs comment:

"The admiral was determined, however, that the fact should not rest merely on his own assertion, having had recent proofs of a disposition to gainsay his statements and depreciate his discoveries. He sent round, therefore, a public notary, Fernand Perez de Luna, to each of the vessels, accompanied by four witnesses, who demanded formally of every person on board, from the captain to the ship-boy, whether he had any doubt that the land before him was a continent, the beginning and the end of the Indies, by which any one might return overland to Spain, and, by pursuing the coast of which, they could soon arrive among civilized people. If any one entertained a doubt, he was called upon to express it, that it might be removed.[104] On board the vessels were several experienced navigators, and men well versed in the geographical knowledge of the times. They examined their maps and charts, and the reckonings and journals of the voyage, and after deliberating maturely declared under oath that they had no doubt upon the subject. . . . Lest they should subsequently, out of malice or caprice, contradict the opinion thus solemnly avowed, it was proclaimed by the notary that whoever should offend in such a manner, if an officer, should pay a penalty of *ten thousand maravedis;* if a ship-boy or person of the like rank, he *should receive a hundred lashes and have his tongue cut out.* A formal statement was afterward drawn up by the notary, including the depositions and names of every individual."

Here Columbus, not content with speaking and writing a falsehood, *is guilty of subornation of perjury.* He manufactures perjury wholesale, which felony he would perpetuate by the barbarous means of scourging and cutting out the tongues of those who should speak the truth. Thus, by a system unknown

[104] Had there been any such hesitation, what followed renders it probable that any doubt expressed would have been very forcibly removed.

to Thales and Ptolemy, original if not scientific, did the much-lauded navigator and astronomer, the pious and humane "admiral," determine the latitude and longitude of the island of Cuba.[105]

We have given this incident in the language of Irving, that it may be seen how the extreme partiality of an author will so blind him to justice that he can record a deed as shameful as the above without pronouncing one word of censure upon its author.

COLUMBUS EXACTS AN OATH FROM HIS CREW THAT CUBA IS ASIA.

Having thus secured his reputation, Columbus turned once more toward Hispaniola. At the island of Saona, an eclipse took place, in observing which he made a mistake of more than eighteen degrees.[106]

Near the island of San Juan, whither he was going to capture some natives, he fell into a lethargy, which deprived him of sense and memory, an attack which Las Casas declares to have been sent as a "punishment to the admiral for the cruel manner in which he sought to propagate Christianity." We

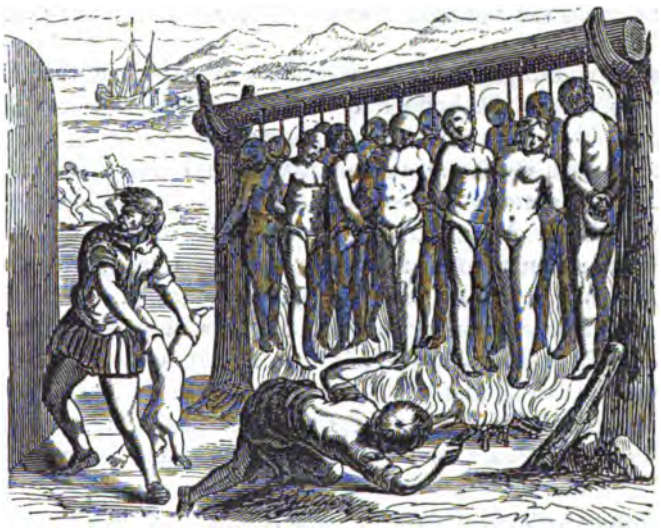
[105] The documents containing the particulars of this forced perjury are to be found in Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. i., p. 162.

[106] Irving, "Columbus," book vii., chapter vii.

should rather say, for the cruel manner in which he sought to enrich himself.

On arriving at Isabella, and recovering from his illness, he learned that his brother Bartholomew, whose voyage to England we have alluded to, had arrived.

On this brother, who afterward so ably seconded his measures of cruelty and oppression, he immediately conferred the rank of *adelantado*, or lieutenant-governor, a stretch of authority which the sovereigns resented, as they only had a right to confer titles.



SPANISH CRUELTIES.—(From De Bry's Las Casas.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISORDERS IN THE ISLAND.—MARGARITE AND BISHOP BOYLE RETURN TO SPAIN, BEARING COMPLAINTS AGAINST COLUMBUS.

THE island had grown more and more disorderly during Columbus's absence; all hope of peaceful relations between the Spaniards and natives had forever disappeared—as no doubt he intended should be the case—for, while the Indians remained peaceable and friendly, there was no excuse for enslaving them. The expedition of Margarite had roused them to hostility. As the Spaniards marched through the country, they seized all they could lay hands on. Their avarice, licentiousness, and brutality, exceeded all bounds; the principal caziques, with the exception of the faithful Guacanagari, joined in a league to expel the tyrants who thus violated the hospitality which had been so generously tendered them. Don Pedro Margarite, placed at the head of a hungry band, who were charged to march through the country and maintain themselves as best they could, found it impossible to enforce discipline. He saw with dismay the growing disorder throughout the colony, and felt that it should be remedied as speedily as possible, and the sovereigns made acquainted with the true state of things, that they might enforce measures for the proper government of the island.

This appears to have been the motive which induced Margarite, Bishop Boyle, and several Castilian nobles, to return to Spain in the ships which had brought out Bartholomew Columbus.

Bishop Boyle seems to have had peculiar reasons for hastening to Europe. He had been constituted, by the Pope, apostolic vicar and head of the Church in the Western lands. In this capacity he had remonstrated with Columbus on his cruel govern-

ment, the latter paying no heed to ecclesiastical censure (by which it will be seen how sincere was his profession of love for the Church). Bishop Boyle excommunicated him; whereupon he refused to furnish the Pope's vicar and his attendants with any provisions, and they were literally starved out of the island, or, in the mild words of one author, Columbus's strong advocate, "Father Boyle was forced to take his departure the first opportunity, carrying with him heavy complaints against the justice of the admiral,"[107] with some reason, we should judge. His action, however, excites great indignation among historians, as also that of Margarite. Irving says the latter "and Boyle had hastened to Spain to make false representations of the miseries of the island."

Now, these miseries, according to Irving himself, could scarcely be exaggerated. Sickness and death still prevailed; nobles were compelled to work hard, and fare scantily. They rightly considered themselves deceived, and their indignation against the perpetrator of the deception was excusable—nay, justifiable.

We can readily imagine, however, the dismay with which Columbus heard of these departures. So long as his accounts of the islands were the only ones to reach the sovereigns, he could ever invent a plausible tale to win their approval. Margarite, however, with no inducements to misrepresent facts, would expose the falsehoods of which he had been guilty, and our hero was not unnaturally alarmed.

He turned his attention, however, to the unhappy Indians. Hearing that a body of the latter was advancing on Isabella, he attacked them, taking five hundred prisoners, to be sent as slaves to Spain. Henceforth he will no more speak of enslaving cannibals only, as he finds *prisoners of war* more available.

The capture of Caonabo was now his great object. To effect it, he employed the dauntless Alonzo de Ojeda. The expedition, no doubt, offered more peril than he himself was willing to encounter. He it was, however, who instructed Ojeda how to proceed; and the baseness and treachery of those instructions are well worthy of their author.

Ojeda appeared in the dominion of the cazique, declaring that he came on a friendly mission from Columbus. Caonabo,

[107] Spotorno, "Historia Memoria," p. 86.

who admired the bravery of Ojeda, received him courteously. The latter carried with him a set of fetters, highly wrought and polished. These, he told the chief, were ornaments, and induced him to don them as such, and to mount a horse, an animal of which the Indians stood greatly in awe. Alonzo persuaded Caonabo that all this was done to honor him. The latter was delighted to exhibit himself thus mounted and accoutred before his tribe, but Alonzo suddenly wheeled round with his little band of horsemen, and fled rapidly with the captured chief. The victim of this fraud ever, we are told, evinced the greatest contempt for Columbus, refusing to rise in his presence, while he did so deferentially whenever Ojeda appeared, thus evincing, he said, his respect for the one who had dared to execute what the other had only basely planned.

Soon after these events, Antonio de Torres returned from Spain, with four ships, bearing the provisions of which the famishing colony stood so much in need. He brought back with him Columbus's dispatches to the sovereigns, and the comments which the latter affixed thereto, in which they approved, as we have seen, all his proposals, except those relating to the enslavement of the Indians.

This approbation was very grateful to Columbus, but his delight must have been considerably embittered by the knowledge that they approved of his acts as he had represented them; and that, when Margarite and Boyle should have reached Spain, and informed them of the tyranny he practised, their praise would change to censure.

Thenceforth, indeed, the falsehoods of Columbus are discovered. He had shown how miserably incapable he was to govern, and the sovereigns lost confidence in him more and more; nor did his quarrels with every one with whom he had dealings serve to restore him to favor—a fact which cannot surprise us. A governor or other official of the present day, who should incur the enmity of all his colleagues, collectively and successively, would not be regarded with much confidence. The public would be apt to suppose that, where all were so unanimous in disapproving, there must have been some matter for disapproval.

Columbus commenced with his benefactor Pinzon, continued with Margarite, for whom he had first professed great esteem; with Bishop Boyle, the representative of the Church to which

he professed such devotion; and thenceforth he disagreed with every one who took part with him in the affairs of the island.

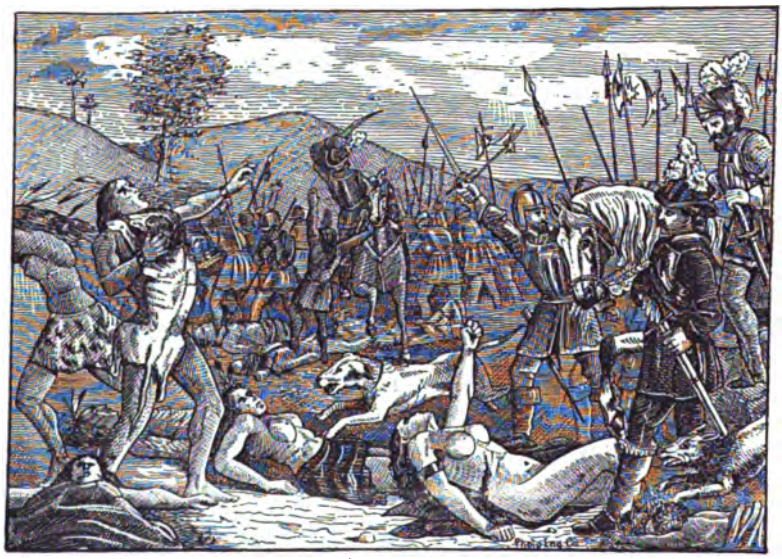
The ships with which Torres had returned were immediately sent back to Spain with all the gold Columbus had been able to collect. This, however, was but a small quantity; and, as he feared Isabella's displeasure when she should receive no pecuniary profit from his enterprise, after his large promises, he sent over the five hundred Indians, to be sold as slaves, hoping that, when he declared them to be prisoners of war, her scruples would be allayed.

He must indeed have possessed great confidence that the sovereigns, when they found the Indians likely to be the only source of wealth to be derived from their new possessions, would consent to their enslavement; or else great hardihood, when he dared send back five hundred of the harmless natives of Hispaniola, in the very ships which had brought out the prohibition of king and queen against the enslavement even of those he declared to be cannibals.

When these ships had departed, hearing that the natives were collecting in large numbers in the Vega Real, Columbus sallied out to attack them. It is not said that they were either interfering with or molesting the Spaniards, but, as they did not answer his purpose, and procured him neither gold nor slaves, he suddenly divined hostile intentions on their part, and, the better to convert this heathen people to Christianity—such was his avowed object—he marched an army of Christians (?) with their horses and dogs into their midst. "He had with him," says Irving, "twenty bloodhounds, fearless and ferocious; when once they seized their prey, nothing could compel them to relinquish their hold." The horses, urged on by their cruel riders, bore down upon the unarmed and defenseless people, striking them to the earth, and trampling upon them; the horsemen dealt blows on all sides, with spear or lance, and the blows were not returned; none of these butchered and terrified Indians made the least resistance, while the bloodhounds, scarce more savage than their masters, sprang upon the naked bodies of the prostrate and the fleeing, dragging them to the earth and tearing out their bowels; those who escaped the slaughter were sold into slavery worse than death.[108]

[108] Irving, "Columbus," book viii., chapter vi.

Leaving the hideous and ghastly scene of butchery, and assuming the air of a conqueror, Columbus now traversed the island, and proceeded to extort an immense revenue from the unoffending inhabitants. Ever greedy for gold, he required every person, above the age of fourteen years, to pay the amount of that metal which would fill a Flemish hawk-bell (about fifteen dollars) every three months; the chiefs paid a much larger quantity. In vain the poor islanders, crushed by this imposition, remonstrated; in vain the chiefs, in lieu thereof, offered to cultivate for him a breadth of land stretching across the island



SLAUGHTER IN THE VEGA REAL.

from sea to sea—enough, according to Las Casas, to furnish all Castile with bread for ten years: Columbus was inexorable; gold he must have, if it cost the life-blood of every Indian in the island to procure it! Herrera, in the following passage, furnishes an example of the tenderness with which the biographers of this man dealt with his worst crimes: "Columbus," he writes, "like a discreet man, being sensible that the wealth he sent must be his support, he pressed for gold, *though in other respects he was a good Christian and feared God*," which may be rightly interpreted thus: Columbus was cruel, avaricious, dishonest,

but in other respects, and except where he failed, he was a good Christian!

The unfortunate Indians, reduced by Columbus and his brothers to the most abject slavery history has recorded, filled with despair, and seeing no prospect of relief from the oppression which had so suddenly and terribly fallen upon them, fled from their homes, which were homes no longer; from the haunts of the Christian to the mountains and caves; but Columbus relentlessly pursued them, and would have compelled them

ENSLAVEMENT OF THE INDIANS.

to return, but they sought refuge in the wildest, most inaccessible parts of the island; famished mothers, with starving children clinging around them or clasped in their arms, hid themselves in the mountain recesses, or, faint and broken-hearted, died by the wayside. The men dared neither hunt nor fish to appease the wants of their perishing families, lest Columbus and his bloodhounds should be upon them. Thousands perished; others, vanquished by hunger, delivered themselves up to their task-masters and returned to die in the mines and fields under the cruel lash of the Spaniard.

Not even the faithful Guacanagari was exempted from tribute; he found, indeed, that the day in which he had assisted the

shipwrecked Columbus, he had taken a serpent into his bosom. He and his followers were as cruelly oppressed as those Indians who had been hostile to the Spaniards.

This method of exacting tribute and labor, inaugurated by Columbus, may be considered the origin of the cruel system of *repartimientos* which afterward prevailed in the West Indies.

Columbus had not been mistaken in his apprehensions of the effect the reports of Margarite and Boyle would have at the court of Spain. The story of the tyranny and cruelty practised by their admiral, alarmed the sovereigns, and they determined to investigate the matter; but, actuated no doubt by a desire to spare Columbus any unnecessary humiliation, they sent, as commissioner for this investigation, Juan Aguado, for whom the former professed the strongest friendship; they rightly supposed this friendliness between the two would prevent the latter from believing accusations blindly, but would cause him to be certain they were well founded before giving them credence. Upon his arrival, his investigations more than corroborated the statements of Margarite; on all sides, from noble and commoner, Spaniard and native, rose bitter complaints against the inhuman admiral and viceroy.

Historians, commenting upon this fact, say that an unfortunate man always finds accusers. They forget that, if ever Columbus was prosperous, these were the days of his prosperity. The last dispatches from the Spanish sovereigns had contained approval and praise, nevertheless all with one accord rose to denounce him; such unanimity would have been impossible, had he been faultless.

The result of Aguado's investigation was such, that in pure justice he strove to redress some of the existing wrongs; by this action he not only incurred the undying enmity of Columbus, but is vilified by historians, though the unfortunate man's only crime seems to have been that, when sent out to make investigations, he performed his mission conscientiously. The fact that his corroboration, as an impartial and disinterested party, of the accusations so universally made, is a strong evidence of Columbus's guilt, seems to escape notice. He does not appear to have abused his authority; he collected all the evidence and information required, and then proposed to return to Spain and make his report.

Columbus was now seriously alarmed, and resolved to return thither also, and make what defense he might. A tremendous hurricane, however, swept over the island and destroyed the entire fleet, which lay at anchor, with the exception of the Niña; the latter had to be repaired, and another vessel was built out of the wrecks; this retarded the departure alike of Columbus and Aguado.

During the delay, Columbus was informed of the discovery of other gold-mines, more productive than those of Cibao, in a beautiful region of the interior; they were discovered by a young Spaniard who had fled, having, as he supposed, murdered a comrade. On his reappearance with tidings of gold, Columbus, we are told, not only pardoned but looked upon him with great favor,[109] and proceeded to explore the new region, being desirous of abandoning Isabella, which he now considered as objectionable as Navidad.

[109] Irving, "Columbus," book viii., chapter x. The gold he declared potent to save from the pangs of purgatory, he thus proved to be equally potent in averting the gallows and the penitentiary.

CHAPTER XIX.

RETURN OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN.—HIS THIRD VOYAGE.

HAVING sent his brother to examine the situation of the mines, who returned with favorable reports, and the vessels being now ready to sail, Columbus embarked in one and Aguado in the other; as many of the Spaniards as could, availed themselves of this opportunity of returning to their native land. The voyage was a long and disastrous one; the crew were half famished and in sorry plight when, on the 11th of June, 1496, they entered the bay of Cadiz, from which they had departed with such glowing hopes. "Never did a more miserable and disappointed crew return from a land of promise," says Irving. He forgets to add, whose misrepresentations were the cause of all this misery and disappointment.

A month elapsed before Columbus received a summons to appear at court, and his guilty conscience made him greatly fear for his reception there; his abject humility, as he proceeded to Burgos, contrasted as strikingly with his vaunting return from his first voyage, as did the splendid promises he had then made, with the miserable reality which had now become apparent.

Clad in the garb of a monk, with cringing humility apparent in mien and gesture, he appeared before the sovereigns. They received him more graciously than he had expected; some historians declare that no allusion whatever was made to the accusation of Margarite and Boyle; others go so far as to say that the sovereigns loaded him with benefits and praise; all agree, however, while making these assertions, that his fortunes are henceforth under a cloud, that the nation ridiculed him, and

that the confidence of Ferdinand and Isabella was shaken. Bossi admits that it was intimated to him that he had best moderate the rigor of his rule in the islands; it is probable, therefore, that he received some censure.

In vain, to recover what prestige he ever possessed, did he announce that he had discovered that land of Ophir whence Solomon procured his gold; in vain did he dwell upon the advantages to be derived from his visit to Cuba, which, he averred, was the eastern extremity of Asia. His disheartened companions told a different tale. He met on all sides with derision, which the recollection of the pompous boasting he had indulged in on his return from his first voyage only served to increase; he became the butt of well-earned ridicule—an example of how falsehood and fraud will oftentimes turn to plague the inventor.

Though Isabella may have refrained from publicly disgracing the admiral, her actions show plainly what credit she gave his statements.

For a year and a half, he daily represented the necessity of sending out ships and provisions to Hispaniola. At the end of that time, two caravels were sent, under one *Coronal;* but he himself could not procure the squadron he solicited, with which to prosecute his discoveries—lack of funds was the excuse with which he was put off from day to day and month to month. Yet this excuse can hardly be considered valid, for, at that very period, a magnificent fleet of upward of a hundred vessels (we believe, a hundred and twenty), having on board twenty thousand persons, convoyed the Princess Juana to Flanders, for her marriage with the Archduke of Austria.

While Columbus was importuning for a fleet, Pedro Niño, who had left Cadiz for Hispaniola immediately after the arrival of the former in that port, returned to Spain, and circulated a report that he had on board much gold, in bars, the fainting hopes of Columbus revived. He was instructed by the crown to defray the expenses of his expedition out of this gold, and an appropriation of six million maravedis, which he had just with difficulty procured, was transferred to another channel. What, then, was his mortification, when he discovered that Niño had returned with a cargo of Indians to be sold as slaves —alluding to their sale for gold, and to their present imprisonment, he termed them *gold in bars*—satirically implying by

this jest that they were likely to be the only gold derived from the islands.

If the boasting lies of Columbus had been derided before, how much greater did the derision now become! If he had been hitherto unable to procure vessels, how much less willing were the sovereigns now to make an outlay which, to all appearance, would profit them nothing!

A certain pride, however, forbade them wholly to abandon an enterprise in which they had embarked; and, to silence the importunities of Columbus, they ordered that such vessels as were necessary for the expedition should be *pressed* into the service, with their masters and pilots, and such remuneration to be offered the owners as the officers of the crown should think fit; their object being evidently to transfer the burden of the expenses from the crown to its subjects.

About this time, Columbus made his will, of which we shall require to speak more at length hereafter. He also succeeded in obtaining a revocation of a royal order which had been fulminated in 1495, by which subjects of Castile were allowed to make voyages of discovery at their own expense for the crown, a permission which he declared was in direct conflict with his interests, and *supplicated and begged as a favor* that it should be withdrawn.[110]

Six vessels were at length with difficulty procured. Columbus received permission to take out three hundred and thirty persons in royal pay, to colonize the islands; but so effectually had the Spaniards, who had already returned thence, succeeded in demonstrating the falseness of his representations, that it was found impossible to obtain the desired recruits. He then made a proposition, which proves alike his unprincipled character and the extremities to which he was reduced. He petitioned that malefactors might be released from their prisons, and expiate their offenses by a sojourn of two years or less in the new lands. To this proposition Isabella agreed, to her lasting dishonor; and, in so doing, effectually contradicts all who dwell upon her kindly disposition toward the unhappy Indians: such an element could hardly work for the good of their souls. The conversion intrusted to such hands must surely result in demoralizing, rather than elevating them. She and the pious admiral well knew that

[110] Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. ii., p. 224.

lawless criminals, whom society had deemed unsafe in Spain, would be a hundred-fold worse when far removed from restraint, and turned loose upon the unhappy natives.[111]

Though he had thus procured ships and crew, Columbus still had great difficulty in obtaining supplies—difficulty which his quarrelsome disposition increased, if it did not create. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz, had been appointed head, or superintendent, of the affairs of the Indies. He is one of the multitude who have been vilified by historians because he conscientiously performed the duties of his office, instead of becoming the creature of Columbus. Indeed it is a fact, which the careful reader cannot fail to observe, that, in order to make a great and noble man of the latter, his biographers are obliged to vilify every one of his contemporaries with whom he had any dealings of importance.

Fonseca, fortunately for the crown, opposed the extravagant demands of the admiral. The quarrel between them originated in his somewhat reasonable remonstrance against the appointment of *twenty esquires* to wait solely on the latter on his second departure for the primitive regions of the West. Notwithstanding the railings of Columbus and his partisans, there is every evidence of Fonseca's having been an efficient officer and meritorious man. Had it been otherwise, he would not, as he did, have retained the confidence of the Spanish sovereigns, and remained at the head of Indian affairs for upward of thirty years, despite the accusations and complaints of the admiral. And here is another contradiction of that sensational fiction which so popularly represents Isabella as constantly sympathizing with and befriending Columbus, while thwarted by her hus-

[111] The act, or order, which authorizes this exportation of criminals, is thus worded: ". . . We will and ordain that all and every person, men and women, our subjects and natives, who may have committed, up to the day of the publication of this our letter, any murders and offenses, and other crimes, of whatever nature and quality they may be" (heresy and others are excepted), "who shall go and serve in person in the island of Hispaniola, and shall serve in it at their own expense, and in those things which the said admiral shall command and specify to them on our part; namely, those who have incurred the punishment of death, for two years, and those who have incurred any other punishment, although it may be the loss of a limb, for one year; shall receive a pardon for every crime and misdeed, of whatsoever nature, quality, or gravity it may be, which they may have done or committed up to the day of the publication of this our letter, excepting the cases above mentioned, . . . and we reëstablish the said delinquents in their former good fame, and in the state in which they were, before they had done and committed the aforesaid crimes."

band and officials. It requires but a moment's reflection for the absurdity of this view, which is so universally entertained, to become apparent. She was sovereign of Castile. Her husband's power in that kingdom was merely nominal. His influence, therefore, would have been ineffectual in injuring Columbus, had she desired to patronize him; and, though her authority was not absolute, yet it would have sufficed to remove Fonseca, who is said to have been the bitter enemy of her so-called *protégé*. Had she been as desirous of favoring the latter as is represented, she would therefore have replaced the bishop by some one more friendly to his interests.

It is most probable that the queen, now thoroughly understanding the grasping character of her admiral, was only too glad to intrust the superintendence of his expenditure to one on whom she could rely, to check his extravagance and expose his frauds. The ill repute of Fonseca, like the fame of Columbus, has been chiefly the work of modern times. Irving himself, who brands him as vile and despicable, confesses that contemporary historians do not speak unfavorably of the bishop; and, though he accounts for the fact by supposing that prudence restrained them from expressing their true opinion, this is a gratuitous supposition on his part.

The amiable manner in which our admiral comported himself toward those with whom he came in contact is illustrated by his treatment of one Ximeno de Breviesca, the treasurer of Fonseca. Ximeno had some business with him just before his departure on this third voyage, and, having occasion to protest, or possibly only to transmit Fonseca's protestation against some of his demands, Columbus knocked him down, kicked and buffeted him in a most brutal manner. As one more example of how his most inexcusable acts receive the sanction of his biographers, we will again quote Mr. Irving, who seems to regard such conduct as far from blamable. "He struck the despicable minion to the ground, and *spurned* him repeatedly with his foot," says Mr. Irving, relating the above event, "venting in this unguarded paroxysm the accumulated griefs which had long rankled in his mind."

De Lorgues thus records this somewhat equivocally saint-like act:

"The patriarch of the ocean made a step toward his insulter,

and with his fist dealt a blow on his impudent face. The miserable wretch fell down stunned. The admiral *limited himself to giving a few kicks* to this vile snarler, who fled in the midst of hootings, concealing, under his humiliation and forced tears, his secret joy; for from that moment his fortune was made."

But De Lorgues denies that the above act was a "mark of ungovernable temper," and declares that, in perpetrating it, "Columbus did not yield to hastiness, or to the excitement of self-love," while it is evident that he desires us to admire the leniency of his hero, who *limited himself to giving a few kicks* to his prostrate victim.[112]

This outburst and insult to a public officer, which exposed the brutal vindictiveness of the man in all its violence, went far, as may be supposed, to confirm all the reports of his cruelties and insolence toward the Spaniards in Hispaniola. The sovereigns, when they heard of this outrage, committed within their own realm, must have readily conceived how the perpetrator would act when far removed from their supervision, and vested with supreme authority.

Leaving the remembrance of this last act, and the impression it must inevitably produce, to perform their work in Spain, Columbus set sail on the 30th of May, 1498, on his third voyage, in the name of the Holy Trinity.

At the Canary Islands he divided his fleet, and sent three vessels direct to Hispaniola, while he with the three others proceeded to the Cape Verde Islands, thence to sail due west under the equinoctial line, "it being his intention," says Fernando, "to discover the continent." Thus we perceive at once that, when in the island of Cuba he extorted the oath from his men that they were in Asia, he was perfectly aware of the perjury which he forced them to commit; for, had he then supposed he had discovered the continent, he would not now have declared that he was going to discover it.

His voyage lasted two months, part of which his vessels lay motionless in the scorching region of the calm latitudes; and, though he desired to pursue a southwesterly course, the condition of his ships forced him to make for Hispaniola.

On the 31st of July of this year, 1498, a sailor gave the cry

[112] De Lorgues, "Christophe Colomb," livre ii., chapter ix.

of land, and, shortly after, three mountains appeared, which, as the ships neared them, proved to be united at their bases. This circumstance Columbus interprets as a miracle, intending to show how acceptable were all his acts to the Almighty. He had sailed with his gang of thieves and murderers in the name of the Holy Trinity, and three mountains, symbolizing that Trinity, are the first land he descries. He gave the island (for such it was) the name of La Trinidad, which it bears to this day. He then rounded Cape Galera, which brought him to the southern side of the island; and it was while his vessels were taking in water at Point Alcatraz, the low lands of the Orinoco being visible from that point, that, according to all historians, he, on the 1st of August, 1498, beheld for the first time the Continent of America, which, in the preceding year, Amerigo Vespucci had visited, and coasted from the gulf of Honduras to Chesapeake Bay.[113] He was not, however, aware that the land before him was the continent, but imagined it to be another island.

The absurd story he tells of the sea rising like a high mountain, threatening to submerge the ships, is said by over-indulgent writers to have been the effect produced on his ardent imagination by the outpouring of the waters of the Orinoco into the ocean. To us it illustrates his character: the truth only would not, he feared, produce wonder enough. In his efforts to give supernatural semblance to all that occurred, he dealt largely in the marvelous. His age was one teeming with navigators, yet none of his contemporaries record such storms, such calms, such heat, such mutinous crews, such huge sea-monsters, as those which he imagined or invented.

Having escaped from this huge mountain of waters, he emerged from the northern strait which divides Trinidad from the continent, and which he named Boca del Drago, as he had already named the southern strait which formed the same division Boca del Sierpe.

Still in ignorance that the land before him was the continent, he coasted Paria in search of some outlet to the sea beyond. The natives received him kindly, and appeared more civilized than those he had found in the islands. Many of the women wore pearls, and he obtained a quantity of costly ones in ex-

[113] Cabot had also preceded Columbus, and reached North America on the 24th of June, 1497.

change for the merest trifles. At length, not finding the desired outlet, he concluded that this was the continent.

The description of this voyage, which he gives in a letter to the sovereigns, and the speculations in which he indulges to rouse their flagging interest, is certainly a valuable production as regards originality, and as a proof of the ignorance and absurdity of the man. Here he gives forth that truly novel theory that the earth is *pear-shaped.*

"I have always read," he writes, in a letter to their Catholic Majesties on his return from this voyage, "that the world, comprising the land and the water, was spherical, as is testified by the investigations of Ptolemy and others, who have proved it by the eclipses of the moon, and other observations made from east to west, as well as by the elevation of the pole from north to south.[114] But I have now seen so much irregularity, as I have already described, that I have come to another conclusion respecting the earth—namely, that it is not round, as they decribe, but of the form of a pear, which is very round, except where the stalk grows, at which part it is most prominent."

This opinion he bases upon the mildness of the climate in the Western Hemisphere near the equinoctial, as compared with the equatorial regions of Africa. This mildness he attributes to a gradual rise, or prominence, like a great mountain or upper portion of a pear. On the top of this mountain, or excrescence, *which is nearest the sky*, he declares the earthly paradise to be situated, which he proposes to add to the other possessions of their majesties.[115] There are not wanting men of intellect who,

[114] It is hereby rendered apparent that the theory of the earth's sphericity, which so many authors describe him as revealing to startled and incredulous contemporaries, was in his time, and had been for ages before it, generally accepted, and, in order to be novel, he is obliged to refute that theory.

[115] ". . . . I do not suppose that the earthly paradise is in the form of a rugged mountain, as the descriptions of it have made it appear, but, that it is on the summit of the spot which I have described as being in the form of the stalk of a pear, the approach to it from a distance must be by a constant and gradual ascent. . . . There are great indications of this being the terrestrial paradise, for its site coincides with the opinion of the holy and wise theologians whom I have mentioned; and, moreover, other evidences agree with the supposition. . . . But the more I reason on the subject, the more satisfied I become that the terrestrial paradise is situated in the spot I have described. . . . May it please the Lord to grant your highnesses a long life, and health and peace to follow out so noble an investigation!"—*Columbus's Letter to the Sovereigns, describing his Third Voyage*, 1498.

with more or less honesty, have defended this theory as plausible. We somewhat doubt that honesty, we confess, when we find that enthusiastic advocate for the canonization of Columbus, M. de Lorgues, asserting that in the above absurd speculation Columbus shows a knowledge of, if he did not discover, the inflation of the equator; we fail to see in it the faintest suspicion of equatorial inflation round the whole globe, which only diverges from a perfect sphere in so far as to become a slightly flattened one. He declares a prominence or excrescence to exist on *one* side of the globe, which is perfectly round on all other sides. He distinctly contrasts the region he speaks of with those of Africa, also situated on the equator. He also declares this excrescence to be *nearer the sky* than other parts of the globe. This totally defeats the idea of uniform inflation around its circumference, which evidently never for a moment entered the mind of Columbus.

In this letter, in which he describes in glowing colors the country, people, and productions of the continent, he forbears to speak of the pearls for which he had bartered with the natives, having, no doubt, a desire to keep them for himself as perquisites. This silence will hereafter bring him into trouble, as his men were well aware of the pearls being in his possession, and proclaimed the fact on their arrival in Hispaniola.

He now determined to return to that island. He had an infirmity of the eyes, which nearly deprived him of sight, and suffered from a disease which is reported to have been gout, though how that fatal consequence of ease and high living could attack one leading such a life as his requires explanation.

He made for Isabella, but arrived instead at San Domingo, the new colony on the south side, an inexactitude of calculation which is among the least perpetrated by "the admiral."

On his arrival he was met by the *adelantado*, Bartholomew Columbus, who gave him a woful account of the condition of the island. The lands were uncultivated, the people sick and dying, while the authority of his brothers, and even his own, was being questioned.

CHAPTER XX.

REBELLION OF ROLDAN.—CRUELTIES OF COLUMBUS.—MURDER OF MOXICA.

THE particulars of this rebellion form one of the most disgraceful pages in the history of Columbus; it illustrates alike his treachery, cowardice, and inability to rule, save by the grossest tyranny.

After his departure for Spain, his brother Bartholomew, whom he left in charge of the government, adopted forthwith the severest measures, constantly traveling from one part of the island to another, allowing the unfortunate Spaniards neither rest nor quiet, sternly exacting from the still more unfortunate natives enormous tribute; the latter revolted, but were speedily vanquished, their leaders put to cruel deaths, and a still heavier tribute imposed upon the masses.

Francisco Roldan had been appointed by Columbus *alcalde*, mayor or chief-justice of the island. It is difficult to form a just estimate of this man from the perusal of the histories of Columbus; nevertheless, as Fernando, who writes in his father's interest, says that he (Roldan) "acted from a pretense to further the public good," and, as through all his proceedings enough is apparent to prove that this was at least one of his motives, if not the principal, and as, moreover, he constituted himself the friend and protector of the Indians, we may infer that he was really far more meritorious than the generality of those who obtained office through the aid of Columbus. It soon became apparent, however, that he did not intend to become the blind partisan of the latter by disregarding the duties of his office. A manly frankness characterizes his dealings with Columbus and

his brothers which commands respect. Incensed alike by the cruelties practised toward the Indians and the hardships imposed upon the Spaniards by the harsh and restless spirit of the *adelantado*, and discouraged at the deplorable condition of the island, he requested that a certain ship which the *adelantado* had built might be fitted out to convey him and some other cavaliers to Spain, there to lay their grievances before the sovereigns. His request was denied, upon the pretense that the ship was in want of tackle. This can hardly have been true, for it had but just returned with a heavy cargo of cotton, etc., from the district of Xaragua, ruled by Anacaona, widow of Caonabo, and Behechio, his brother, where it had been to collect tribute. Roldan was not deceived by the excuse; he represented to his friends that the tyrannical measures of the *adelantado* were unlawful, inasmuch as he had received his rank from the admiral, who had no right to confer titles, and declared that, in virtue of his office, he had determined to release the oppressed natives from the excessive tribute imposed upon them. His friends, who appear to have been the best men in the island,[116] agreed to sustain him in these measures. He received particularly ready assistance from Adrian de Moxica, a gentleman of wealth and standing, whose kinsman, Hernando de Guevara, had become enamored of and desired to wed a daughter of Queen Anacaona, and therefore ardently sought to further the interests of her people.

Roldan and his followers, determined no longer to recognize the authority of the *adelantado*, left Isabella. So great was the unpopularity or conscious guilt of the latter, that he dared not resent this proceeding, but sent a safe-conduct to Roldan, petitioning for an interview. Roldan reiterated his demand for a vessel, which was again refused upon the same grounds. He then not unnaturally inferred, what was probably the case, namely, that the *adelantado* was by no means desirous that an account of his proceedings should reach Spain. He strove to divest Roldan of his office; the latter very justly objected that their majesties alone—to whom the islands belonged—or their accredited representative could remove him; and declared, moreover,

[116] Fernando tells us that the few Spaniards who remained with the *adelantado*, were bribed to do so by the promise of two slaves apiece, to be given them if they did not go over to Roldan.—*Historia del Amirante*, chapter lxxv.

that the sovereigns did not wish the Indians to suffer as they did, nor the Spaniards to be so oppressed.[117]

He prepared to leave the city with his followers. The *adelantado* refused them provision. He therefore forced open the magazines in the king's name, took what he required, and proceeded to Xaragua, releasing the Indians on his way from tribute, and assuring them that all their Catholic Majesties required of them was that they should be good subjects.[118]

When Columbus returned to Hispaniola, and was made acquainted with these events, his first act was to proclaim Roldan and his followers rebels; but he seems to have hesitated in becoming openly hostile to him: he sent one Carvajal to offer him a safe-conduct and pardon for the past, if he would return to his allegiance.

Six hundred Indians, who had been made prisoners because their cazique had failed to pay tribute, were at that time confined on board five ships, to be sent to Spain as slaves, the ships only waiting till Columbus should be able to write that affairs in the island were quiet, before sailing. Roldan therefore made answer to Columbus's envoy that he desired and required no pardon, having committed no offense, but he merely requested that these Indians, whom he had taken under his protection, should be set at liberty; that he was acting legally, and that it was Columbus who, by enslaving them, disobeyed the royal commands. The latter refused to liberate the Indians, but sent them out immediately to Spain, dwelling, in his letter to the sovereigns, upon the advantages that would accrue to their treasury from the sale of four thousand yearly, at the same time reporting Roldan's insubordination.

Fear, however, or the conviction that his own cause was weak, induced him still to endeavor to come to an understanding with the latter, who, thus urged, drew up articles, and promised, on condition of Columbus signing them, to cease hostilities. This Columbus refused to do, saying that, were he to sign, he would bring himself, his brothers, and justice, into disrepute.[119] As Roldan, however, remained inexorable, Columbus, notwithstanding the above declaration, acceded to all his requests, which were, in substance, that two good ships should be fitted out, in

[117] "Historia del Amirante," chapters lxxv., lxxvi.
[118] Idem., chapter lxxvi. [119] Idem., chapter lxxx.

which he and such of his followers as wished to do so, might return to Spain, with an assurance that neither the admiral nor his friends should molest them. That those returning to Spain should receive certificates of good conduct, it was stipulated that the conditions precedent should be performed within ten days after the signing of the contract, or the agreement was to become void, Roldan, on his part, pledging himself to depart within fifty days after receiving the vessels.

Throughout all these proceedings, Columbus had been the suitor, Roldan the sued, which appears inconsistent with the reports of his bad behavior. Had he really been so blamable, Columbus would not have been so desirous to come to terms with him, but would have trusted to the royal power for bringing him to subjection. He knew that Roldan, in his protection of the Indians, and his remonstrances against the tyranny of himself and his brothers, was essentially in the right, and would be so regarded by the crown when the truth should be learned.

The agreement was signed November, 1498. It was not till the following April that two ships were furnished Roldan. He and his followers refused to embark, not so much because they had not arrived within the prescribed time, as because they were worm-eaten and insufficiently furnished with provisions, two somewhat awkward impediments to a long sea-voyage; he therefore declared his intention of seeking redress from the crown. This alarmed Columbus. He sent, in haste, another safe-conduct, and requested Roldan to come and treat with him. The latter accepted his invitation, and, fearlessly going on board the admiral's fleet, obtained the following terms:

All his followers who desired, should return to Spain by the first ships;

That those remaining behind should receive lands and houses;

That a proclamation should be made, that Roldan and his followers had been forced to act as they had by the fault of bad men;

That Roldan should be reappointed perpetual chief-justice, with power to appoint all subordinate justices.

Thus did the admiral reward the man whom he had accused of rebellion, attempted murder, treason, and robbery, by conferring upon him the highest office at his disposal.

If he were indeed guilty of the crimes imputed to him, noth-

ing can excuse the dastardly conduct of Columbus in thus promoting him; if, on the other hand, he had only justly taken up arms against the tyranny and incompetency to rule of Columbus and his brothers, their cruelty and duplicity stand revealed. These transactions, therefore, whatever view we may take of them—whether we regard Roldan, as do the majority of historians, as a lawless rebel, or, what is more probable, as one who fearlessly and perseveringly stood up for the rights of his countrymen and the oppressed Indians—the part played by Columbus is alike despicable and revolting.

Not only did he give this so-called rebel office and justification, but conferred on him lands and other favors. When he, however, asked to visit these lands (a not unnatural request, it would seem), we are told that the admiral reluctantly consented.

On his way to Xaragua, Roldan appointed one of his friends *alcalde*, or justice. This appointment, though of no material importance, yet furnishes another proof of how modern authors have strayed still farther from the truth in their attempts to make Columbus immaculate, than contemporary writers. Mr. Irving says Columbus was justly indignant at this appointment, Roldan having no power to appoint associate justices. Fernando Columbus, who, as has been shown, does not always adhere strictly to the truth, and who may justly be supposed to represent his father in as favorable a light as possible, and not to palliate the faults of his father's enemies, allows that in the matter of this appointment Roldan was right. He says the latter "appointed Riquielme alcalde, *it being a part of his grant to appoint other alcaldes.*" [120]

How, then, can it be asserted that Columbus was *justly* indignant at an officer's properly exercising the functions of his office?

Two ships finally set sail for Spain in October, 1499, bearing thither many of Roldan's adherents, whom Columbus had presented with slaves and certificates of their good character and conduct on the island. These, however, he privately contradicted by secreting on board of one of the very ships, in the keeping of one of his confidants, a letter to the sovereigns, wherein he accused Roldan of the most heinous crimes, begged them not to give credence to the certificates of good character, as the men to whom he had furnished them were murderers, rebels, and

[120] "Historia del Amirante," chapter lxxxiii.

thieves, whom he advised their majesties to have seized immediately on their arrival, stripped of their possessions, and severely punished. It is difficult to imagine conduct at once more treacherous, despicable, and pusillanimous, than this.[121]

He also requested that a judge should be sent to administer justice in the island, said judge to be paid by him, and whose duties were to be so specified that they should not interfere with his prerogatives.[122] Such a justice, powerful to do the will of Columbus, but powerless against him, would have been a sorry acquisition for Hispaniola.

It was in this year, 1499, that Amerigo Vespucci, on his return from his second voyage, provisions falling short, put in at Hispaniola upon the suggestion of Alonza de Ojeda. Columbus immediately sent Roldan to express his indignation at their having landed without his permission. The latter found a party of the ship's crew busily engaged in making cassava-bread in an Indian village, thus demonstrating the innocence and necessity of their visit.

Alonzo de Ojeda was the nominal commander of the expedition, as the grant, allowing citizens to prosecute discoveries at their own expense for the crown, only extended to subjects of Castile. Vespucci was an Italian, in the service of the King of Aragon. It was Ojeda, therefore, who showed Roldan the papers authorizing the expedition, duly signed by Fonseca, head of the affairs of the Indies. This was unanswerable; but Ojeda, with more generosity than judgment, is said to have declared himself the patron of the many Spaniards, who, remembering his impulsive bravery, flocked around him, telling him their grievances—representing that they had received no pay since their arrival in the island, though the crown provided for their remuneration.

Ojeda promised to redress their wrongs, and to compel Columbus to pay them; at the same time bidding them put no faith in the promises of the latter, as he would only fulfill them so long as necessity compelled him to do so.[123]

He, moreover, informed them of what was soon to become apparent—namely, that the admiral was far from being in favor

[121] Irving, book xii., chapter v

[122] Letter of Columbus to Doña Juana de la Torres.—Irving, book xii., chapter v.

[123] "Historia del Amirante," chapter lxxxiv.

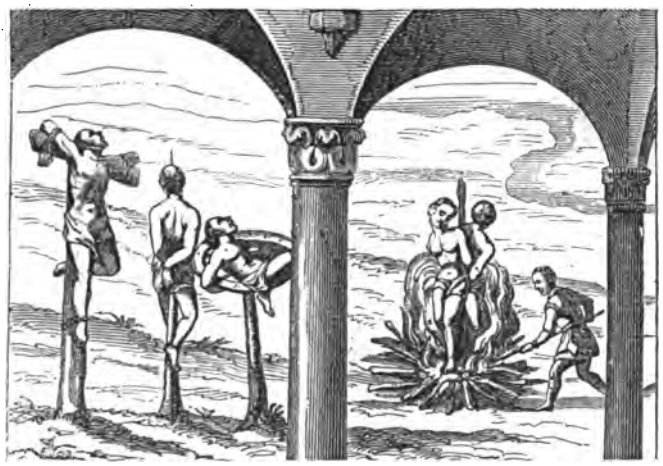
at the court of Spain, where only unfavorable reports of him had been received. He predicted, not without reason, as will be seen, the speedy and total downfall of the tyrant.

Roldan met the expedition, at the head of which Ojeda had placed himself. The latter remembering, perhaps, that he had been sent upon a voyage of discovery, and not to enforce justice, retired to his ship, and, after some further skirmishing and parleying, set sail for Spain.

We have mentioned the young Fernando de Guevara, who was desirous of wedding the daughter of Anacaona. That a young Spanish cavalier should become the lawful husband of an Indian maiden would be a dangerous blow to the policy of Columbus, which was to degrade and enslave the natives. He foresaw this would become impossible when these unfortunates should acquire allies among the Spaniards united to them by the strong ties of blood. Guevara was, therefore, forbidden to marry the young princess, and ordered to leave the island in Ojeda's ships. When we remember that Columbus had instructed Roldan to drive Ojeda from the island as a pirate, his presumption in sending a passenger for transport on board an enemy's ship, while a monstrous wrong to Guevara, was strictly in keeping with his general line of conduct. Finding that Ojeda had already departed, and feeling the injustice and cruelty with which he was treated, Guevara resolved to persevere, and to marry the Indian princess. He therefore secreted himself in the house of her mother, and sent for a priest to baptize his bride. He was discovered and driven out by the authorities, but with touching persistency returned once more, when he was made prisoner and conducted to the fortress of San Domingo, there to await the punishment of so heinous a crime as that of loving faithfully and honestly an Indian maiden. This persistent and lawful attachment, in the face of tyranny and persecution, is termed by Columbus a rebellion; and because Adrian de Moxica, kinsman to the unfortunate youth, remonstrated against his imprisonment, he was accused of "joining in the rebellion." After requesting the release of Guevara, and being refused, he set out with six or seven followers, to endeavor, it is said, to liberate him. Columbus, hearing of this, with his accustomed treachery came upon the little band unawares in the night, and made them prisoners.

De Lorgues, who seems not very unjustly to consider this act as militating somewhat against the canonization of Columbus, which he so strenuously advocates, denies his perpetration of it, and lays it to the charge of Roldan, a violation of truth too daring for any former historian to have attempted, as even the eulogists and most ardent admirers of Columbus admit his part in this atrocious crime. Muñoz circumstantially relates how Roldan left to the admiral the judgment of Moxica; how the admiral, in the dead of night, made the latter prisoner, conducted him to the fortress of Concepcion, and had him executed.[124]

The murder of Moxica was but a commencement of the summary proceedings of Columbus. He and his brother set out upon an expedition through the island, taking with them a priest. Wherever they came upon a disaffected Spaniard, he was seized, the priest confessed him, and he was hanged forthwith; this was done, we read, "that the Indians might be again brought to pay their tributes, to the end that their majesties might have wherewith to defray the expenses they were at, and the *admiral's enemies might give over railing.*" [125]



From PHILOPONO. (Nova Typis, etc.)

"The Indians were submissive, dreading the admiral, and so desirous to please him that they readily became Christians only to oblige him."—"Historia del Amirante," chapter lxxxiv.

[124] Muñoz, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo," libro vi., p. 338.
[125] Herrera, "West Indies," Decade I., book iv., chapter i.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISPLEASURE OF THE SOVEREIGNS AGAINST COLUMBUS.—THEY SEND OUT BOBADILLA TO INVESTIGATE HIS CONDUCT.—ACTION OF BOBADILLA.

WHILE Columbus thus outraged decency and humanity in the island of Hispaniola, his downfall was impending on the other side of the ocean. The king and queen, considering the many complaints made against him, as also the evident misrule prevailing in their Western possessions, the persistent export of slaves against their express command, and his repeated falsehoods and exaggerations, wisely resolved that his rule in Hispaniola, as in all the other newly-found lands, should cease. They appointed Francisco de Bobadilla to examine into the complaints made against him, also into the rebellion of which he accused Roldan. He was, in their name, to take possession of all fortresses, ships, and other property of the crown, to assume the rank and title of judge, and governor of the island.

As his biographers reach this period of Columbus's history, language, of whatever country, seems scarce to contain adequate terms in which to express their sympathizing pity for the martyr hero. The ingratitude of human nature in general, and princely nature in particular, is dwelt upon in strong, if not exactly original or novel terms.

He, however, who considers the facts calmly and dispassionately, will readily agree with us, that the sovereigns did not deal harshly with Columbus. They acted with all the consideration he could expect, and with far more leniency than he deserved. They had long doubted his efficiency as a ruler, and the disorders prevailing in Hispaniola, and his utter unpopularity, confirmed this doubt. They regretted the foolish haste with which they

had intrusted him with many of their subjects. His enterprise, which he had promised should so largely enrich them, had cost much and paid nothing; ships returned to Spain from the distant islands far more heavily laden with complaints against Columbus than with the gold he had promised. His veracity and honesty appeared in a doubtful light, when no substantial corroboration was forthcoming of the wondrous tales he had circulated of a land so rich in gold that it could be no other than that of Ophir. Moreover, hundreds of unfortunates who had gone out under promises of royal pay, and whose salaries Columbus had withheld, congregated around the palace, loudly petitioning for pay, and exhibiting their poverty and misery wherever the king and queen showed themselves, exclaiming, when they saw the sons of Columbus (Fernando and Diego) in royal service, "Behold the sons of the Admiral of Mosquito-land, the discoverer of false and deceitful countries, to be the ruin and burial-place of Spanish *hidalgos!*"—"Which made us," observes Fernando, in his history, "cautious of appearing before them."

This accumulated evidence against Columbus determined the sovereigns to send out some one who should make them truthful reports as to the troubles prevailing in their new possessions. They chose, as we have stated, their commander, Francisco de Bobadilla, and on March 21, 1499, signed a commission, ordering him to "inquire what persons had risen against justice," and to proceed against them according to law. Two months later they seem to have fully resolved that Columbus should be superseded; and, on the 21st of May, two other commissions were furnished Bobadilla. The first gave the government of the Indies to the commander, Francisco de Bobadilla, and contains the following comprehensive and conclusive clause:

"It is our will that if the commander, Francisco de Bobadilla, should think it necessary for our service and the purpose of justice, that any cavalier or other persons, who are at present in those islands—or may arrive there—should leave them, and not return and reside in them, and that should come and present themselves before us, he may command, in our name, and oblige them to depart. And whomsoever he thus commands, we hereby order that immediately, without waiting to inquire or consult us, or to receive from us any other letter or command, and without interposing appeal or supplication, they obey whatever he

shall say and order, under the penalties he shall impose on our part." [126]

All possibility of disobedience and resistance, or excuse therefor, seems to be here forestalled, but to little effect, as the conduct of Columbus will prove.

The second letter-patent, or commission, commanded Columbus and his brothers to deliver up to Bobadilla all fortresses, ships, arms, etc., "under penalty of incurring the punishment to which those are subject who refuse to surrender fortresses and other trusts when commanded by the sovereigns." [127]

Nor were these comprehensive commissions all. Foreseeing, no doubt, the reluctance with which Columbus would resign a position for which he was so unfit, the sovereigns addressed a letter to him, which they intrusted to Bobadilla. It ran thus:

"*To* CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, *our Admiral of the Ocean Sea:*

"We have ordered the commander, Francisco de Bobadilla, to acquaint you with some things from us; therefore we desire you to give him entire credit, and to obey him.

"GIVEN AT MADRID, *May* 21, 1499."

These commissions, we have seen, were signed in 1499, with ill-timed consideration. The sovereigns, however, still refrained from dispatching Bobadilla. Had they done so immediately, Moxica might have escaped his awful fate; and many others, who were put to death without trial, might have been spared.

It was not till the arrival of the ships containing Roldan's followers, and the slaves presented to them by Columbus, that the indignation of the queen was thoroughly aroused. "What right," she is said angrily to have exclaimed, "has my admiral to enslave my subjects?" She immediately ordered a proclamation to be made, that those slaves which had been given away by Columbus and brought to Spain, should be immediately delivered to Bobadilla (whom she determined to send out without further delay), and restored to liberty in their native land. According to Herrera and others, the penalty imposed upon those not delivering up the said slaves, was death.

Invested, then, with the remarkably full and unconditional

[126] Navarette, "Collec. Dip.," vol. ii., p. 266.
[127] Idem., p. 267.

authority as contained in the four letters-patent already mentioned, and provided, besides, with numerous blank letters, signed by the sovereigns, to be filled up as he thought proper. Bobadilla left Spain in July, 1500, to arrive in Hispaniola on the 23d of August of that year.

It becomes us carefully to examine this episode in the history of Columbus. Bobadilla has been energetically denounced. Fernando is foremost among those who accuse him of obstinacy, arrogance, and vindictiveness, and most historians have followed his example. But Fernando, we must remember, was the son of Columbus; and most of his biographers are his admirers and apologists, *quand même;* their opinions, therefore, should be received with extreme caution. There are, however, historians who give Bobadilla credit for ability and integrity, while those most bitter against him have never impugned his incontestable personal incorruptibility. He was intrusted with as high powers as a sovereign could confer upon a subject and agent, yet he did not abuse that power; and there is no evidence that the extraordinary trust reposed in him was ever used in a manner derogatory to his own honor, or detrimental to the interests of the crown. Regarded from a humane and moral point of view, his conduct was praiseworthy, while legally it was not only just and equitable, but the only course he could possibly have pursued in justice to the sovereigns, and in the discharge of his duties.

As the little fleet was sighted off the harbor of San Domingo, a canoe was sent out to inquire after a son of Columbus who was expected. This messenger was informed by Bobadilla that he had come out as *commissioner* to investigate charges touching the late rebellion. The master of the ships asked news of the island, and was told that seven of the Spaniards, into whose conduct Bobadilla came to inquire, were already hanged, and that five others, among them young Guevara, awaited a similar fate.

As soon as the report was spread that a commissioner had arrived to investigate the charges made against the so-called rebels, there was much commotion in the island, but of a different character from what might have been expected had Columbus been in the right. His brothers and adherents evinced manifest uneasiness, while the accused rejoiced that at length justice, and not despotism and personal spite, was to decide their fate.

Bobadilla remained on board his ship during the day suc-

ceeding his arrival; crowds of Spaniards visited him bearing but one tale, that of the oppressions and wrongs they had suffered at the hands of Columbus. These complaints, bitter and innumerable as they were, do not seem to have influenced Bobadilla, except in so far as to determine him to assume jurisdiction over the so-called rebels at once, and so retard or prevent, as justice might demand, the executions then pending. In this resolution he was strengthened by the sickening sight which met his eye as he entered the river; on either bank, the dead body of a Spaniard swung ghastly from a gibbet; these executions had apparently been recent—Columbus had anticipated his arrival and defeated the humane intentions of the sovereigns, in so far as these victims were concerned.

He landed the next morning, attended mass, and, after that ceremony (being informed that Columbus and his brother, the *adelantado*, were absent), in the presence of Don Diego, who was in command of the fortress, of Roderigo Perez, the servants of the admiral, and the large concourse assembled, ordered his commission (authorizing him to investigate the rebellion, and commanding Columbus, and *all* others in authority, to aid him in discharging his duties) to be read.

This, it will be remembered, was the simplest and least comprehensive of his letters-patent. He commenced, however, by reading it, thinking first to ascertain the causes of the trouble, and then, if necessary, investigate the conduct of Columbus and his brothers, and, if it proved blameworthy, to remove them. He therefore demanded that the persons of the prisoners should be surrendered to him, and the written accusations against them to be given into his keeping, requiring, at the same time, their accusers to appear before him.

The daily impending execution of the prisoners, by order of Columbus, rendered it necessary that their persons should be placed in safety, at least till they had been tried. The action of Bobadilla was, therefore, strictly lawful. Few, with any knowledge of law, or any feelings of justice, will fail to perceive that he could not have acted otherwise.

Don Diego, however, refused to deliver the prisoners, refused to recognize the authority of Bobadilla, and alleged that Columbus's power was superior to any the former could have been invested with.

Bobadilla regarded this as perhaps a natural and excusable caution under the circumstances; he imagined that, of course, when Diego should learn how full were his powers, he would no longer hesitate to obey the dictates of his sovereigns. He, therefore, the next morning, before the assembled multitude, read the second commission which created him governor of the island, and ordered that he should be implicitly obeyed, without demur or appeal. He then took the accustomed oath of office, and again demanded the surrender of the prisoners. But he soon learned that he was to encounter nothing but opposition and defiance from Columbus and his brothers. It would naturally be supposed that, when a judge arrived whose mission was to try, and to treat, according to their deserts, those whom he had accused of rebellion and heinous crimes, Columbus and his brothers would gladly have welcomed that judge, and assisted him to the utmost.

That they persisted from the first in regarding Bobadilla as an enemy may be thus explained: They knew that their conduct would not bear investigation; that, if it was once brought to light, their power was ended, and they themselves would perhaps suffer the penalty of their crimes, while the innocence of those they accused would be revealed. Columbus had indeed petitioned for a judge, but for one subservient to him—*in his pay*—whose justice should be what he willed. Bobadilla, coming with power superior to his own, received from the sovereigns, was not what he bargained for.

Diego Columbus would no more regard the second commission than he had done the first, and still refused to deliver the prisoners.

Bobadilla now perceived something more serious and offensive than caution in this obstinate resistance. He recognized how wisely he had been intrusted with a letter expressly ordering Columbus and his brothers to deliver up to him all fortresses, etc., and discovered that the sovereigns had foreseen the opposition he was to encounter. He therefore ordered this letter, a death-blow to the authority of Columbus, to be read; as well as another, dated May 30th, ordering him to pay the arrears due to those persons in royal service, whom Columbus had neglected or refused to remunerate. This proclamation was received with much applause. It is much to the credit of Bobadilla, and a proof

of the moderation with which he proceeded, that he had not sooner read what was to render him and his mission popular.

Let us observe the wording of the first of these documents. It reads thus:

"Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, by the grace of God, etc. . . . to you Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the ocean, and to you the brothers of the said admiral, in whose power are fortresses, houses, ships, etc., we send for our governor of the islands, the commander Francisco de Bobadilla. . . . we order you to deliver the said fortresses, houses, etc., to the said commander, or the persons he shall appoint, and to give him complete power over the said fortresses, etc., all of which we command you to do under pain of incurring those penalties which those persons incur who refuse to deliver fortresses, or other things, when ordered to do so by their sovereigns."

This would appear explicit and peremptory enough. Don Diego, however, still refused to deliver either fortress or prisoners. Bobadilla then repaired to the fortress, and, when the *alcalde* who kept it appeared on the battlements, ordered the letter to be read to him, and the seals and signatures of the sovereigns to be held up to his view. The *alcalde*, however, having doubtless received his orders from Diego, refused to admit Bobadilla, who then appealed to the people and demanded their assistance, but urged that no violence should be employed save in case of resistance.

The fortress was easily taken, being no better constructed than most other public works erected by Columbus. The prisoners were discovered loaded with irons. Bobadilla delivered them to an *alguazil*.

Irving terms this conduct arrogant and precipitate, but the accusation is totally unfounded. Had the prisoners been delivered up to him, and his first commission been obeyed, Bobadilla would have proceeded first to the examination of the charges against them; then, if necessary, to that of the conduct of Columbus. The refusal to obey at the outset created the necessity of enforcing his authority by reading the other letters, which had been provided him to meet just such an emergency, and without the aid of which he was powerless, in view of Diego Columbus's insubordination, to perform the duties of his mission.

He might with justice have imprisoned Don Diego and the

alcalde who held the fortress, on the charge of treason, as they refused to obey the commands of their sovereigns. This he did not do, and if he afterward imprisons the three Columbos, it was not till still weightier evidence had convicted them of greater crimes, and rendered it necessary.

To relieve in a measure the extreme misery into which the Spaniards in Hispaniola had fallen, partly from the non-payment of their salaries, which had been withheld by Columbus, partly from the wretched state of the colony, Bobadilla now published a license allowing all to search for gold for twenty years, paying only one-eleventh instead of one-third, as they had done till now, to the government. This proceeding, though certainly humane and wise, excited the indignation of Columbus, whose tenth of the revenues would, he feared, be thus materially diminished; he, therefore, immediately on hearing of it, published a proclamation, in which he declared Bobadilla to have no power or authority, and forbade any to obey him.

The latter sent an *alcalde*, bearing a copy of the letters-patent, to acquaint him in due form with his appointment as governor, but forebore as yet sending the peremptory note addressed to Columbus only, bidding the latter obey him. But, in the face of all the letters of the sovereigns, which proclaimed that there was to be no appeal to them from any proceeding which Bobadilla might think fit, Columbus still resisted; published and proclaimed that Bobadilla's powers were not valid—that his own were greater. He declared, however, afterward, that he wrote to Bobadilla, assuring him that he would soon leave the island entirely to his government. This he only did, however, he confesses in his letter to the nurse of Prince John (Doña Juana de la Torres), which contains his own defense of his conduct in these proceedings, to gain time, that their highnesses might perhaps change their minds. This statement clearly proves his guilt. Had he, indeed, believed that Bobadilla was—as he had publicly proclaimed throughout the island—acting without due authority, he would not have desired delay in order that the sovereigns might change their minds; who, if they had no part in the proceedings of Bobadilla, and were unaware of his conduct, could not have *altered* a policy which they had never enjoined. The direct opposition to the royal commands (which directed that their agent was to be obeyed without appeal

or delay), perpetrated by Columbus, rendered him clearly guilty of no less a crime than treason; and he and his brothers "incurred those penalties which those persons incur who refuse to deliver fortresses or other things, when ordered to do so by their sovereigns." [128]

It is absurd for historians to declare, as they constantly do, that Bobadilla overstepped his authority, and that Isabella never intended him to supersede Columbus, but merely to punish those who had rebelled against the latter. If this had been the case, why was he provided with those commissions in which Columbus and his brothers were expressly ordered to deliver to him all things pertaining to the crown?

Why should a letter have been written addressed solely to Columbus, commanding his obedience to and belief in Bobadilla?

The continued and insolent resistance he encountered convinced the new governor that consideration and delicacy were thrown away upon such a man as Columbus. He therefore sent to him Velasquez, deputy-treasurer, and a Franciscan friar, bearing the last-named letter. This document made Columbus fear the consequences of persisting in his insubordination; and, as it was accompanied by a summons from Bobadilla to appear before him, he, with a show of humility, set out for San Domingo. But rumors, which appear not without foundation, reached Bobadilla, that this humility was only feigned—that he was in reality attempting to rouse the native inhabitants of the Vega to aid him in opposing the new governor.[129]

Considering that the conduct of Columbus and his brother Diego had been, up to this time, in their refusal to obey the royal mandates, of so treasonable a nature as to render the reported attempt at rebellion probable, and justly holding that they deserved imprisonment for what was well proved against them, as well as for their resistance of the sovereign will as

[128] *See ante*, extract from royal mandate.

[129] "It is also said that the new governor sent letters to the king, written with the Admiralles hande, in strange and unknown sypherings, to his brother, the Lieutenant, being absent, willing him to be in a readiness, with a power of armed men to come and aid him, if the Governor should proffer him any violence. Whereof the Governor having knowledge (as he sayth), being also advertised that the Lieutenant was gone to his brother before the men, which he had prepared there in a readiness, apprehended them both unawares, before the multitude came together."—*Peter Martyr*, "Decade I.," book vii.

vested in him, Bobadilla had them both imprisoned and put in irons on board a caravel which was shortly to return to Spain.

With unpardonable unfairness, Irving, alluding to the imprisonment of Don Diego, says:

"The admiral's brother, Don Diego, was seized, thrown in irons, and confined on board a caravel, *without any reason being assigned for his imprisonment*," and does not hesitate to write thus after enumerating all the successive efforts of Bobadilla to obtain obedience to the orders of the sovereigns, whose letters he had publicly read and exhibited; after recording Diego's repeated refusal to recognize the royal authority; and after, in the very paragraph in which the above sentence occurs, recording the *rumor*, as he terms it, of Columbus seeking to excite the natives to rebellion.

There is certainly no more flagrant act of treason and disobedience to royal commands extant than the insubordination of Diego—indeed, of all the Columbos; yet, while he records these acts of insubordination and rebellion, Mr. Irving still has the courage to write that *Diego was imprisoned without any reason being assigned for his imprisonment.*

As for Christopher Columbus, the charges against him were manifold. It was alleged that he ill-treated and abused the natives, refusing to let them be baptized, that they might continue slaves;[130] that, acting as a kind of pawnbroker and money-lender, he had traded upon the necessities of the Spaniards—he had inveigled and impoverished, giving them barely wherewithal to keep them from starvation, then enforcing his collections through a royal *garnashee.*[131]

Nor was this all. The queen called him to account for dishonesty in office, thus:

"The said admiral having *farmed out the offices* of *alguazil* and notary in the island of Hispaniola, for a certain period, we command that the moneys and the revenues derived from the said offices be divided into ten parts, *nine* for us and *one* for the admiral, deducting first the expenses and indemnifications of the aforesaid offices."[132]

[130] Irving, "Columbus," book xiii., chapter iv.

[131] Navarette, vol. ii., p. 222.

[132] Navarette, "Collec. Dip." vol. ii., p. 308. Columbus complained of this order,

Peter Martyr thus sums up the accusations made against Columbus by the Spaniards in the island:

"They accuse the admiral and his brother to be unjust men, cruel enemies, and shedders of the Spanish blood, declaring that upon every light occasion they would rack them, hang them, and head them, and that they took pleasure therein; and that they departed from them as from cruel tyrants and wild beasts, rejoicing in blood, also the kings' enemies; affirming, likewise, that they well perceived their intent to be none other than to usurp the empire of the islands, which thing (they said) they suspected by a thousand conjectures, and especially in that they would permit none to resort to the gold-mines, but only such as were their familiars." [132]

All the above charges appear to have been substantiated; the proceedings were evidently had in all due form. Charlevoix relates that the suit against Columbus was conducted in writing—that written charges were sent to him, to which he replied in the same way. This was undoubtedly the case, as Bobadilla appears to have been an able judge and a discreet lawyer; and the allegation of many historians that he imprisoned Columbus without due cause or investigation, is contradicted in their own accounts of the proceedings; witness Irving and others.

The result of the investigation was, as we have seen, the imprisonment of Columbus. It was his own cook, we are told, who riveted the fetters, "with as much readiness and alacrity," quoth Las Casas, "as though he were serving him with the choicest viands."

This little incident is not without import. Columbus might perhaps have been unpopular with the multitude, and yet a good man; but when we find his own domestics, who owed place and living to him, and who would naturally be supposed to regret his downfall, rejoicing instead, we cannot but believe the man to have been thoroughly contemptible; the "graceless cook" riveting the fetters militates far more, we take it, against the personal character of Columbus, than of his culinary menial.

and urged his right to fill the offices with his servants, requiring them to perform the duties (poorly, we apprehend) while he pocketed the proceeds; yet we are continually called upon to admire the exalted and glorious opinions he entertained of his office.

[132] Peter Martyr, Decade I., book vii.

CHAPTER XXII.

COLUMBUS'S DEFENSE OF HIS CONDUCT REVIEWED.

It would be useless to attempt a further refutation of the tirades launched against the new governor by the numerous and partial biographers of Columbus, who at this period of his his-

Columbus.—(From Muñoz, "Historia del Nuevo Mundo.")

tory, couple the name of Bobadilla with every opprobrious epithet propriety will allow; and the more modern the historian,

and, therefore, the farther removed from the scene and time of action, the more virulent his attacks, as also his sympathy for his hero Christopher. We have stated what was the course pursued by Bobadilla; and even when the simple facts are related, without comment or explanation, it is plain to all that it was a just and equitable one. The true merits of the case can, however, be easily decided and established by leaving historians, whether partial or impartial, and proceeding at once to the fountain-head, viz., to what Columbus himself has to say. He certainly, more than any of his historians, was interested in proving his innocence, and we may reasonably suppose that he omitted no plea which could, in the slightest degree, exculpate him, and refrained from no charge against Bobadilla wherein there was the slightest semblance of truth.

Fortunately for us, this defense, written by Columbus to the nurse of Prince Juan, no doubt with the intention that it should be shown to the sovereigns, still exists; it was written during his voyage to Spain, or after his arrival there.

The lame and bungling explanation of his conduct, the ridiculous character of the charges he prefers against Bobadilla, and above all, the admissions he (no doubt unintentionally) makes in his letter, may furnish some facts which, though mixed with much falsehood, may enable the reader to judge of the relative merits of the accuser and the accused.

We quote the passages from this letter which relate especially to the question before us, and call the attention of the reader, now and then, to the absurdity, falsehood, or self-inculpation, they contain; for, though an unbiased, intelligent mind would at once perceive all this, historians have so persistently declared Bobadilla wrong, and Columbus right, that an unbiased judgment will not easily be formed.

Columbus writes: "... In the mean time Bobadilla arrived. ... The day after his arrival he created himself governor."

Here is a specimen of our hero's veracity. Bobadilla did not *create himself governor*, but assumed that title and office in virtue of the full and comprehensive letters-patent from Isabella, who had clothed him with all the power in the premises the crown could devolve upon an agent, besides commanding Columbus in a special letter addressed to that worthy to obey him. We see,

therefore, the insolence of the falschood that Bobadilla *created* himself governor.

Columbus, too, would have it appear that his conduct was most precipitate. *The day after his arrival he created himself governor.* It will be remembered that Bobadilla did *not* assume the government until the brother of Columbus had repeatedly refused to deliver to him the prisoners he had been sent to try. This treasonable effrontery and disregard of royal orders created the *necessity* for Bobadilla to *act* as judge and governor, and act immediately, for those of the prisoners who were not already hanged were liable to execution at any moment, in violation alike of law, justice, and the royal command. There was certainly no undue haste on the part of Bobadilla. An oppression, worse than that visited upon the people of God in Egypt, pervaded the island—robbery, murder, and manslaughter, were practised by Columbus, who now raised himself in open rebellion against the crown as personated by Bobadilla.

The ghastly dead swung from the gibbets; the blood of Spaniards and of Indians, like that of Abel, cried to Heaven from the ground. Had he not moved promptly in the discharge of his duty, he would have deserved the odium of mankind, as well as the displeasure of his sovereigns; as it was, he resolved, even in San Domingo, to magnify the law and make it honorable; and, having used the mildest measures, and assumed the least of the authorities vested in him without success, he naturally produced his higher authority and proceeded to more vigorous measures, and seems thereby to deserve the commendation of all who prize humanity and justice.

The letter continues thus:

". . . . He" (Bobadilla) "published exemptions from the payment of the gold and of the tithes, and, in fine, announced a general franchise for the space of twenty years."

This action will be commended by the humane. Bobadilla did much to relieve both natives and colonists from the cruel tyranny and extortion practised by Columbus.

"Having brought with him a considerable number of blank letters, signed by their highnesses, he filled up some of them to the *alcalde* (Roldan) and his consorts full of favors and commendations; but he never sent either letter or message to me, nor has he done so to this day."

The possession of the blank letters signed by the sovereigns, constitutes most conclusive evidence of the confidence they reposed in Bobadilla. They seem to have furnished them that he might silence any unanticipated cavil on the part of Columbus, and be able to impress that lawless usurper with the necessity of respecting and obeying the man thus accredited by his masters. As to the charge made by Columbus that the new governor never sent him "either letter or message," its deliberate falsity is exposed by his own son Fernando, who says, in his history, that Bobadilla "required the admiral to repair to him without delay, because it was convenient for their majesties' service he should do so; *and, to back his summons*, on the 7th of September sent him the king's letter by Friar Juan de la Sera, which was to this effect."

Then follows the letter addressed to Columbus which we have already quoted. Yet, in the face of these facts, Columbus unblushingly asserts that Bobadilla sent him neither letter nor message. He then continues:

". . . . No sooner was I informed of his having granted these exemptions . . . . I made verbal and written declaration that his powers were incompetent to do so, as mine were the strongest."

When we reflect that these verbal and written declarations were made by Columbus, when fully advised of the ample powers vested in Bobadilla, and of the royal command that he and his brothers should obey him, and deliver up all fortresses to him, it will not be necessary to argue the question of veracity or treason as regards the action and assertion of Columbus. He certainly spoke as a liar, and acted as a traitor. The pretended motives which he declares to have prompted his misconduct are, therefore, but aggravations of his crime.

". . . . He ordered inquisition to be made respecting me, with reference to imputed misdeeds, such as were never invented in hell."

With this statement fresh from his pen, he will not hesitate to affirm, a little farther on: "Upon my oath I declare to you I have no idea why I am imprisoned." He was as well aware of the character of his crimes and the charges preferred against him, as was Guido Faux, or any other criminal that has suffered the penalty of the law.

". . . . In saying that the commander" (Bobadilla) "could not grant exemptions, I did what was proper."

He fails, however, to demonstrate how, when overtly disregarding and opposing the commands of his sovereigns, he was doing what was proper.

"If their highnesses were to give orders for a general inquiry here, I assure you it would discover such things as to make it wonderful the island is not swallowed up. I think you will remember, madam, that, when I was driven by a storm into Lisbon, I was falsely accused of going to the king, in order to deliver up the Indies to him."

When he enlarges upon the iniquities of the island, and wonders it was not swallowed up, he should have remembered that he had brought it into its present state of degradation and misery. His allusion to the charge of treason preferred after his visit to Portugal, is traveling from the case in hand, where his guilt is evident, to one where it appears more doubtful.

"However ignorant I may be, nobody can suppose me to be so ignorant as not to know that, if the Indies were mine, I should not be able to keep possession of them without the aid of a prince. Such being the case, where should I find greater support, and more certainty of not being entirely driven from them, than in the king and queen, our lords, who, from nothing, have raised me to such high honors?"

Notwithstanding his asseveration that he knows nothing of the charges made against him, he here seems to be defending himself against one of them, which was that he had made war upon the government, for the purpose of ultimately gaining possession of the new lands.

That Isabella had raised him from nothing to a position far above his deserts, all will agree; but it is not so easy to discover the pertinence of his allusion to the great support she was giving him in Hispaniola, and security against being ultimately driven from it, as she had, in a solemn and formal manner, after years of deliberation, removed him from office, and subsequently forbade his returning to Hispaniola.

". . . . What I have now unwillingly stated is to refute a malicious calumny which I would not willingly recall even in my dreams, as the behavior of Bobadilla would maliciously give another coloring to it; but I shall be able to prove that his ig-

norance, extreme cowardice, and inordinate cupidity, have been the cause of all that has happened."

This charge bears falsehood upon its face. Are we to believe that the advent of Bobadilla in the island, in 1500, caused all the avarice, cruelty, falsehood, and murder, perpetrated by Columbus during the seven years preceding that advent which had converted his "paradise" into a hell, complaints of which had caused Bobadilla to be sent out?

". . . . He neither spoke to me himself nor permitted any one else to speak to me, until now; and, upon my oath, I declare to you that I have no idea why I am imprisoned."

This, as we have shown, is a most barefaced falsehood. He first says Bobadilla caused investigation to be made touching crimes imputed to him, the like of which were never invented in hell. He attempts to defend himself against some of these charges, and then swears he knows not why he is imprisoned.

". . . . I have already mentioned that, with six hundred thousand maravedis, I should have paid everybody, without injury to any person, and that I possessed more than four millions of tithes, without touching the gold."

This allusion to his abundant resources does not come with a good grace when we remember the distress and suffering he had caused in the island (many dying of starvation) by withholding the pay of those who had labored for him, as well as for the crown. No wonder that Bobadilla, when he found this accumulation of gold and tithes, upon taking up his abode in the government-house, devoted a portion to the payment of what was so justly due the many unfortunate who had been defrauded.

". . . . Would to God that their highnesses had sent Bobadilla, or any other person, two years ago, because I should now be free from this scandal and infamy, nor should I have been deprived of my honor!"

He no doubt would have had fewer crimes to answer for, such as the murder of Moxica, the secretion of the pearls from the sovereigns, etc.

". . . . I aver that great numbers of men have been in the islands who did not deserve baptism in the eyes of God or man."

One would think Columbus, in very shame, would have refrained from such an assertion, when he remembered that he

himself had requested the prisons to be thrown open and the convicts let loose upon the island.

". . . . When he" (Bobadilla) "heard of my approach, he caused Don Diego to be loaded with irons, and thrown into a caravel; he acted in the same manner toward myself and toward the *adelantado* when he arrived."

Bobadilla could not have done otherwise than imprison Columbus and his brothers, and it ill becomes them to complain of his severity. He neither executed them, as they had caused others to be executed for lesser crimes than those of which they stood convicted, neither did he kick them from the battlements of a fortress, but sent them to Spain, where their power for evil would be lessened.

". . . . I have been yet more concerned respecting the affair of the pearls—that I have not brought them to their highnesses; . . . . if I have not written respecting this" (the pearls) "to their highnesses, it is because I wished first to render an equally favorable account of the gold."

Here, again, we find him defending himself against one of the charges of which he professes to be ignorant. His excuse is a poor one: accused and convicted of having withheld the pearls, and the knowledge of their being in his possession, from the sovereigns, he replies that he was silent on this topic because he wished to have equally favorable accounts of the gold. It is evident he contemplated extorting further favors and honors from the sovereigns on the strength of these pearls. In this intention he was, however, frustrated by the arrival of Bobadilla, to whom this charge against him was brought with many others, and who, upon investigation, found it to be just, as indeed he here confesses it to be, and makes but a lame defense of his evident fraud.

". . . . I am judged in Spain as a governor who had been sent to a province or city, under regular government, where the laws could be executed without fear of endangering the public weal. In this I receive enormous wrong. . . . I ought to be judged as a captain sent from Spain to the Indies, to conquer a nation numerous and warlike."

Here we have proof, upon his own testimony, that he has uttered falsehoods from the commencement of his undertaking down to the period of which we write. In 1492, he would have

the world believe that he had *discovered* an island, and that it was inhabited by a naked and inoffensive people, possessing neither arms, nor a knowledge of their use—a people so entirely powerless that a garrison of forty men would be sufficient to destroy the whole island.[124]

"But supposing," he says in a letter to Raphael Sanchez, on his return from his first voyage, speaking of the friendliness of the natives, "their feelings should become changed, and they should wish to injure those who have remained in the fortress, they could not do so, for they have no arms; they go naked, and are, moreover, too cowardly." Now, however, he would have the world believe he was sent to conquer a people already known to be *numerous* and *warlike;* he would be thought, not a discoverer, but a conqueror. He does not seem to perceive that when he admits the laws cannot be executed for fear of endangering the public weal, he speaks poorly for his own powers of governing, which had been inadequate, during seven years' despotic rule, to establish law and order among a people, according to his *first* description, innocent and defenseless; he loses sight of all self-inculpation this incongruity and contradiction may contain, in his desire to assume the new character of warrior, and *such* a warrior. He continues:

". . . . Where, by the divine will, I have subdued another world to the dominion of the king and queen, our lords, by which Spain, which was looked upon as poor, has become very rich."

We may here remark that, owing to his misconduct, the Western islands had been the cause of far more expense than profit to the Spanish realm.

"I ought to be judged as a captain who for so many years have borne arms without quitting them for an instant. I ought to be judged by cavaliers who have themselves won the meed of victory—by gentlemen, indeed, and not by lawyers."

It would be difficult to find a tribunal that would not condemn Columbus, even upon his own testimony. We do not, therefore, wonder that he would, by all means, avoid lawyers; no man of common-sense, certainly no lawyer, could be ignorant of his guilt; he had requested a judge to be sent out, learned in the law, to aid him in trying *others*, but in his *own* case he would be sole judge.

[124] *See* letter to Santangel.

"Under any other judgment I sustain great injury, because in the Indies there is neither civil right nor judgment-seat."

If there were no organized tribunals, why were Moxica and so many other Spaniards executed, without trial, in violation of law? Why were they not sent to Spain for trial, as Columbus petitioned for himself? In this confession of there existing neither civil right nor judgment-seat in Hispaniola, and in his declaration that he should receive enormous wrong if tried there, he plainly admits the enormous wrong perpetrated against those he had executed, or, more properly speaking, murdered, and he deserved no better fate than his victims.

He knew that, if those unfortunates had been sent to Spain, his downfall would have been speedy; they would have lived, and he no longer would have had human life at his disposal.

". . . . The tidings of the gold which I said I would give, are, that on Christmas-day, being greatly afflicted and tormented by wicked Christians and the Indians, at the moment of abandoning all, to save, if possible, my life, our Lord comforted me miraculously, saying to me, 'Take courage; do not abandon thyself to sadness and fear, I will provide for all. The seven years of the term of gold are not yet passed, and in this, as in the rest, I will redress thee.'"

These are the tidings for which Columbus waited before writing to the sovereigns about the pearls; they are eminently satisfactory. Imagine a steward or administrator, instead of giving an exact account of his stewardship, recounting a vision in which he is assured that all will be right, and that God will redress him! The blasphemy with which Columbus, whenever hard pushed for a defense, brings the Almighty to his aid, and invents a speech, which he puts in the mouth of the Deity, wherein his innocence is declared and his enemies threatened with punishment, is revolting in the extreme; and the enormity of the crimes he thus seeks to cover with divine sanction must render his hypocrisy still more odious in the eyes of the truly reverent.

". . . . See, now, what discernment was shown by Bobadilla, when he gave up every thing for nothing, and four millions of tithes without any reason, and even without being asked to do so, and without first giving notice to their highnesses."

This is an adroit attempt to turn royalty against Bobadilla, by appealing to the cupidity of the sovereigns, but it also de-

monstrates an insolent officiousness on the part of the writer, who would seem to ignore the absolute authority vested in Bobadilla by the crown.

". . . . If their highnesses shall give orders for me to be judged by others, which I fervently hope will not be the case, and impeach me respecting the affairs of the Indies, I humbly supplicate them to send out, at *my expense*, two conscientious and respectable persons, which will now be easily met with, since gold to the amount of five marks may be found in the space of four hours."

Columbus seems to have an idea of impeachment for treason, notwithstanding his oath of ignorance in the premises; therefore he wishes his judges to be in his pay; and, moreover, he would have them men whom the abundance of gold would tempt to the island. How unlikely it was that such men would be honest judges! It is needless to say, his proposition gives us a view of his notions concerning a court of justice, the purity and competency of a tribunal; "he too would have judges dependent upon his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries." Such being the case, we cannot but wonder that historians, who would appear impartial, should have failed to condemn his corrupt views.

". . . . The governor" (Bobadilla), "on his arrival in San Domingo, took up his abode in my house; . . . . even a pirate does not behave in this manner toward the merchant that he plunders."

This accusation has at first a semblance of truth, as the reader may suppose it to have been the private residence of Columbus into which Bobadilla intruded; such was not the case—it was the "government-house" in which Columbus had resided at the capital of the island, and in which all succeeding governors were expected to take up their abode during their term of office. In time Bobadilla was succeeded by Ovando, yet we do not find the former complaining that the latter took up his abode "in his house;" such a complaint would have been as preposterous as for a retiring President of the United States to remonstrate against his successors inhabiting the White House.

". . . . That which grieved me most was the seizure of my papers, of which I have never been able to recover one; and those which would have been most useful to me in proving my

innocence, are precisely those which he has kept most carefully concealed."

The seizure of papers is a usual proceeding in case of suspicion of most crimes, more especially of treason; but, though these papers might very well be used to prove his guilt, they could hardly have proved the innocence of Columbus. The very fact that in them he had foreseen accusation, and attempted to defend himself, would seem to furnish *prima-facie* evidence of his guilt, and would have gone far to prove him culpable before any legal tribunal. No wonder he feared lawyers. Let us remember, also, how Columbus declares, upon oath, that he is ignorant of the cause of his imprisonment; how, then, could he know the precise papers which would have proved his innocence, and the precise crime to which they related? In his despicable attempts to blacken Bobadilla, and in his efforts to establish his innocence, he entangles himself in contradictory statements, and furnishes conclusive evidence of his own guilt.

Such is the lame defense he makes. A perusal of this letter, with its absurdities, contradictions, and falsehoods, will alone be sufficient to convince the impartial that his word is not to be depended upon. It therefore goes far to weaken confidence in the histories which have hitherto been written of the man, for most authors, when making an assertion which they imagine liable to disbelief, either from the improbability or from the strong evidence against it, consider the statement that for this they have the word of Columbus himself, sufficient to remove all doubt.

With the above letter before him, the reader will be apt to think the fact of Columbus's making an assertion sufficient to render its veracity suspicious. We, therefore, without further attempt to prove the incorrectness (to use a mild term) with which authors have represented Columbus as a martyr, Bobadilla as a tyrant and usurper, have contented ourselves with placing Columbus's own account of the affair and defense of his conduct, as contained in this letter to Prince Juan's nurse, before him. It answers a twofold purpose, and not only proves the guilt of Columbus, regarding the charges brought against him, for which he was imprisoned by Bobadilla, but also the utter falsity of his word, and the caution with which a statement made by him, or upon his authority, should be received.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COLUMBUS SENT TO SPAIN IN DISGRACE. — BOBADILLA REPLACED BY OVANDO.

It is certain that the imprisonment of Columbus was regarded as a happy event by all the inhabitants of the island. Horns were blown in the vicinity of the ship on board which he was confined; lampoons and caricatures were posted in the streets, and the multitude gave way to heart-felt and almost wild rejoicing at being at last freed from the despotic rule of this insolent *parvenu.* Bobadilla had public opinion decidedly on his side, as he had law and equity. The testimony he had collected against the three brothers was carefully arranged and sent with them to Spain.

The ships which bore Columbus away from the scenes of his chief crimes, set sail in October, 1500, and, after a short voyage, landed him in Cadiz.

Historians unanimously declare that, on his arrival in Spain, the sovereigns ordered his immediate release, and professed the greatest indignation at the conduct of Bobadilla. It is evident, however, that, if they professed to be displeased, their displeasure was but feigned, and that they were in reality by no means ill pleased that the pirate whom they had so unwisely intrusted with power, and who had shown himself so utterly incapable and unworthy, should be deposed. There were, however, weighty reasons why Isabella should also be pleased at this deposition having been effected in such a manner as to admit of her denying entire participation in it. It was upon the testimony of Columbus, that Alexander VI. had deeded to Spain the islands, etc., he professed to have discovered. If it were not unkind, it would have been impolitic, therefore, publicly to denounce the man by whose perjury she hoped to have obtained a continent.

She appears to have been conscious that, to some extent, she was at the mercy of this man, whose power consisted in the very crimes and frauds of which she knew him to have been guilty, for he had shown her that there was no treachery too base, no perjury too great, for him to perpetrate and commit.

Isabella's policy, during her whole reign, may be chiefly if not solely expressed by the word "craft." No wonder, then, that she, her object accomplished—the rule of Columbus brought to a close in her new possessions, and he himself in Spain, with poor prospect of organizing a successful rebellion, whereby to usurp their government—should have dealt in fair promises, in delusive hopes, which she took care to put far in the prospective; no wonder, even, that she consented so far to sacrifice Bobadilla to the pride and malice of Columbus, as to promise his speedy removal, though even Fernando Columbus seems well to have divined what would have been the fate of that honest official, had he lived to reach Spain. Commenting upon the shipwreck and drowning of Bobadilla, Roldan, and others engaged in the so-called rebellion, he writes:

"I am satisfied it was the hand of God; for, had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished as their crimes deserved, but rather have been favored and preferred."

Such being the case, it was easy and politic to dally with Columbus; and, while determined never to reinstate him in a power he had abused so shamefully, to make large promises. But, although Isabella refrained from punishing Columbus as his frauds and crimes deserved, and though she held out to him delusive hopes, which she never meant him to realize, it is evident that she did not altogether refrain from testifying to him her displeasure at his conduct. According to Charlevoix, she thus addressed him:

"Common report accuses you of acting with a degree of severity quite unsuitable for an infant colony, and likely to excite rebellion there; but the matter as to which I find it hardest to give you my pardon, is your conduct in reducing to slavery a number of Indians who had done nothing to deserve such a fate; this was contrary to my express orders. As your ill-fortune willed it, just at the time when I heard of this breach of my instructions, everybody was complaining of you, and no one spoke a word in your favor. And I felt obliged to send to the Indies

a commissioner to investigate matters, and give me a true report; and, if necessary, to put limits to the authority which you were accused of overstepping. If you were found guilty of the charges, he was to relieve you of the government, and to send you to Spain, to give an account of your stewardship. . . . I cannot promise to reinstate you in your government; people are too much inflamed against you, and must have time to cool. As to your rank of admiral, I never intended to deprive you of it. But you must bide your time, and trust in me."

It was plain, therefore, that Columbus, though retaining his rank of admiral—which was somewhat of a sinecure, in which there might be some honor, but in which there was certainly little profit—was obliged to give up all present hope of returning in triumph to Hispaniola, and, vested with supreme power, there to wreak a terrible vengeance upon all who had opposed him.

And, although it may be alleged that the above is but an imaginary speech, which proves nothing, there is substantial and convincing testimony that it is a fair *résumé* of Isabella's policy toward Columbus. In a letter from the sovereigns to the latter, in answer to his solicitations for money, we read:

"Respecting the ten thousand pieces of money which you speak of, it is determined not to grant them this voyage, until we are better informed."

This letter is dated March 14, 1502.

When Columbus was eventually allowed to depart on his fourth voyage, he was forbidden to touch at Hispaniola, save on his return, and then only in case of extreme necessity.

The removal of Bobadilla was, however, to take place. Nicolas de Ovando, commander of Lares, was sent out to succeed him, in February, 1502, with the finest fleet which had as yet been sent to the new lands.

Ovando is said to have been "a wise and judicious man." Most contemporaries speak highly of his character and abilities. Nevertheless, his rule in the islands was characterized by many atrocious acts of cruelty, which can be laid to no one's charge but his. It is evident, therefore, that, though perhaps competent to govern his own race, he was incapable of judiciously governing the Indians.

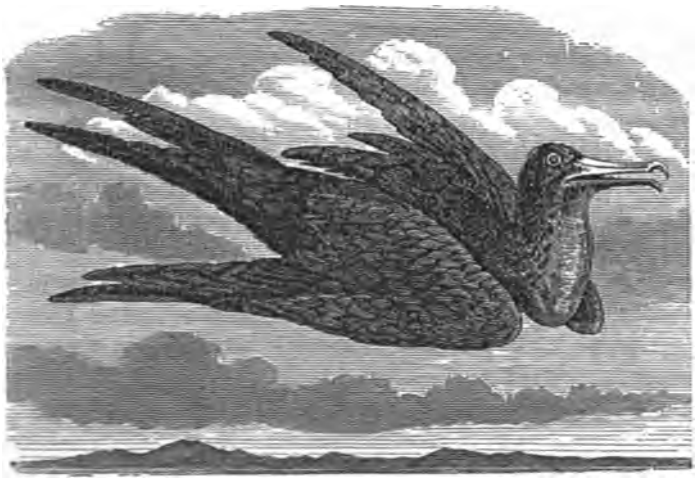
On his arrival in Hispaniola, he was received with great respect by Bobadilla, toward whom he conducted himself with

marked deference, more than he would have been likely to exhibit had the latter been in very deep disgrace with the sovereigns.

The short rule of Bobadilla had been attended with advantageous results to the crown, while the crushing tribute imposed by Columbus discouraged many from seeking gold. Immediately upon Bobadilla's reducing the royal tax, upon all precious metal found, from one-third to one-eleventh, it appears that the amount realized by the sovereigns was increased fourfuld;[128] and, though some authors allege that this was owing to cruel exactions and oppressions on his part, there appears to be no truth in this assertion, as the official acts of Bobadilla were with a view of alleviating and ameliorating the condition of both Spaniards and natives. Columbus's chief accusation against Bobadilla was that he was too lenient; that he "granted exemption from tithes," and "befriended all save the crown."

His success in amassing gold was due to his very leniency. Ovando pursued a totally different course; but of him, save where he is brought in contact with Columbus, we shall say very little, this being essentially a history of the latter.

[128] Helps, "History of Columbus," p. 209.



An Alcatraz.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOJOURN OF COLUMBUS IN SPAIN PREVIOUS TO HIS FOURTH VOYAGE. —HIS WILL.—NEGOTIATIONS ATTEMPTED WITH GENOA.

For nearly two years Columbus remained in Spain. He had been liberated, indeed, from durance vile, by order of the sovereigns, but they exhibited none of that haste to reinstate him in power which would have been a natural consequence of their believing him guiltless. Nor was their failure so to do owing to the silence and reserve of Columbus; he was constantly importuning them, either in person or by letter, for a recognition of what he termed his rights; with so little success, however, that he is at one time fain to give up, and, fearing that all hope of power and wealth to be acquired from his so-called discoveries was at an end, he bethought himself of again assuming the cloak of extreme religious enthusiasm, which he had lately allowed to fall somewhat into disuse. He hoped thus to bring himself into the notice, perhaps obtain the support and assistance, of the Church —above all, of the papal chair.

He therefore now remembered that, on starting for the islands, in 1492, he had promised the sovereigns and the Church (made a solemn vow, in fact) that, at the expiration of seven years from that date, he would furnish fifty thousand foot-soldiers, and five thousand horse, for the purpose of making war on the infidel, and reclaiming the Holy Sepulchre. The seven years had more than expired, the islands he professed to have discovered had increased the expenditure instead of the revenue of the crown, while he himself was as penniless and powerless as when, on his arrival at Palos, he was indebted to the Pinzons for the very clothing in which he presented himself at court. Feeling the wretched contrast between his promise and performance, he

clings to the hope that affected religious zeal will reinstate him somewhat in the good graces of his bigoted queen, and assure him the support of the Church. In this last he seems to have been successful. The priesthood have been the creators of his fame; and now, hoping that time will have obliterated the memory of his crimes, coolly propose to place him among the saints. He strongly urged that an expedition should be immediately set on foot to reclaim the Sepulchre; he assured the sovereigns that he had been divinely chosen, from his very birth, to perform two great missions: the first, to carry Christianity across the seas to the heathen of the Western lands; the second, to recover the Sepulchre of the Saviour. He writes upon this subject a letter in which hypocrisy, cant, and blasphemy, vie with each other for preëminence; but this pious proposition only absorbs him while all hope of his being again allowed to voyage westward is seemingly at an end. Soon, however, the excitement which prevailed, owing to the riches which were flowing into Portugal from the East Indies, by the route discovered by Vasco de Gama, emboldened our hero. He begged to be allowed to lay the wealth of those Indies at the feet of Spain, by giving her a safer and shorter passage to them than that enjoyed by Portugal. He boldly asserted, not hypothetically, but as an established certainty, that there existed a strait between the lands he had discovered, which would permit ships to sail into the Eastern Ocean, and reach China, Japan, and India. He appears for the moment to have dropped the pretense of having already reached those lands, and, moreover, failed to demonstrate wherefore, if such a strait existed, and he was aware of its existence, he had not, ere this, made the Spanish kingdom mistress of its advantages. This inconsistency is, however, one of the minor ones of which he is guilty.

This strait he placed between the southern shore of Cuba, which he still professes to regard as main-land, and the northern shores of the South American Continent, which shows either his utter insincerity, or that he had done very little toward exploring the latter.

The cupidity of the sovereigns was excited, as the wily admiral believed it would be; his departure, too, on a fourth voyage, would rid them of an importunate suppliant. Orders were therefore given, in 1501, for an expedition to be fitted out,

though we perceive that but little faith was placed in him, for, notwithstanding the glorious promises he made, and the eagerness with which Spain would be supposed to embrace an opportunity of diverting a valuable commerce from her hated rival Portugal, several months elapsed before a fleet of four small vessels, the largest of seventy, the smallest of fifty, tons burden, were placed at his command. Their united crew comprised one hundred and fifty men.

The meanness of this outfit plainly shows that it was the man Columbus, more than his enterprise, who was held in abhorrence, for a fine fleet of thirty-six sail and a brilliant retinue had been accorded to Ovando.

Columbus, in obtaining this fleet, obtained what he professed solely to desire, namely, the means of discovering his strait and enriching Spain, especially the queen his mistress. But other thoughts are lurking in his brain; his conduct shows plainly that he fully understood the character of Isabella and her relations with him. Both of these crafty worthies, indeed, evidently understood each other—neither believed the statements nor respected the motives of the other. Isabella humored Columbus, to a certain extent, because she believed him capable of, and able to do her, some mischief, were his vindictiveness to be openly excited. Columbus, on the other hand, rightly judged that, though he was allowed to go unpunished, he had little to expect but promises from his "munificent patroness."

Therefore we find him, while professing the humblest allegiance to the queen, engaged, with his accustomed craft and dissimulation, in a scheme by which he hoped to interest other powers in securing to him what the crown of Spain had promised him in an unguarded moment, or from motives of policy, namely, the viceroyalty of the Western islands to him and his heirs forever, the tenth of the revenues arising therefrom, and the admiralty of the Western ocean.

We must remember, before taxing Spain with ingratitude, that, even at the period of which we write, when Europe was but just commencing a struggle against feudal and sovereign despotism, the people were more powerful, and the sovereign less so, in this kingdom than in any other. All have read of the famous oath of allegiance pronounced by the Cortes on the accession of a sovereign, whereby they promised to support the new

monarch, on condition that he preserve the rights and respect the privileges (*fueros*) of the nation and people, ending with the emphatic *si no, no* (if not, not), which conveyed both a warning and a threat.

Such was the power already vested in the representatives of the people by the then potent Spanish nation. It was, therefore, without the range of the sovereign prerogative to grant in perpetuity the offices of admiral and viceroy to representatives and heirs of a foreigner, without regard to their possible merits or demerits. Isabella, who had not mounted the throne as a legitimate sovereign, but as a usurper who bargained for her place by the restriction of her rights, might, with the consent of the Cortes, confer on Columbus the title above named for life, but there her power ended.

This, as we have said, Columbus appears to have understood, and we therefore find him secretly engaged, or attempting to engage, in a correspondence with the powerful republic of Genoa, with a view to inducing the latter to aid him in ousting Spain from the Western islands, and in usurping their government for himself. His proceedings in this matter are carried on with such secrecy as to leave no doubt of their treasonable intent, nor does Mr. Irving venture to pass over this episode without mentioning that suspicions of this treason were prevalent in Spain. He admits that "the sovereigns *may have* entertained doubts *as to the innocence and* loyalty of Columbus." He further reports that "there was a rumor prevalent that Columbus, irritated at the suppression of his dignities by the court of Spain, intended to transfer his newly-discovered countries into the hands of his *native republic, Genoa*, or some other power;" and states that, during the time he passed in Spain previous to his fourth voyage, he took measures to "*secure his fame*, and *preserve the claims* of his family, by placing them under the *guardianship* of his native city," and by way of inducement, we suppose, to that city to undertake the guardianship, we shall find him writing a codicil, May 4, 1506, on the blank leaf of a breviary, "according to military usage," in which he declares the republic of Genoa his successor to the admiralty, should his male line become extinct!

The treason of such a bequest is so palpable as scarce to need comment. Columbus, the once pauper pirate, coolly makes over

to a foreign power one of the offices of the Spanish crown; yet not one of his biographers appears to perceive the monstrous absurdity of such a proposition!

He had not, however, waited till his disgrace was incontestable, before commencing his treasonable practices. Previous to his third voyage, he had solicited and obtained permission from the crown to make his will, perpetuating his fortune and honors by entail (*mayorazgo*). This authorization, granted by the sovereigns, appears to restrict him to his "legitimate children," especially Diego, "notwithstanding your other children be aggrieved." It would seem, at any rate, that bequests to Genoa were not within its scope.

In virtue of this permit, he proceeded to make a will, by which he affects to dispose of millions of treasure, and of honors that should render him and his descendants famous throughout the land. If we cast a glance backward to the preparations for his third voyage, pending which this will was written, we shall perceive that Columbus was then, as always, poor; that his discoveries (if we give them that name) had become unpopular, himself odious—so unpopular, so odious, that none could be found voluntarily to follow him to his "earthly paradise." And in order to people it, and aid him in bearing Christianity to the benighted heathen, the dungeons were at his request thrown open, and the vilest criminals they contained might expiate their crimes by a short sojourn in those islands, whose civilization (?) they were to effect. The ships, crews, and cargoes, for his third expedition, were all impressed into the royal service. Thenceforth his condition became steadily more wretched and degraded, till we shall find him writing to Doña Juana de la Torres:

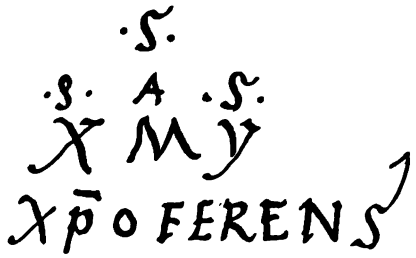
"I have now reached that point that there is no man so vile but thinks it his right to insult me."

And to the sovereigns:

"I am, indeed, in as ruined a condition as I have related. Hitherto I have wept for others: may Heaven now have mercy upon me, and may the earth weep for me! With regard to temporal things, I have not even a *blanca* for an offering. . . . All that was left to me, as well as to my brothers, has been taken away and sold, even to the frock I wore. . . . I did not come on this voyage" (his last) "to gain for myself honor or wealth; this is a certain fact, for *at that time all hope* of such a thing was dead."

The text of his will was, however, very different from this cringing white. We can merely make extracts, as it is an exceedingly lengthy document: like all his compositions, it contains many incongruities. Defining the order of inheritance in his family, he says:

"If God should dispose of him" (his brother Bartholomew) "*without heirs*, he is to be succeeded by *his sons*." Great care is to be taken "where the glory of God, or *my own*, or that of my family, is concerned. . . . For the *greater glory* of the Almighty, and that it may be the root and basis of my lineage, and a memento of the services I have rendered their highnesses, that, being born in Genoa, I came over to serve them in Castile. . . . I pray their highnesses that this, my privilege, be held valid. . . .



"Don Diego, my son, or any other who may inherit my name, in coming into possession of the inheritance, shall sign with the signature I *now* make use of, which is an *X*, with an *S.* over it, and an *M*, with a Roman *A* over it, and over that an *S.*, and then a Greek *Y*, with an *S.* over it, with its lines and points, as is my custom, as may be seen by my signature, of which there are many, and it will be seen by the present one." [136]

The authenticity of this will, or certain parts of it, has been

[136] This decidedly eccentric, if not affected, signature has been variously interpreted, the author having vouchsafed no explanation. Some suppose the ciphers above the signature (which all admit to be *Christ-bearer*, in Greek and Latin characters) to read "*Servidor Sus Altezas Sacras, Cristo, Maria, Yeabel*" (or possibly Joseph), 'Servant of their Sacred Highnesses, Christ, Mary, Isabel." M. Delorgues interprets them "*Servus Supplex Altissimi Salvatoris, Christus, Maria, Joseph*, the Suppliant Servant of the Most High Saviour, Christ, Mary, Joseph." Spotorno supposes the ciphers should be read from the bottom, upward, connecting the lower with the upper, and reading thus: "*Salva me, Christus, Maria, Josephus.*" The matter is not of any material importance; it only serves to show how religious affectation and a desire to mystify pervaded the most trivial acts of the self-styled Christ-bearer.

matter of much doubt; the above is one of the alleged forgeries. It is maintained that few men would enter thus elaborately into the description of a signature which they declare must be already well known. There seems to be some reason in this objection, yet, as there is no accounting for the vagaries and vanities of Columbus, the passage may, after all, be genuine.

"He" (the heir) "shall only write 'the Admiral,' whatever other titles the king may have conferred on him. This is understood as respects his signature, but not the enumeration of his titles, which he can make at full length, if agreeable; only the signature is to be 'the Admiral.'"

"Such," says Mr. Irving, "was the noble pride with which he valued this title of his real greatness." The same author writes: "His soul was elevated by the contemplation of his great and glorious office, when he considered himself under divine inspiration, imparting the will of Heaven, and fulfilling the high and holy purpose for which he had been predestined."

It is strange that, with this noble stimulus, Columbus should have fallen miserably short of what might be reasonably expected from an uninspired mortal. If he had been truly great, he would not have been so intoxicated by a few paltry titles. "He called me Don!" he exclaims with ecstatic delight; yet titles were cheap in Spain. A negro named Juan de Valladolid, called the negro count (*conde negro*), was, in 1474, appointed by Ferdinand and Isabella to the office of mayoral of the negroes. The appointment is made in the most flattering terms.[137]

"I also," continues Columbus in his will, "enjoin Don Diego, or any one that may inherit the estate, to have and maintain, in the city of Genoa, one person of our lineage to reside there

[137] "For the many good, loyal, and signal services which you have done us, and do each day, and because we know your sufficiency, ability, and good disposition, we constitute you mayoral and judge of all the negroes and mulattoes, free or slaves, which are in the very loyal and noble city of Seville and throughout the whole archbishopric thereof, and that the said negroes and mulattoes may not hold any festivals, nor pleadings among themselves, except before you, Juan de Valladolid, negro, our judge and mayoral of the said negroes and mulattoes; and we command that you, and you only, should take cognizance of the disputes, pleadings, marriages, and other things which may take place among them, forasmuch as you are a person sufficient for that office, and deserving of your power, and you know the laws and ordinances which ought to be kept, and we are informed that you are of noble lineage among the said negroes."—ORTEZ DE ZUÑIGA, "Annales Ecclesiasticos y Seculares de Sevilla," p. 374.

with his wife, and appoint him a sufficient revenue to enable him to live decently, as a person closely connected with the family, of which he is to be the root and basis in that city, from which great good may accrue to him, *inasmuch as I was born there and came from thence.*"

It is not surprising that those claiming other birthplaces for Columbus than Genoa, should regard the sentence we italicize as a forged interpolation: 1. He declares that the person to be supported in Genoa was to form the *root* and *basis* of his family there. This could scarcely be, were Columbus and his progenitors natives of the place. 2. It is somewhat strange, if Columbus in this will several times declared that he was a native of Genoa, that his son should not state the fact when treating of his birth and early years. He came into possession of his father's papers, and, had he found therein any such declaration of birthplace, it seems likely he would have inserted it in its proper place in his history of his father.

It is not improbable that these passages have been forged by the champions of Columbus to palliate, in a measure, the treason to Spain which is so apparent in his bequests and propositions to Genoa; but neither is it improbable that Columbus claimed to have been born there, in order that that city might consider he had some claim upon her, and be induced to aid him in his schemes for gaining possession of the islands with which he promised to enrich her.

Be this as it may, and whether the passages be forgeries, or whether Columbus really in his will professed to have been born in Genoa, it is certain that his most intimate friends, his family even, were kept ignorant of his having made such an assertion, and that he desired Spain to be utterly ignorant of all his transactions with Genoa.

"The said Diego," continues the will, "or whoever shall inherit the estate, must remit in bills, or in any other way, whatever he may be enabled to save out of the revenue of the estate, and direct purchase to be made in his name, or that of his heirs, in a stock in the Bank of St. George, which gives an interest of six per cent., and is secure money; and this shall be devoted to the purposes I am about to explain:

"Item: As it becomes every man of rank and property to serve God, either personally, or by means of his wealth, and as

all moneys deposited with St. George are quite safe, and Genoa is a noble city, and powerful by sea, and as, at the time that I undertook to set out upon the discovery of the Indies, it was with the intention of supplicating the king and queen our lords that whatever money should be derived from the said Indies should be invested in the conquest of Jerusalem, and as I did so supplicate them, if they do this it will be well; if not, at all events, the said Diego, or such person as may succeed him in this trust, to collect together all the money he can, and accompany the king our lord, should he go to the conquest of Jerusalem, or else go there himself, with all the force he can command; and, in pursuing this intention, it will please the Lord to assist toward the accomplishment of the plan; and, should he not be able to effect the conquest of the whole, no doubt he will achieve it in part. Let him, therefore, collect and make a fund of all his wealth in St. George of Genoa, and let it multiply there till such time as it may appear to him that something of consequence may be effected as respects the project on Jerusalem, for I believe that, when their highnesses shall see that this is contemplated, they will wish to realize it themselves, or will afford him, as their servant and vassal, the means of doing it for them.

"Item: I charge my son Diego, and my descendants, especially whoever may inherit this estate, which consists, as aforesaid, of the tenth of whatsoever may be had or found in the Indies, and the eighth part of the lands and rents, all which, together with my rights and emoluments as admiral, viceroy, and governor, amount to more than twenty-five per cent., I say that I require of him to employ all this revenue, as well as his person and all the means in his power, in well and faithfully serving and supporting their highnesses, or their successors, even to the loss of life and property."

The extreme loyalty of this last injunction is entirely nullified and contradicted by the preceding one, in which the heir is directed to employ *all the revenue* he can save out of the estate in the purchase of stock in the Bank of St. George of Genoa, and by the following, in which he commands—

". . . . the said Diego, or whoever may possess the said estate, to labor and strive for the honor, welfare, and aggrandizement of the city of Genoa, and to make use of all his power and means in defending and enhancing the good and credit of that re-

public, in all things not contrary to the service of God, or the high dignity of the king and queen our lords and their successors."

The unlucky recipient of so many injunctions would have been puzzled to obey them all. He is enjoined to serve God and mammon—Spain and Genoa—to give to each of these powers all his energies, resources, and devotion, but it was in the nature of the author of this will to promise fidelity to all, while he would practise it toward none.

Besides the above public bequests, we find each of Columbus's family provided with a million or so. A church is to be built at Hispaniola, a theological seminary endowed, monuments erected, etc., etc. This ostentatious disposal of untold riches is plentifully interlarded with pious injunctions for the advancement of the interests of the Church, and of the Spanish sovereigns, but Genoa and the Bank of St. George figure principally.

This will was written, as we have said, previous to his departure on his third voyage, about the year 1497. In the year 1502, the period of his history at which we have now arrived, he made another will. This, however, was suppressed, for reasons to which Spotorno thus alludes:

"The motives of this we know not, but it would not be very rash to suppose that Columbus had poured out in it the bitterness of his heart against the court."

In other words, that, seeing he possessed nothing, present or prospective, he denounced his sovereign for not making him rich and honorable, in spite of his crimes.

Besides these wills he wrote two codicils. In the last of these he alludes to the testament of 1502, thereby working the invalidity of the document from which we have so largely quoted, and which was so full of promise to Genoa.

Having perused this and the codicil which creates Genoa admiral in Spain, we can entertain little doubt that the suspicion with which their author was regarded in the latter country was well founded. But there is still further evidence against him. He had himself assured the sovereigns that he knew it would be impossible for him to maintain himself in power in the Indies, even were he desirous of usurping it, without the aid of some prince. Spain manifestly forsaking him, he hoped to find in Genoa the protecting power which should render his design feasible.

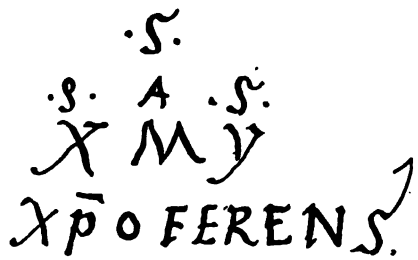
He appears to have become acquainted, during his sojourn near the court, with Nicolas de Oderigo, ambassador from Genoa to that court. He may have induced Oderigo to believe that it was really in his power to enrich the republic, and that he (its ambassador) would receive honor and advancement for being the one to propose to his country the means of increasing her power and wealth.

This hypothesis is supported by letters written by Columbus to the Genoese ambassador. The first of these reads:

"*To the Ambassador*, SIGNOR NICOLO ODERIGO.

"SIR: It is impossible to describe the solitude which your departure has caused among us. I gave the book of my privileges to Signor Francisco di Rivarola, in order that he might forward it to you, along with a copy of the missive letters. I beg of you, as a particular favor, to write to Don Diego to acknowledge their receipt, and to mention where they are deposited. Another copy will be finished and sent to you in the same manner, and by the same Signor Francisco. You will find another letter in it, in which their highnesses promise to give me all that belongs to me, and to put Don Diego in possession of it. I am writing to Signor Gian Luigi, and to the Signora Caterina, and the letter will accompany this.

"I shall depart, in the name of the Holy Trinity, with the first favorable weather, with a considerable equipment. If Girolamo da Santa Stefano comes, he must wait for me, and not entangle himself with any one, for they will get from him whatever they can, and then leave him in the lurch. Let him come here, and he will be received by the king and queen until I arrive. May our Lord have you in his holy keeping!



"*March* 21, 1502, IN SEVILLE, at your commands."

This letter, as we have seen, asserts that he sends to Genoa copies of all the grants which had been made him by the Spanish sovereigns. What was his object in sending these documents to a foreign land? It will be argued that it was to insure their preservation. This reason falls to the ground. We find every one of the said privileges, and documents relating thereto, preserved in the archives of Spain, where Columbus well knew they would be deposited in perfect security.

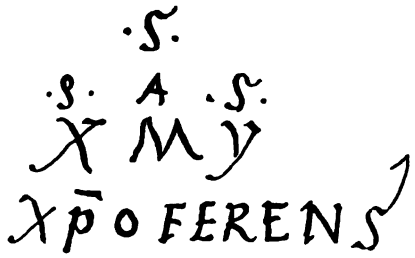
His real object was to dazzle Genoa with a representation of the immense advantage likely to accrue to her from an alliance with him. Genoa, however, was too wary to fall into the trap, however temptingly baited. She may have known how false Columbus had been to every one of his promises; how much disappointment and how little profit he had entailed upon Spain. She may have even been aware that the considerable equipment with which he informs Oderigo he was about to sail, consisted of four small vessels. At any rate, this powerful republic did not intend, by taking up the cudgels for this pauper pirate in disgrace, to draw upon herself the open enmity of Spain. Columbus's propositions, enticing though he endeavored to make them, seem to have fallen upon deaf ears; for, on his return from his fourth voyage, we find him writing as follows:

"*To the Most Learned Doctor*, NICOLO ODERIGO.

"LEARNED SIR: When I set off upon the voyage from which I have just returned, I spoke to you fully. I have no doubt you retained a complete recollection of every thing. I expected, upon my arrival, to have found here letters, and possibly a confidential person from you. At that time, I likewise gave to Francisco de Rivarola a book of copies of my letters, and another of my privileges, in a bag of colored Spanish leather with a silver lock, and two letters for the Bank of St. George, to which I assign the tenth of my revenues in diminution of the duties upon corn and other provisions. No acknowledgment of all this has reached me. Signor Francisco tells me that all arrived there in safety. If so, it was uncourteous in these gentlemen of St. George not to have favored me with an answer. Nor have they thereby improved their affairs, which gives one cause to say that whoever serves the public, serves nobody. I gave another book of my privileges, like the above, in Cadiz, to Franco Cataneo, the

bearer of this, in order that he might likewise forward it to you, and that both of them might be securely deposited wherever you thought proper. Just before my departure, I received a letter from the king and queen, my lords, a copy of which you will find there. You will see that it came very opportunely. Nevertheless, Don Diego was not put in possession, as had been promised. While I was in the Indies, I wrote to their highnesses an account of my voyage by three or four opportunities. One of my letters having come back to my hands, I send it to you inclosed in this, with the supplement of my voyage in another letter, in order that you may give it to Signor Gian Luigi with the other advice, to whom I write that you will be the reader and interpreter of it. I would wish to have ostensible letters, speaking cautiously of the matter in which we are engaged. I arrived here very unwell, just before the queen, my mistress, died (who is now with God), without my seeing her. Till now, I cannot say how my affairs will finish. I believe her highness has provided well for them in her last will, and the king, my master, is very well disposed. Franco Cataneo will explain the rest more minutely to you.

"May our Lord preserve you in his care!



"*Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and*
"*Governor-General of the Indies, etc.*

"SEVILLE, *December* 27, 1504."

It would be difficult to account for the extreme caution and secrecy here enjoined, if nothing treasonable were contemplated. Genoa well understood the matter; she knew that Columbus was unable to maintain himself, much less diminish duties on corn, etc. That he foresaw the light in which his proceedings would be regarded is evident from his desire to have it appear that his devotion to Genoa, and not his disgrace in Spain,

caused his defection from the latter. He therefore writes that Isabella has remembered him in her will, and that Ferdinand is very well disposed toward him. It were needless to comment upon the inveracity of both these statements. This defection, which culminates in his proposals to Genoa, had evidently been contemplated from the commencement of his relations with Spain. Good Las Casas, who, throughout his work on the cruelties of the Spaniards in the Indies, prudently abstains from mentioning names, writes:

"The Spaniards first set sail to America, not for the honor of God, or as persons moved or incited thereunto by fervent zeal for the true faith, nor to promote the salvation of their neighbors, nor to serve the king, as they falsely boast and pretend to do, but, in truth, only stimulated and goaded on by insatiable avarice and ambition, that they might forever domineer, command, and tyrannize over the *West Indians*, whose kingdoms they hoped to divide and distribute among themselves; which, to deal candidly, is no more nor less than intentionally, by all these indirect ways, to disappoint and expel the Kings of Castile out of these dominions and territories, that they themselves, having usurped the supreme and regal empire, might first challenge it as their right, and then possess and enjoy it."

This usurpation Columbus first tried to accomplish himself, with the aid of his brothers. Finding this impossible, he seeks to make Genoa his ally, with what ultimate success we have shown.

But to return to his preparations for his fourth voyage. In February, 1502, he wrote a letter to the Pope Alexander VII., in which he apologized for not having repaired to Rome as he had intended, to give the Holy Father an account of his voyages. He dwells upon his pious intentions toward the Holy Sepulchre, and asserts that he has been prevented from raising his promised army, by the arts of the devil. He is, however, about to start on a fourth voyage, and on his return he will at once visit his holiness, and then present him with a copy of his accounts of his voyages, which is to be in the style of "Cæsar's Commentaries," and much more to the same purpose.[198] It is somewhat unjust for him to attribute the non-realization of his promises to the wiles of the devil, as he, and he alone, by his falsehood and crimes, had caused his enterprise to be despised, which, had

[198] Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. ii., p. 311.

it been appreciated to its full extent, the riches emanating therefrom would have been insufficient to accomplish one tithe of what he had promised.

The modesty with which he informs his holiness that his narrative is written in the style of "Cæsar's Commentaries," is matter for admiration. The "unlettered admiral" would be considered as excelling even in the world of letters. It is to be regretted that his son Fernando, into whose hands this narrative no doubt eventually fell, with the rest of his father's papers (if, indeed, such a narrative ever existed), should have regarded its destruction as more advantageous to the glory of its author than its preservation.

It is not difficult to divine the purpose for which the above letter, full of pious professions and promises, was written. Columbus, by it, endeavored to predispose the Church, especially the papal chair, in his favor; such support would be very necessary should matters with Genoa shape to his liking.

Such were the crafty manœuvres by which he sought to secure the assistance of Genoa, and the sanction of the Church, for his projected rebellion against, or defection from, Spain; yet he did not allow them to interfere with his petitions to Isabella, whom he had not ceased to importune for reinstatement in power. She, while refusing his request, was nevertheless wearied with its repetition, together with that of his other numerous demands. Her letter to him, dated March 4, 1502, betrays something of this feeling. After refusing him money, she says:

"As to the other contents of your memorials and letters, respecting yourself and your sons and brothers, as you know that we are on the eve of a journey, and you on your departure, it cannot be attended to until we are permanently settled in some place, which if you were desirous to wait for, you would miss the voyage you are now going to undertake; wherefore it is better that, being provided with every thing necessary for your voyage, you should depart immediately, leaving to your son the care of soliciting whatever is contained in the aforesaid memorial."

That he "depart immediately" from Spain, and grant her weary ears a respite from the petitions which, while she does not peremptorily refuse, she nevertheless cannot and will not grant, this seems to have been the only present desire of the queen.

CHAPTER XXV.

FOURTH VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

HAVING, as he hoped, left his affairs in as promising condition as his disgrace at the Spanish court would allow, and secured Genoa and the Church as allies, Columbus at length set sail on the 9th of May, 1502, on his fourth and last voyage, with the considerable equipment already mentioned. He was accompanied by his natural son and subsequent historian Fernando, and by his brother Bartholomew. He sailed from Cadiz, by way of Morocco and the Canaries. At this stage of his history there occurs once more one of the many little inconsistencies to which we have already alluded as characterizing too many biographers of Columbus. According to the latter, the whole voyage from Cadiz to the Carib Islands only occupied twenty days—four days from Spain to the Canaries, and sixteen from the Canaries to the Western islands.

He writes to the sovereigns:

"My passage from Cadiz to the Canaries occupied four days, and thence to the Indies, from which I wrote, sixteen days. My intention was to expedite my voyage as much as possible while I had *good vessels*, good crews and stores. . . . *Up to the period* of my reaching these shores *I experienced most excellent weather*."

Mr. Irving and others, however, would have it that it took him sixteen days (from the 9th of May to the 25th) to reach the Canaries, and twenty days (from the 25th of May to the 15th of June) to reach the Carib Islands, a total which more than doubles the time stated by Columbus himself. The reason for this we shall soon perceive. On reaching the islands, Columbus, after touching at one or two, made direct for San Domingo, and requested permission to enter the harbor.

We have already stated that the sovereigns had expressly forbidden him to touch at Hispaniola on his outward voyage, and only permitted him to do so on his return in case of necessity, and then merely for a short stay.[189] His excuse for now violating the royal command was, that one of his vessels sailed badly, could carry no canvas, thereby delaying the squadron. He therefore proposed to exchange it for one which Ovando had brought out.

The boldness of this pretext he has himself made evident in the passage we have quoted from his letter, and is manifest to his biographers, for, by admitting that he performed the whole voyage in twenty days (a remarkably quick trip), he shows that his squadron could not have been much delayed. Apparently for this reason, and to cover another of his falsehoods, and make his excuse appear more plausible, historians double the length of time consumed in his voyage.

Ovando, who had, no doubt, received his orders, refused to admit Columbus into the harbor of San Domingo, stating, as his reason for doing so, that it was against the desire of their highnesses. Nor could he consent to the proposed exchange of vessels; the fleet he had brought out was that day setting sail, laden with a richer cargo than had ever before left the Western islands, and bearing Bobadilla, Roldan, and many others, back to Spain. Admitting that Columbus really had a bad-sailing vessel, he could scarcely be expected to exchange one of the outgoing ships for this bad sailer, and thereby retard the progress of a fleet which was far more important than that of Columbus.

The sympathy and pathos expressed by Columbus's historians as they record the refusal he received at San Domingo, would be very touching if well founded. But even regarding Columbus, as they do, in the light of a noble and glorious martyr, few will be prepared to state that his landing in Hispaniola would have been judicious or safe. The island was swarming with his enemies, who might have taken it into their heads to execute upon him justice as summary as that which he had inflicted upon Moxica and scores of others; therefore his best friends would have advised him to stay away.

The refusal to exchange ships was, as we have already said,

[189] Navarrete "Colecc. Dip.," vol. i., p. 425.

an imperative duty. Ovando could not stay his fleet or endanger any of its cargo. It set sail the day of Columbus's arrival. The weather was at the time fair and still, but a sudden and violent storm arose, by which the greater part of the fleet was destroyed. Bobadilla, Roldan, and a host of others, perished; among them a captive Indian chief.

A story is to be found in most histories of Columbus, which represents him as foretelling this storm, and magnanimously urging Ovando to delay the departure of his vessels, but without being heeded. Tracing this assertion from one narrator to another, it appears that Fernando is its fountain-head, and the only authority for the prophecy. Columbus, in his relation of his fourth voyage, speaks of the storm, but makes no allusion to his having in any way predicted it; and he most assuredly would not have failed to hold forth this further proof of the divine aid and inspiration which he so constantly professed to receive, had there been the least possible ground for his doing so. The prophecy is, therefore, probably a gratuitous embellishment of Fernando's, who is peculiarly desirous that his readers should, at this period, perceive supreme intervention in his father's favor.

Thus we have seen that he regards the deaths of Bobadilla and Roldan as special acts of the Deity, who is thus made to take upon himself the punishment of the admiral's enemies; and by the same special providence, we are assured, the only ship of the great fleet which reached Spain in safety, was the poorest and weakest of all, but it had on board four thousand pieces of gold belonging to Columbus. The latter also safely weathered the storm which had been fatal to his enemies. Upon these miracles, as he terms them, M. de Lorgues builds a considerable portion of his claims for Columbus's canonization. Those who in their journey through life have observed the inscrutable ways of Divine Providence, and noted how often the wicked are allowed to prosper in worldly matters, while the good are as often buffeted by misfortune, will not perceive in the death of the unfortuate Spaniards, nor in the salvation of Columbus and his ill-gotten gains, any manifestation of the sanctity of the latter, or the baseness of the former.

His three vessels, separated by the storm, having rejoined him, and finding it impossible to obtain admittance to San

Domingo, Columbus, after a short sojourn in a sheltered part of the coast, set sail for Jamaica on the 14th of July, 1502. His crew felt bitterly their having been sent out under a man whose status was such that they were refused admittance into a port belonging to their own country, and to which even a foreign vessel would have been hospitably welcomed.

The stormy weather continued. During *sixty* days, only seventy leagues were made, owing to adverse winds and currents. At last the little island of Guanaja was reached. Columbus named it Isla de Pinos (Island of Pines), on account of the abundance of those trees.

A large canoe was seen approaching this island, laden with various products. It is described as being eight feet wide, very long. Part of it was covered with a rounded thatching of palm-leaves, after the manner of Venetian gondolas. It was most probably one of those partially-covered canoes which still navigate some of the inland rivers of South America, and are called *champanes*. The people it contained are described as far superior to any yet met with; the women wore long draperies of woven cotton; broad cinctures of the same material encircled the men about the loins. Their wares, too, indicated an approach to civilization. Woven cloth of cotton, earthen-ware utensils, almonds, cocoa (which the Spaniards then saw for the first time, and which has since furnished Spain with its national beverage), copper axes, crucibles in which this metal was melted—these constituted their chief cargo.

The accounts of Columbus's treatment of these natives are conflicting. Mr. Irving and most modern historians relate that the people exhibited no fear, and came willingly alongside the vessels, where they gladly exchanged their wares for hawk's bells and other baubles; that Columbus treated them with gentleness, and detained *only* one old man as a guide.

Fernando, who was on the spot, and who, great as is his desire to conceal his father's misdeeds, sometimes accidentally gives us an insight into the truth, makes it appear that Columbus did not deal so gently with these people as Irving and others would have it supposed. He says: "At that time they seemed to be, in a manner, beside themselves, being brought prisoners out of their canoe aboard the ship, among such strange and fierce people as

we are to them."[140] These people are supposed to have come from Yucatan to trade among the islands. Had Columbus sailed in the direction whence they came, he would probably have reached the rich countries of Mexico, and thus have gained for Spain some material profit; but he was bent (or feigned to be so) upon finding his strait or passage to India, and proceeded in an opposite direction.

A southerly course brought him to the shores of the continent, which he coasted in an easterly direction. The storm, we read, still remained unabated; rain, wind, and current, com-

MASS CELEBRATED ON THE CONTINENT.

bined to baffle and perturb the now bedridden admiral. On the 14th of August, he, being unable to stir, ordered his brother

[140] "Historia del Amirante," chapter xci. The same authority also makes it evident that they were somewhat violently induced to come on board the Spanish ships, for, speaking of their superior modesty over the other tribes, he says: "It falling out that, on getting them aboard, some were taken by the clouts they had before their privities, they would immediately clap their hands to cover them; and the women would hide their faces, and wrap themselves up, as we said the Moorish women do at Granada." In fact, it is evident that the crew of the canoe were roughly seized, with their wares, Columbus keeping what part of these he saw fit, and giving in return a few worthless baubles. "And the admiral blessed God that it had pleased Him at once to give him samples of the commodities of that country, without exposing his men to any danger."

Bartholomew to go on shore and have mass celebrated by the Franciscan friar who accompanied the expedition. This was done.

On the 17th of the same month land was again sighted, and possession taken for Spain by the erection of a huge cross. Here a great number of natives were assembled, who offered the Spaniards cassava-bread, fowls, and vegetables, which they had with them in great abundance. Notwithstanding these evidences to the contrary, Columbus, having, no doubt, the ultimate enslavement of the poor wretches in view, declared them cannibals. "This was evident," he says, "from the brutality of their countenances." Anthropophagi would, we fear, be numerous even in civilized communities, were the above ear-marks infallible evidence of cannibalistic propensities.

One portion of the coast was named Costa de la Oreja, from the hideous manner in which the inhabitants of that country bored their ears.

Still opposed by wind and tide, Columbus now coasted Honduras. It is to be remarked that this continuous storm, severe as it no doubt was, is described by Columbus with much of that colored exaggeration which characterizes all his writings, after the manner of some story-tellers who never think the truth alone wonderful enough. He writes: "Eighty-eight days did this fearful tempest continue, during which I was at sea, and saw neither sun nor stars; my ships lay exposed, my sails torn, and anchors, rigging, cables, boats, and a great quantity of provisions, lost. My people were very weak and humble in spirit, many of them promising to lead a religious life, and all making vows and promising to perform pilgrimages, while some of them would frequently go to their messmates to make confession. Other tempests have been experienced, but never of so long duration, or so fearful as this."

At length, however, the vessels reached a prominent headland, whence the coast stretched south. The current, which had impeded their progress, divided upon this point and ran southward, assisting instead of opposing them. Columbus, therefore, named this Cape Gracias á Dios (Thanks to God), a name it still retains, though few of the places he baptized are now known by the appellations he gave them.

Thence he proceeded along the Mosquito coast. Arriving at a large river, the men put off to fill their casks with fresh water,

when a wave overwhelmed one boat, which was lost with all its crew. The river was therefore named Rio del Desastro (of the Disaster).

The village of Cariari was the next point of any importance reached. Here the natives assumed the defensive upon the approach of the Spaniards, but, not being attacked, and the latter having made pacific demonstrations, they gained confidence.

An aged man appeared with two young girls. These, he intimated, were to be hostages for the Spaniards who might wish to land. The latter profited by this generous assurance, and went on shore to procure water.

We have various and conflicting accounts touching the character and conduct of these girls. Fernando and his father especially disagree in their description of them. The former writes:

"Those people showed more friendly than others had done, and in the girls appeared an undauntedness; for, though the Christians were such strangers to them, they expressed no manner of concern, but *always looked pleasant and modest*, which made the admiral treat them well, clothed, fed, and set them ashore again, where the fifty men were; and the old man that had delivered them received them again with much satisfaction." [141]

Columbus, however, thus describes the same scene:

"When I arrived, they sent me immediately two girls very showily dressed; the eldest could not be more than eleven years of age, and the other seven, and both *exhibited so much immodesty* that more could not be expected from public women. They carried concealed about them a magic powder. When they came, I gave them some articles to deck themselves out with, and directly sent them back to the shore." [142]

When Fernando wrote his statement, he was no doubt ignorant of his father's version, and, not considering that "the admiral's" character or veracity could be impugned by the truth, he made a correct statement.

It is matter for congratulation that several documents written by Columbus were never perused by Fernando; we are thus enabled to bring many falsehoods of each to light.

Friendly as were the people of Cariari, they, like all the tribes visited by Columbus, had more reason to mourn than rejoice at

[141] "Historia del Amirante," chapter xci.

[142] Letter of Columbus to the sovereigns, July 7, 1503.

the visitation. Seven of them were seized and two retained, while the rest were allowed to return to their people; but the friends of the two prisoners took their capture greatly to heart. Heavily laden with products of their land (among other things, two small hogs), they offer all, and more, if the Spaniards will only restore their friends to liberty; but Columbus was inexorable; he wanted guides (did this scientific navigator and discoverer), having set down the poor old Indian of Guanaja at Cape Gracias á Dios. Thus he from time to time seized a hapless native, used him as guide till his knowledge of the country was exhausted, then set him down in a strange land, whence there was little probability of his reaching his far-away home. But the magnanimous, gentle, humane admiral, while refusing to deliver the Cariarians to their kinsmen, accepted the presents, notably the hogs, one of which afterward procured him sport cruel enough to gratify even his brutal tastes. Let us observe the gusto with which he recounts the torture inflicted upon two dumb brutes, merely for amusement, and we shall be assured, if any doubt lingers in our minds, that cruelty was with him a passion.

"I had, at that time," he writes, "two pigs and an Irish dog, who was always in great dread of them. An archer had wounded an animal like an ape, except that it was larger, and had a face like a man's; the arrow had pierced it from the neck to the tail, which made it so fierce that they were obliged to disable it by cutting off one of its arms and a leg. One of the pigs grew wild on seeing this, and fled; upon which *I ordered the begare* (as the inhabitants call him) *to be thrown to the pig*, and though the animal was nearly dead, and the arrow had passed quite through his body, yet he threw his tail round the snout of the pig, and then, holding him firmly, seized him by the nape of the neck with his remaining hand, as if he were engaged with an enemy. This action was so novel and extraordinary that I have thought it worth while to describe it here."

The cowardly superstition, which was one of the manly attributes of our hero, is also manifested during his stay at Cariari. A smoke which the natives created, and which the wind blew toward him, was, he declared, a necromantic spell they sought to cast upon him. It was probably the smoking of tobacco through pipes as he had already seen it smoked in the leaf.

Details of this voyage are not wanting, as both Columbus and Fernando are very minute in their recitals. We shall not, however, be equally so, and follow him through all the mishaps and disasters of this his last expedition, but content ourselves with noting its more important features.

From time to time he procured gold from the natives, who were, as a rule, friendly. Here, he traded for large plates of gold which were worn suspended from the neck; there, he would increase the respect of the harmless natives by discharging a cannon among them.[143] Now, he comes upon five large settlements

INDIANS SMOKING.—(From Philopono, "Nova Typis," etc., 1621.)

or towns, as he called them, one of which, Veragua, subsequently gave its name to the adjacent country. Here he *was told* there existed extensive gold-mines, but would not stay, being still bent upon finding the strait. He was, Mr. Irving tells us, under one of his frequent delusions. That he should be deluded and honest was possible, but when we find him constantly professing to

[143] "Therefore, to abate their pride and make them not contemn the Christians, the admiral caused a shot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball, falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a thunder-bolt as well as thunder, so that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains."—("Historia del Amirante," chapter xciii.)

hear from the natives that he is within a short distance (ten days' journey on foot) of Cathay—the dominions of the grand-khan—that he is in the land of Ophir—when he assures the sovereigns, upon the authority of these same savages, that a little beyond a place called Ciguare, which he visits, will be found the Ganges, his honesty is somewhat to be impugned.

It is diverting also to remark that he has been taught by sad experience that it will not do to lie too barefacedly. He therefore places himself under cover of the Indians, and indulges in a little taunt at the sovereigns, in which his ill-concealed malice and anger are momentarily exposed.

"When I discovered the Indies," he writes to their majesties, "I said that they composed the richest lordship in the world; I spoke of gold, and pearls, and precious stones, of spices, and the traffic that might be carried on in them; and, because all these things were not forthcoming at once, I was abused. This punishment causes me to refrain from relating any thing but what the natives tell me."

Owing to the bad weather, the crazed and worm-eaten condition of his ships, as also, no doubt, to the fact that, though he had made the search for the strait a pretense for returning to Hispaniola, he did not himself believe in its existence, he at last abandoned it as fruitless, and made for Veragua. Not willing, however, to own that he has proclaimed the existence of a strait where none existed, his crew were again made to mutiny, and it was, we are told, in compliance with their urgent entreaties that he consented to return.

He sailed for Veragua, but the wind, veering as he changed his course, still remained contrary; the elements conspired against him—a frightful storm prevailed. The ships were in imminent danger, when the awfulness of the situation culminated in a huge water-spout, which appeared to be making toward them. Columbus proceeded, in a somewhat novel manner, to avert this new peril, by which he excites the enthusiastic admiration of his would-be canonizer, M. de Lorgues, whose description of the scene and of the sailor-like bearing of the admiral, we cannot resist inserting:

"It was one of those water-spouts which seamen call *fronks*, which were then so little known, and which have since submerged so many vessels. . . . At the cries of distress which

reached his heart, the great man became suddenly reanimated. In face of the impending ruin he rises with his wonted vigor, in order to survey and weigh the peril. *He* also perceives the formidable thing that is approaching. The sea appeared to be sucked up toward the heavens. For this unknown phenomenon he saw no remedy. Art was useless and navigation powerless; besides, there was no steering any longer.

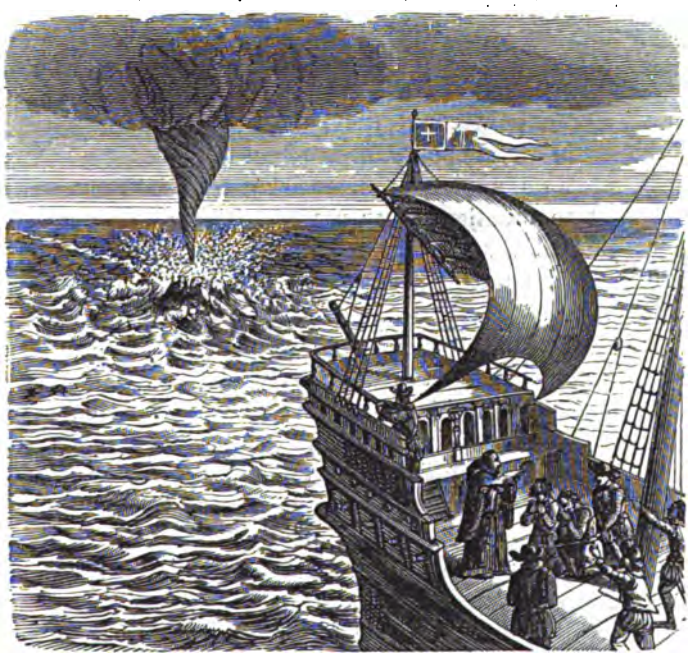
"Immediately Columbus, the adorer of the Word, suspected, in this terrific display of the brute forces of Nature, some satanic manœuvre. He could not exorcise the powers of the air, according to the rites of the Church, fearing to usurp the authority of the priesthood; but he called to mind that he was the chief of a Christian expedition, and that his object was a holy one; and he desired, in his way, to compel the spirit of darkness to yield the passage to him. He had blessed wax-candles immediately lighted and put in the lanterns; then he girded himself with his sword over the cord of St. Francis, and, taking the book of the gospels, standing in the face of the water-spout, which was coming near, accosted it with the sublime declaration which commences the gospel of the well-beloved disciple of Jesus, St. John, the adoptive son of the blessed Virgin.

"Trying to raise his voice above the howling of the tempest, the messenger of salvation declared to Typhon that in the beginning was the Word; that the Word was with God, and that the Word was God; that all things have been made by him, and that without him was not any thing made that was made; that in him was life, and that the life was the light of men; that the light shineth in darkness, and that the darkness did not comprehend it; that the world was made by him, and that the world knew him not; that he came to his own and his own received him not; but that he has given to those who believe in his name, and who are not born of the flesh, or of blood, or of the will of man, the power to become the children of God; and that the WORD WAS MADE FLESH, and that he dwelt among us.

"Then, in the name of the divine Word, Jesus Christ, whose words calmed the winds and appeased the billows, Christopher Columbus commands the water-spout to spare those who, becoming children of God, go to carry the cross to the extremities of the earth, and navigate in the name of the thrice Holy Trinity. Then, drawing his sword with a full and ardent faith, he traces

in the air, with the steel, the sign of the cross, and describes a circle around him with the sword, as if he had really severed or intercepted the water-spout. And, in fact—O prodigy!—the water-spout, which was coming straight toward the caravels, appearing to be pushed obliquely, passed between the half-submerged caravels, and went off, bellowing, to lose itself in the immensity of the Atlantic.

"This sudden retreat of a destructive phenomenon appeared to Columbus himself as a new favor from the Divine Majesty.



COLUMBUS VANQUISHES THE WATER-SPOUT.

The same piety which prompted him to have recourse to God to be preserved, prevented him from having any doubt that he was indebted to Him for his preservation in this extremity." [144]

Irving, who seeks throughout to give a wise and scholarly character to his hero, perceiving how fatal to such a reputation was the manner in which Columbus thought to influence a phenomenon of Nature, would lead us to suppose that it was the

[144] De Lorgues, "Christophe Colombe," vol. ii., liv. iv., chapter ii.

ignorant sailors (those convenient scape-goats who are forever made to fill the breaches in Columbus's biographies) who frantically repeated passages from St. John. M. de Lorgues is justly indignant at this new attempt to rob Columbus of his "well-earned fame." He says:

"It is vain for Mr. Irving to try to hide under the plural form the spontaneous initiative of Columbus, and to keep out of sight his individual action. The event itself intrinsically protests against such a disfigurement of history, and opposes to it both moral and physical impossibilities. How could the caravels, separated from each other by the terrible commotion of the elements, scarcely able to see each other across the watery vapors and the globules of foam filling the air, and still less hearing each other, how could they, we say, settle on a plan of combating the water-spout, agree about the choice of an evangelist, and fix on a passage deemed proper for warding off the peril? Not to mention other reasons, Irving does not seem to have considered that none of the pilots would, of themselves, have conceived an expedient so singularly foreign to nautical science,[145] and, at the same time, so bold in a spiritual point of view."[146]

Whether owing to the admiral's impressive and appropriate exhortation, or in pursuance of its natural course, the water-spout passed without harming the little caravels. The storm had, however, separated one of them from the rest, and it was only after encountering great peril, and losing her boat, that she was enabled to rejoin the squadron, which was in sorry condition—provisions exhausted or rotten—when, on the 17th of December, it found welcome refuge in a port. Here, we are told, the natives lived in houses built in the tops of trees, like the nests of birds. Fernando, who seems to have entered fully into his father's spirit of invention, states that the practice was caused by the number of griffins which abound in that place. Mr. Irving, while drawing principally upon Fernando for his account of this voyage, wisely omits this absurdity, or travesties it into some appearance of truth by telling us the houses were thus built to escape from the wild beasts, etc., that abound in that region.

[145] In this we fully concur.

[146] De Lorgue, "Christophe Colombe," vol. ii., liv. iv., chapter ii.

Leaving this port after much buffeting against adverse winds and waves, the caravels entered another, where the stock of wood, water, and provisions, was replenished, and whence they started on the 3d of January, 1503, and shortly reached a river near Veragua, which Columbus named Belen (Bethlehem).

Bartholomew, with the assistance of the friendly natives, especially of their chief Quibian, explored the country and found it rich in gold; it was, therefore, determined to form a settlement on the banks of the Belen, where Bartholomew should be left with eighty men to amass gold, while Columbus returned to Spain. The settlement was made, but the licentious and covetous conduct of the Spaniards, here as elsewhere, made enemies of the friendly-disposed Indians. Hostilities soon commenced, and the chief Quibian was, with all his family, treacherously captured by Bartholomew, while all the gold (his possessing which constituted his chief offense) found in his house was, of course, seized. The chief succeeded in effecting his escape by plunging, bound as he was, into the sea; his family, wives, and children were, however, taken on board Columbus's vessel, and confined in the hold. This capture aroused the indignation of Quibian, who, with his followers, now thirsted for vengeance. The colony was attacked. Columbus had already crossed the shallow bar at the entrance of the river, leaving one caravel for the use of the settlement, and was anchored at sea ready to sail at the first fair wind. He sent a boat up the river to procure supplies of wood and water. This boat was attacked when far inland, and destroyed by the outraged natives, and of the eight men composing its crew only one reached the settlement to tell the tale. Columbus, outside the river, remained alike ignorant of the loss of the boat and crew, and of the hostile disposition of the natives, who he hoped would have been frightened into submission by the fate of their chief's family. The latter, immured in the loathsome hold of the wretched caravel, now resolved upon one brave and desperate attempt to recover freedom. Piling up the stones which served as ballast to the ship, they climbed upon them, and succeeded in springing open the hatches, notwithstanding several sailors lay sleeping upon them, and a number, plunging into the sea, escaped. Some, however, were secured ere they could leap overboard; these unfortunates were all found dead the next day, having themselves ended their

lives rather than submit to be the slaves of their cruel and ungrateful captors.

Columbus was seriously alarmed at the effect the reappearance of the prisoners would have upon their countrymen; he feared that the recital of what they had endured would rouse again the hatred and hostility of the tribes. He was, however, unable to reënter the river and learn the condition of the colony, or the fate of the men he had sent inland, on account of the heavy surge at the mouth of the Belen.

It was at this period, when, by his mismanagement, affairs

PRETENDED INTERVIEW OF COLUMBUS WITH THE DEITY.

had reached a most disagreeable crisis, that one of Columbus's visions and convenient conversations with the Deity took place, if we are to believe himself, who thus describes the scene:

"All hope of escape was gone. I toiled up to the highest part of the ship, and, with a quivering voice and fast-falling tears, I called upon your highnesses' war-captains from each point of the compass [147] to come to my succor, but there was no

[147] An appeal likely to be promptly responded to.

reply. At length, groaning with exhaustion, I fell asleep and heard a compassionate voice address me thus:

"'O fool, and slow to believe and to serve thy God, the God of all! What did He do more for Moses, or for David his servant, than He has done for thee? From thine infancy, He has kept thee under his constant and watchful care. When He saw thee arrived at an age which suited his designs respecting thee, He brought wonderful renown to thy name throughout all the land. He gave thee for thine own the Indies, which form so rich a portion of the world, and thou hast divided them as it pleased thee, for He gave thee power to do so. He gave thee, also, the keys of those barriers of the ocean sea which were closed with such mighty chains; and thou wast obeyed through many lands, and gained an honorable fame throughout Christendom. What more did the Most High do for the people of Israel when He brought them out of Egypt, or for David, who from a shepherd He made to be king in Judea? Turn to Him, and acknowledge thine error. His mercy is infinite; thine old age shall not prevent thee from accomplishing any great undertaking. He holds under his sway the greatest possessions. Abraham had exceeded a hundred years of age when he begat Isaac, nor was Sarah young. Thou criest out for uncertain help; answer who has afflicted thee so much, and so often—God or the World? The privileges promised by God, He never fails in bestowing; nor does He ever declare, after a service has been rendered Him, that such was not agreeable with his intention, or that He had regarded the matter in another light; nor does He inflict suffering, in order to give effect to the manifestations of his power. His acts answer to his words, and it is his custom to perform all his promises with interest. Thus I have told thee what the Creator has done for thee, and what He does for all men. Even now He partially shows thee the reward of so many toils and dangers incurred by thee in the service of others.'"

There is, we cannot too often repeat, something revolting in this maudlin defense of Columbus, put by him in the mouth of the Almighty, whom, in his blasphemous effrontery, he causes to threaten all who do not believe in and cherish him. He even, behind the screen of Divinity, hazards a thrust at Isabella, and reveals, for a moment, the sharp claws which he usu-

ally concealed beneath his smooth and cringing sycophancy. If this be madness, yet there is method in it.

Matters did not much improve in spite of Columbus's very sensible appeal to her majesty's war-captains. Doubt and apprehension every day increased, till a hardy pilot, Pedro Ledesma by name, volunteered to swim ashore and investigate. This he did, and discovered the colonists beleaguered by ever-increasing numbers of natives, and in despair at being left in that land at the mercy of the much-injured Indians. He also learned the fate of the boat and crew, and, upon reporting these facts to Columbus, the latter concluded to abandon the settlement. The caravel which had been left in the river had been allowed to become utterly unseaworthy, and was abandoned; all the men, therefore, embarked in the three remaining vessels.

It appears that Columbus regarded the gold-mines of Veragua as the only real benefit likely to accrue to Spain from his enterprises. He now took such precautions as to render it, he hoped, impossible for any but himself to return to them. He, therefore confiscated the charts of the pilots and mariners, and boastingly writes to the sovereigns: "Let them answer and say if they know where Veragua is situated. I assert that they can give no other account than that they went to lands where there was an abundance of gold, and this they can certify surely enough; but they do not know the way to return thither for such a purpose; they would be obliged to go on a voyage of discovery as much as if they had never been there before.[148]

He evidently hoped to get some hold on Isabella, and wished to make her believe that she was at his mercy, so far as regarded the possession of the gold-mines.

Adverse weather pertinaciously clings to Columbus, and, as he proceeded along the coast westward, he was obliged to abandon another of his vessels at Puerto Bello. The condition of the remaining two was not such as to warrant much trifling, yet Columbus sailed among the Mulata Islands, where once more he—apparently considering the territories of the grand-khan as

[148] One of the witnesses in the lawsuit between Diego Columbus and the crown, Pedro Mateos of Higuey, testified that he had accompanied Columbus on his fourth voyage, and that he "wrote a book in which he had laid down all the mountains and rivers of the said province (Veragua), and the admiral afterward took it away from him."—(Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. iii., p. 564.)

somewhat ubiquitous—declared that he has reached one of the provinces belonging to that prince.

What led him to suppose, or pretend to suppose this, it is difficult to imagine, unless he hoped to inspire his disgusted crew with a little confidence in and respect for him.

These gyrations he seems to have performed with a view to confusing the pilots after taking away their charts; but regard for his own safety now made him adopt a northerly course and steer for Hispaniola direct.

The two caravels were about this time driven violently against each other; the bow of one and the stern of the other were shattered, and three anchors lost. The current bore the vessels westward, till they reached the island of Cuba, where cassava-bread was provided by the natives, and they again set sail for Hispaniola, but reached instead Jamaica, where, on the 23d of June, 1503, at a place which he called Santa Gloria, he ran the dilapidated remains of his "considerable equipment" hard aground, and he and his worn-out crew landed on the island, whence they could not again depart till, by some means, other vessels should be procured.

It may not be amiss here to call the attention of the reader to the fact that Columbus, notwithstanding all the nautical skill he might be supposed to have acquired during his long life, was singularly unfortunate with all the ships intrusted to him. We do not wonder that seamen objected to sail under him. Obstinate and arrogant, he would take no advice, yet was obviously incapable of directing a vessel. His carelessness cost him a vessel at Belen, another at Puerto Bello; the collision which shattered the other two seems an accident which some skill and caution might have prevented; but such details were apparently beneath the notice of this "extraordinary man."

Sheds were built on board the two stranded caravels, and a forced and permanent stay prepared for. Diego Mendez, who appears to have been the most able and energetic man of the expedition, made friendly treaties with the natives at different points, wherein it was agreed that they should every day bring, to certain specified places, provisions in exchange for European trinkets. This satisfactory arrangement effected, Columbus became desirous of communicating with Hispaniola. No means, however, of doing this existed, save native canoes; the distance

was forty leagues; few would dare such an undertaking. Mendez, however, came again to the rescue. He possessed an excellent canoe, for which he had bartered with a chief who had shown him great friendship. This chief had also assigned him six Indians to manage the canoe. In this frail bark he now proposed to brave the wide sea and strong currents which divide Jamaica from Hispaniola. Taking with him one Spanish comrade and his six Indians, and having made his canoe as strong against wind and wave as was possible, besides providing it with sails, he pronounced himself ready to start on his perilous voyage. Columbus intrusted him with a letter to Ovando, soliciting a ship and provisions. He also sent by him a letter to the sovereigns, relating the events of this his fourth voyage, from which we have had occasion to make several quotations. This letter is a strange medley of arrogance and humility, boastfulness and begging. Here we find him declaring that he is in the land whence Solomon procured his gold.[140] There he implores their highnesses to pardon his bitter complaints, which are called forth by his ruined condition, and laments, with maudlin pathos, over his misfortunes, declaring that he had made this voyage without any hope of profit or emolument.

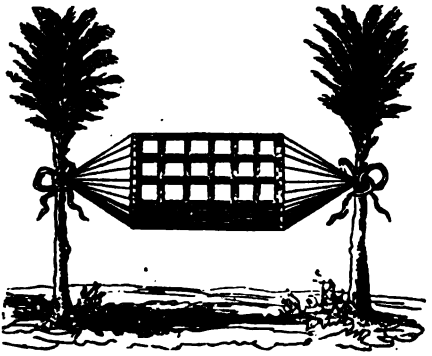
With this missive Diego Mendez departed. If ever man did his duty bravely and efficiently, Mendez so did his. It was owing to him that the Spaniards were rescued from starvation—owing to him that they now had some hope of departure from their island-prison. Unfortunately, however, he was captured, soon after his departure, by hostile Indians, from whom he with difficulty escaped. Regaining possession of his canoe, he returned to the harbor and stranded ships, and, nothing daunted, proposed again to attempt the undertaking, if a body of armed men could escort him as far as his boat should remain in sight.

Two canoes were manned for the voyage, each containing six Spaniards and ten natives. One was commanded by Mendez, the other by Fiesco. The latter received orders from Columbus to return to Jamaica and report as soon as the canoes

[140] "Josephus thinks that this gold was found in Aurea. If it were so, I contend that these mines of the Aurea are identical with those of Veragua, which, as I have said before, extends westward twenty days' journey, at an equal distance from the pole and the line. Solomon bought all of it—gold, precious stones, and silver—but your majesties need only send to seek them, to have them at your pleasure."

should reach Hispaniola. Mendez was first to interview Ovando and urge the immediate dispatch of a vessel to the relief of Columbus; then to proceed immediately to Spain and deliver to the sovereigns the important letter aforementioned.

Bartholomew, with a body of men, followed the canoes along the coast, watched them till they had entirely disappeared, and then returned to Santa Gloria.

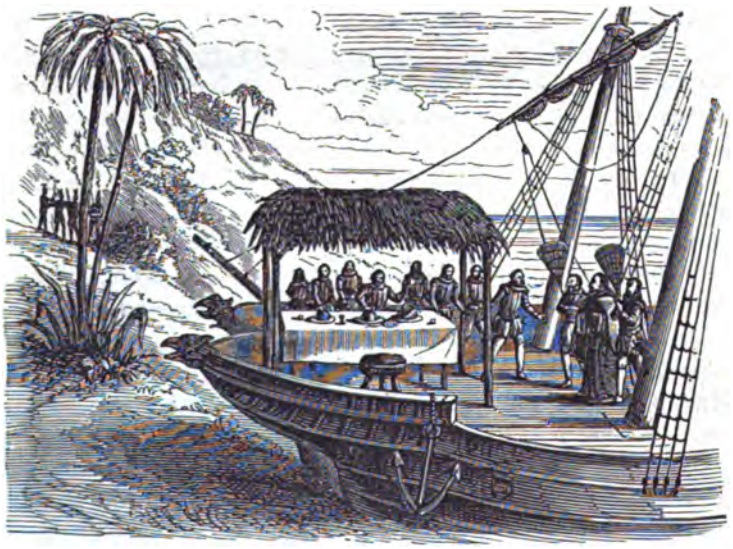


INDIAN HAMMOCK

CHAPTER XXVI.

SOJOURN OF COLUMBUS IN JAMAICA.—VOYAGE OF DIEGO MENDEZ.

ALTHOUGH the forced sojourn of the Spaniards in Jamaica commenced under as favorable auspices as could be expected, the common misfortune, into which all had alike fallen, does not



COLUMBUS USHERED TO HIS REPAST WHILE STRANDED AT JAMAICA.

appear to have abated the arrogance of Columbus, or the distrust and hatred with which he was regarded.

It is even said that, though in such miserable plight, he insisted upon the observance of all the etiquette which he considered due to the rank of viceroy, that he caused himself to be

ushered into the thatch-sheds, to his frugal meals of Indian fare, by "gentlemen esquires," bearing *flabella*, while all rose at his approach.[160] The Franciscan garb, which, in mock humility, he had assumed, must have accorded well with this ridiculous vanity. Such absurdities are characteristic of Columbus, who was as tenacious of fictitious as he was incapable of inspiring real respect.

His conduct was such that, ere long, suppressed murmurs swelled into open rebellion, if indeed disaffection under such circumstances can be termed rebellion. It is impossible to judge rightly of the difficulties and disagreements occurring in Jamaica at this period, as the only account we have of them is from the pen of Fernando Columbus. From him all other authors have borrowed more or less. It is evident, however, that the majority of the men were hostile to Columbus; that only the sickly and feeble remained on his side. Fernando, who is not what may be termed an impartial historian, and who does not scruple to distort facts, or indeed invent them, when his father's reputation is at stake, nevertheless allows *quasi* admissions of the universal feeling of distrust entertained toward Columbus, to escape him. He writes thus:

"Francis de Porras came upon the quarter-deck of the admiral's ship, and said to him, 'My lord, what is the meaning that you will not go into Spain, and will keep us all here perishing?' The admiral, hearing these unusual, insolent words, and suspecting what the matter might be, very calmly answered he did not see which way they could go till those that were gone in the canoes sent a ship; that no man was more desirous to be gone than he, as well for his own private interests as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that, if he had any thing to propose, he would again call together the captains and principal men to consult, as had been done several times before. Porras replied that it was no time to talk, but that he should embark quickly or stay there by himself; and, so turning his back, added, in a loud voice, 'I am going to Spain with those that will follow me.' At which time, all his followers who were present began to cry out, 'We will go with you! We will go with you!' and, running about, possessed them-

[160] He was served at table as a grandee. "All hail!" was said to him on state occasions.—(HELPS, "Life of Columbus," p. 124.)

the savages, and of bringing forward the sacred name of God. Gross and unworthy as it was, it is, however, evident that Columbus perpetrated it, and the plan seems to have worked well. The Indians professed penitence, and Columbus consented to intercede for them, and, when the shadow passed from the face of the planet, reappeared and informed them that its restored light was the result of his intercession. Thenceforth there was no scarcity of supplies.

It becomes us here to make some brief mention of the memorable voyage made by Diego Mendez to Hispaniola. This devoted man served Columbus faithfully and well, at the risk of his own life, but he later learned, by bitter experience, that selfish ingratitude was to be the only reward for these services.

Great must have been the hardships experienced by men sailing in open canoes across a wide track of ocean. Mendez appears to have organized an effective and safe routine. The Spaniards and Indian crew were divided into two bands, one of which watched and labored while the other slept.

The burning rays of the tropical sun poured down from a cloudless sky upon the uncovered canoes; the heat was intensified by the reflection from the water. Soon the Indian rowers became exhausted, water and provisions failed; the brave band endured unspeakable agonies. On the second night, one of the Indians, overcome by labor, heat, and agonizing thirst, died; the parched lips and powerless strokes of his companions premised a like fate for them. The last drop of water had been drunk, and despair had almost seized even the strong heart of Mendez, when the light of the rising moon revealed a small island. Thither they eagerly steered, the lagging oarsmen inspired with new vigor. The island (Navassa) proved to be a mass of rock, entirely destitute of vegetation; rain-water, however, abounded in the hollows and crevices. Several of the unfortunate Indians drank so eagerly and freely that they died on the spot. The more reasonable of the worn-out party, after assuaging their thirst, made a fire of drift-wood, and roasting the shell-fish, which they found in abundance, made a hearty meal, which restored them to their wonted vigor. The following day was spent on the island resting. In the evening the canoes again set sail, and, on the following morning, four days after

their departure from Jamaica, landed at Cape Tiburn, in Hispaniola. "Here," says Diego Mendez, in his narrative, "I brought the canoe up to a very beautiful part of the coast, to which many of the natives soon came and brought with them many articles of food, so that I remained there two days to take rest."

These two days expired, he set out, taking with him six native Indians, for San Domingo, a coasting voyage of some thirty leagues. Fiesco would have returned to Jamaica, as had been agreed, but his companions and the exhausted Indians would not hear of a second time exposing themselves to the terrible hardships they had endured, so the sea-bound prisoners of Jamaica were kept in suspense.

On reaching San Domingo, Mendez was informed that Ovando was in Xaragua, a province fifty leagues distant. For this place he bravely set out on foot and alone, and reached his destination in safety, after achieving, as Mr. Irving justly says, "one of the most perilous expeditions ever undertaken by a devoted follower for the safety of his commander."

For seven months he remained in Xaragua, but no ship was sent to the relief of Columbus. Ovando has been virulently assailed for this culpable neglect. We may be permitted to doubt, however, whether he did not thereby act according to the wishes, if not in obedience to the direct orders, of the sovereigns. It is probable, indeed Irving hints as much, that Columbus's would-be negotiations with Genoa were better known than that worthy would have liked, and that, tidings of these having reached Ovando, he considered the fortuitous imprisonment at Jamaica an easy solution of the difficult problem, What to do with Columbus? He learned from Mendez that the Spaniards were not likely to lack food, and therefore considered that haste was unnecessary.

When eight months had elapsed since the departure of Mendez, a ship was sent to Jamaica, bearing a present from Ovando to the colony of a barrel of wine and two flitches of bacon, but there appears to have been no intention of permitting Columbus, as yet, to return into the world.

Escobar, who commanded the vessel, reached Jamaica in March, 1504. He came alongside the stranded caravels in a boat (his vessel remaining out at sea), and, having delivered the

wine and bacon, rowed off to a short distance, whence he informed Columbus that there were no vessels then in Hispaniola of sufficient size to bring him away with all his followers; that, as soon as one arrived, the governor would send it to his relief.

Columbus, though feeling, as his son informs us, nothing but enmity at heart, dissimulated as usual, and wrote a most friendly letter to Ovando, declaring his satisfaction that he should have the management of affairs, and defending himself (as he generally did when feeling guilty) from a charge which had not been made against him, namely, that his designs in returning to Hispaniola were not of a loyal character.[164]

With this missive, Escobar departed, leaving the disappointed Spaniards again to lament, with some cause, let us admit, having joined their fortunes with those of a man so despised and distrusted by their sovereigns, as circumstances showed Columbus to be.

The disaffected rallied around the brothers Porras, and were loud in their complaints. Some, in distant parts, would not even believe that a ship had arrived and departed, but imagined this to be but another of the numerous falsehoods with which Columbus had cajoled and flattered them. It was in vain that the latter sent part of the bacon and wine as tangible proofs of his veracity. "The worthlessness of a man's word," says Irving, "may always be known by the extravagant means he uses to enforce it." Fully subscribing to this sentiment, we feel that the rebels were justified in disbelieving Columbus, maugre his bacon in an island where the commodity was scarce; at any rate, they resolved to separate themselves from one whose bad odor in Spain entailed upon his luckless followers such evil consequences, and who was, in himself, so little worthy of devotion or self-sacrifice.

A fight ensued, in which several of the disaffected were killed. Pedro de Ledesma, the pilot, who, by swimming ashore at Belen, had saved the lives of Bartholomew and his companions, was now covered with wounds, inflicted by that same Bartholomew, any one of which would have been sufficient to kill an ordinary man. Such, however, was the vigor of his constitution, that he recovered, to the astonishment of all. Porras was made prisoner, and Bartholomew returned to the ships, having had the

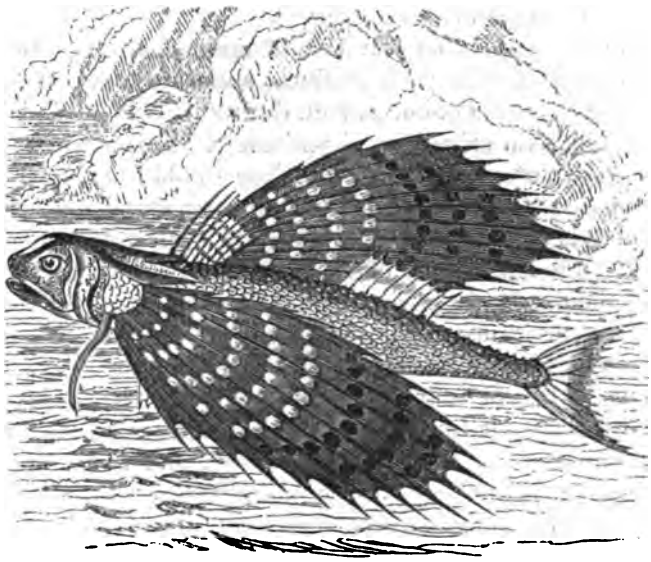
[164] Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. ii., p. 486.

best of the fight. The rebels offered to capitulate, and were, we are told, generously pardoned by Columbus. It is probable that he, too, was of the opinion that Porras, if heard, might have something to say, and was therefore quite willing to come to terms. He, however, detained Porras prisoner, in order to have some hold on his followers.

At length two ships appeared, to the relief alike of Columbus and his enemies. One had been bought and fitted out by the faithful Mendez, the other was provided by Ovando.

Mendez had thus nobly and indefatigably labored for the accomplishment of his difficult mission. What reward, will be asked, was given by the noble, the great-hearted Columbus for such services? He *promised* him the office of *alguazil* of Hispaniola. This post was, nevertheless, given by Diego Columbus, who had joined in the promise made by his father, to Bartholomew, and all the solicitations of Mendez were powerless to procure any recognition of his devotion He died poor.

The king seems to have better appreciated the heroic deed than he for whom it was performed. He granted Mendez a coat-of-arms, upon which a canoe was engraved, in memory of his perilous voyage.



FLYING-FISH.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DELIVERY OF COLUMBUS AND HIS COMPANIONS. — HIS RETURN TO SPAIN.—HIS DEATH.

JUST a year had elapsed since the two shattered caravels had stranded at Santa Gloria, when these two vessels reached Jamaica in June, 1504. On the 28th all embarked and joyfully bade farewell to the island which had so long been their prison. The transit to Hispaniola was a tempestuous one. The vessel was detained some days at the island Beata, whence Columbus wrote a letter, full of gratitude and professions of submission, to Ovando.[155] His conduct was soon to show the insincerity of these professions; even while he made them, he felt nothing but enmity at heart toward the governor.

Upon his landing, on the 13th of August, at San Domingo, Ovando received him with kindness and hospitality, installing him in the government-house, and, during the whole of his stay, treating him with urbanity and politeness. This is admitted by even the advocates of Columbus. They would have it believed, however, that Ovando's kindness was hypocritical, and cite as proof of this that he proceeded to inform himself as to the particulars of the late mutiny of Porras. This had taken place, be it remembered, within his jurisdiction, but, as he did not blindly accept, as convincing proof of the guilt of the mutineers, the testimony of Columbus, the latter waxed wroth, and, notwithstanding the letters he had written to Ovando, recognizing his authority and promising submission to it, he now openly and offensively declared that he was viceroy, and had, therefore, greater power than Ovando. He professed the utmost indignation that the latter should dare to question, or attempt to ascer-

[155] Navarrete, "Colecc. Dip.," vol. ii., p. 487.

tain, whether the six men who had been killed in Jamaica had deserved their fate. Six human lives, he held, were as nothing compared to his rank and dignity.

Ovando seems to have regarded this bluster with the amused indulgence accorded to a spoiled and petulant child. He still treated Columbus with polite consideration, but calmly proceeded to the duties of his office. Investigation was made, the result of which apparently went far to justify the mutiny; for Porras, though sent to Spain, was never punished.

Thoroughly disgusted with the state of affairs in San Domingo, and convinced that an attempt to reinstate himself in power must be futile, Columbus now determined to return, with all speed, to Spain. Two ships were placed at his disposal, and, after a month's sojourn in Hispaniola, he set sail. A storm, arising soon after his departure, carried away the mast of his ship. He sent it back to port, and embarked on the second, commanded by his brother Bartholomew. This homeward voyage was one continued storm,[166] and his ship was in sorry plight when, on the 7th of November, 1504, it landed him at San Lucar de la Barrameda. He was completely bedridden, and had himself transferred immediately to Seville.

Here he no doubt learned the fruitlessness of his attempt to excite the ambition of Genoa. She refrained from any espousal of his cause. The Genoese evidently tacitly, if not openly, refused to have any dealings with him. This refusal has been wrongly attributed, by some writers, to his low birth.[167]

There is a letter to be found in Navarrete, bearing the date

[166] The miraculous and extraordinary are made, as ever, to form a part of this voyage. Fernando, in his relation of it, will not content himself with reporting a terrific storm, such as might have been encountered by an ordinary mortal, but, in order that this "incomparable man" may be made to display his ingenuity, we read:

"The weather being fair, and *we very still, the mast flew into four pieces*, but the courage of the lieutenant (Bartholomew), and the admiral's ingenuity, though he could not rise out of his bed for the gout, fonnd a remedy for this misfortune, making a jury-mast of a yard, and strengthening the middle of it with ropes, and some planks they took from the poop and stern."—("Historia del Amirante," chapter cviii.)

[167] Ogilby, who makes Genoa the birthplace of Columbus, says that Peter Bezarus, a countryman of Columbus, "gives unquestionable proofs of his mean extract, and, among other things, that the commonwealth of Genoa refused to receive the great legacy which Columbus left them in his will, because they fondly thought it a derogation to their honor, being so great a republic, to take any thing of bequest from a fisher's son."—(OGILBY, "America," chapter iii.)

of 1502, which purports to have been written by a "magistrate of St. George" to Columbus, complimenting the latter in high terms, but discussing none of the plans he had proposed. The authenticity of this document may, however, be doubted, as we find Columbus in 1504 complaining to Oderigo that no notice has been taken of his proposals.

This hope dashed to the ground, he became, once more, urgent in his appeals to the crown for a restitution of his dignities. We are told that he thought more of his titles and offices than of the pecuniary privileges which had been accorded to him. The reason for this is very evident: though his demands for money were constant and exorbitant, yet he was aware that the expenses of his enterprises had hitherto far exceeded his profits, and he, no doubt, appreciated the impossibility of becoming rich by claiming the fulfillment of his bond in that quarter.

The crown was now awakened to the fact that it had no power to grant the titles of viceroy and admiral in perpetuity; and the sovereigns, far from regretting this, or desiring to overstep their prerogative, were rejoiced at this loop-hole through which they were enabled to escape from the consequences of their foolish concessions.

For these titles, Columbus, with the tenacity of age and the puerility of childhood, solicited, but solicited in vain. The queen, who had been in a critical condition at the time of his arrival, expired a few days after, on the 26th of November, 1504. Henceforth it was to Ferdinand alone that Columbus addressed his demands; but Ferdinand met them, as Isabella had done, with tacit refusal.

He was, at this time, wretchedly poor—living by borrowing—and confesses that he "most times has not wherewithal to pay his bill" at the tavern where he lodges.

He wrote to Ferdinand, inveighing against Ovando, assuring that monarch that the latter was derelict in the performance of his duties, careless of the treasure, and, above all, *unpopular* in the island. It is strange that Columbus, who had been so exceedingly hateful to the people of that same island, should bring forward unpopularity as a proof of unworthiness, and still more strange that he did not perceive that, in admitting unpopularity to be a just cause for the removal of an officer, he fully justified the proceedings of Bobadilla toward himself.

His letters were not noticed; the Spanish court was weary of this "*nudo-nocchier promettitor di regni*" (pauper-pilot promiser of realms). He had failed in all he had promised, and, while tenacious that others should fulfill their promises, he had not fulfilled one of his. He had not visited the grand-khan; he had not brought tons of gold to Spain; he had not opened the commerce of the East to that kingdom; he had not even discovered the strait, of the existence of which he had been so confident that he had been allowed, though in disgrace, to make a fourth voyage in search of it. Yet these, by his own proposition, were the services for which the privileges he claimed were to be the guerdon; all this, which he had agreed to accomplish, and had not accomplished, was the basis of his contract. It is, therefore, unjust to accuse the sovereigns of ingratitude in not performing their part of it, when he had not performed his, even could they legally have accorded to him the titles in question, which we have shown they could not.

When written appeals failed, he proceeded in person to court, then held in Segovia. Once he attempted the journey, but infirmity compelled him to abandon it. At length, in the month of May, 1505, he reached his destination.

The king received him courteously, but we may imagine that, when the infirm, impecunious, and aged man before him sought to excite his interest and secure his favor by promising to undertake another voyage, wherein all former ones should be surpassed in services rendered, the sensible monarch must have with difficulty refrained from smiling.

If Columbus, twelve years previous, had been unable to perform what he had promised, how absurd would it have been to expect him now, when bedridden and fast failing of old age, to undertake voyages or render services! Ferdinand contented himself with recommending to Columbus that he should rest and nurse his infirmities.

He took no notice of his vindictive accusations against Ovando; he even offered him titles which might compensate him for those which the queen had, without authority, granted him. These Columbus refused. The king then proposed to leave the matter to arbitration, allowing Columbus to choose the arbiter. He selected Diego de Deza, formerly Bishop of Palencia, but since promoted to the archbishopric of Seville.

This prelate was, we are told, the old and tried friend of Columbus. Of him the latter thus writes: "He was the cause that their highnesses obtained possession of the Indies, who induced me to remain in Castile when I was on the road to leave it." And again:

"If the Bishop of Palencia has arrived, or should arrive, tell him how much I have been gratified by his prosperity; and that, if I come, I shall lodge with his Grace, even though he should not invite me; for we must return to our ancient fraternal affection."

Yet so evidently conscious was he of the illegality of his claims that, having chosen this friendly arbiter, he would only consent to submit to him the question of revenue, not that of titles and hereditary offices.

This, of course, defeated the whole plan of arbitration, for it was precisely the titles, and only the titles, which were matters for arbitrament; the question of revenue could be settled by any accountant. The matter, therefore, which might have now been arranged with some possible advantage to Columbus, was deferred. Unwilling to come to any but his own terms, and these being impossible to accede to, he was again an unheeded solicitor. It is about this time that we find him interesting Vespucci in his behalf, and eager to profit by the good standing of the latter at court (*see* chapter on Vespucci).

But the wretched old man was clinging to the vanities of the world when on the very verge of the tomb. His malady, aggravated by age, had increased rapidly, and his career was near its close. When conscious that his end was approaching, he sought to atone for the crimes of his life by strict religious discipline; he still wore the Franciscan garb—token of humility; he sought to propitiate Heaven by redoubling in prayer and fasting.

In the month of May, 1506, he made the codicils which we have mentioned, and, on the 20th of that month, breathed his last.

Well, perhaps, would it have been for him, had his name been allowed to sink into oblivion. Well, certainly, would it have been for justice, had not a fictitious glory been created for him at the expense of truly good and great men, out of the ruins of whose good names his renown had sprung up.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BURIAL OF COLUMBUS.—HIS REPUTED TOMBS AND MONUMENTS.

THE falsehoods which have been promulgated concerning Columbus do not end at his death. We are told that, upon its occurrence, Ferdinand allowed his conscience to direct him, and, with tardy justice, ordered a magnificent tomb to be erected at Seville to his memory, bearing the following inscription:

"A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dio Colon."

Such an act on the part of the king would have been a tacit admission that he had culpably neglected a great man who had thus benefited Spain. That he gave no such orders, that no monument was erected, is now an ascertained fact.

Mr. George Sumner, to whom we are indebted elsewhere, comes again to our assistance and that of truth. He quotes the inscription on the tomb of Fernando Columbus (the biographer, who died some thirty years after his father) in the cathedral at Seville, and reports the above inscription as forming a part of it. He continues:

"Throughout all Spain I know of no other inscription to the memory of Columbus. At Valladolid, where he died, and where his body lay for some years, there is none that I could discover, neither is there any trace of any at the *Cartuja*, near Seville, to which his body was afterward transferred, and in which his brother was buried."

Thus the inscription existed only on the grave of Fernando, illegitimate son of Columbus, who, having embraced an ecclesiastical career and devoted himself to letters, left his library to the Carthusian monks, on condition, we are told, of their placing

over his grave, in the Cathedral of Seville, the above inscription. He died, as we have said, more than thirty years after Columbus.

It is a noticeable fact that the Government of Spain has ever abstained from any spontaneous recognition of Columbus and the claims set up for him by historians.

It is alleged that his remains were removed from the convent of the Franciscans, at Valladolid, to the Carthusian monastery near Seville, in 1513, and that, in 1536, they were transported to San Domingo, in Hispaniola. Be this as it may, we know that when Spain, in 1795, ceded the island of Hispaniola to France, she made no reservation of the ashes of Columbus, nor did she contemplate their removal, as she naturally would have done, had she regarded them in the light of national relics.

It was the officious zeal of the Admiral Aristozabal, who was sent to aid in surrendering the island to the French, which first imagined these remains to be of importance to Spain. So little, evidently, was thought of them, that this same Aristozabal was only "informed" that they were deposited in the island upon his arrival there. The information, however, stirs up his patriotism; he will not permit them to repose on French soil, and desires that their *re-retranslation* shall be of an *official* character, and accompanied with that kind of pomp and display which would have been so grateful to the living Columbus. The governor of the island entered into this project, though he confessed he had received no instructions from the Spanish Government concerning the matter; but "as he had not time, without great inconvenience," to consult the sovereign on the matter, he and Aristozabal, with the eagerly-proffered coöperation of the clergy, decided to act on their own responsibility, and transfer these sacred remains to Havana, in Cuba. This was done, we are told, with almost royal honors. But, however important the bones of Columbus had *become* to Spain in 1795, they evidently had not been much revered during the two hundred and fifty years previous, and, when all is told, and the pompous pageant which transported them to Havana described, it is by no means certain that the bones and mould scraped up with such care were the veritable ashes of Columbus.[168] If they were, why had they

[168] M. De Lorgues, speaking of the disappearance of the TRUE CROSS (set up by Columbus, which had worked so many miracles), says: "It is not strange that, in a country ruined and terrified, it was not known what had become of the TRUE CROSS,

been thus neglected? why had the slab or panel which closed the niche in the altar in which they are said to have lain, remained uninscribed? This attempt at honoring (when driven from the island) remains which had been allowed to repose unmarked for more than two hundred and fifty years of residence and possession, is too spasmodic and tardy to be regarded as the spontaneous admission, on the part of Spain, that she was under obligations to the man Columbus, or to his memory, and, though the above unauthorized acts of the governor and admiral are said to have afterward received the sanction of the crown, it is easy to perceive that this sanction was given, rather than, by disapproval, to give greater notoriety to an unpleasant matter.

Thus the last stone of the structure is overturned. It seemed to authors necessary, in order fitly to close their romances entitled histories of Columbus, and their record of the persecutions of which they represent him to have been the victim, to invent a sort of poetic justice, by which Ferdinand is made to order the erection of a superb monument with a pompous inscription, and, stung by remorse, in this act to confess his ingratitude and injustice. But, unfortunately for romance, though more fortunately for justice, this statement is a fiction; the fiction has been proved, and we are obliged to fear that the "cold and calculating Ferdinand" descended to his grave, complacently conscious of having treated Columbus as well as, if not better than, he deserved.

Fortunate would it have been for the honor of these United States, had their representatives, in this matter, acted as wisely as did Spain. Then the brazen doors at the national Capitol, so creditable, as works of art, to those who designed and cast them, would have illustrated some worthier theme; nor would the nation one day regret that Congress had felt it necessary to import brass from Bavaria, and to expend the public treasure in causing the bronze of Munich to symbolize *a fiction*. Here is wrought, with artistic skill, the *fabled* "triumphal entry into Barcelona," "full of the glory of success and waving banners.

. . . . when at San Domingo the exact burial-place of Columbus himself was forgotten."—("Christophe Colombe," vol. ii., livre iv., chapter viii.)

It may be that these relic-hunters unconsciously gathered the remains of some victim of "the admiral," which, if conscious of the label upon the box which contained them, would indignantly start from their cerement.

All the halo of rose-color seems now to light the future of the great discoverer." [159] Yet this triumph is but a creation, as we have shown, of imaginative brains—the pageant never took place, and the arrival of Columbus at Barcelona was unnoticed by the chroniclers of that city, who recorded events of trivial importance.

Anon, we see Columbus aroused to "stern indignation at the capture of an Indian girl," which must cause those to smile who remember how often he "ordered some Indians to be taken," and who have marked his systematized efforts to establish a slave-trade.

Nor can we pass over the injustice with which such men as Vespucci and Pinzon are made to play the satellite to the pauper pirate.

A wiser lesson might have been learned from Venice. In the grand hall, in the palace of the doges, many successive panels are filled with the portraits of doges who had reflected honor upon the "mistress of the seas," and had aided in making Venice glorious. Over one, however, a dark veil is cast, and we read: "They did not place his portrait in the hall of the great council, but in the place where it should have been is the inscription: '*Hic est locus Marini Faliero decapitati pro criminibus*' (This is the place of Marino Faliero, decapitated for his crimes)." [160]

O Venice! O Washington! How diverse are your standards of legal and moral ethics! For the same crime, one mounts the scaffold, another is placed among the gods.

Nor does this brazen fiction "trammel up the consequences." The district in which the nation has reared its temple is humiliated by an effort to perpetuate the *alias* under which the piratical Griego disappeared from the gaze of an injured people, while states and municipalities will obscure the name of America by planting this *parasite* from sea to sea.

When Europe, and Asia, and Africa, shall ask America how long she will continue thus to honor the man, who after having basely robbed the dead, falsely styled himself a discoverer, and enslaved his fellow, *what answer shall she make?*

[159] *See* official description, also chapter xiv. of this volume.

[160] Marin Sanuto, "Cronica," vol. xxii., p. 639.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS.

THE character of Columbus, as portrayed by his actions, does not belie the impression given by his son's description of his personal appearance. Hypocrisy is largely predominant; to this revolting trait, to the shame of humanity be it said, he owes

SLAVE-AUCTION.

most of his fame, for the Church, charmed with the devotion he professed, has chanted his praises, and crushed any historian who would not join in them, as long as her power was sufficient. In our own day M. Roselly de Lorgues writes an enthusiastic and

ecstatic panegyric, in which he relieves himself of his overburdening admiration by exclaiming, in huge capitals, "COLUMBUS WAS A SAINT!" And even American writers would warn off, as from sacred precincts, the profane who, creeping around the idol, would spy its feet of clay.

This blind partiality is, as we have said, in great measure due to Columbus's professions of religious zeal. This "great navigator," who had spent all his life at sea, cannot, on entering upon his self-styled "holy mission," even speak in the language of seamen; he discards all nautical parlance, substituting religious terms—"I sailed so many leagues between vespers and complines." He sailed in the name of the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Trinity, and Jesus Christ. He commanded his ship, appropriately (?) "clad in an humble garb, resembling in form and color the habit of a Franciscan monk, simply girded with a cord, and suffered his beard to grow like the brethren of that order." Three times out of four, when lots are cast to decide who shall perform certain penance, by the skillful manipulation of a marked bean he causes the lot to fall *miraculously* to him, "to show," his son modestly observes, "that his offerings were more acceptable to God than those of others."

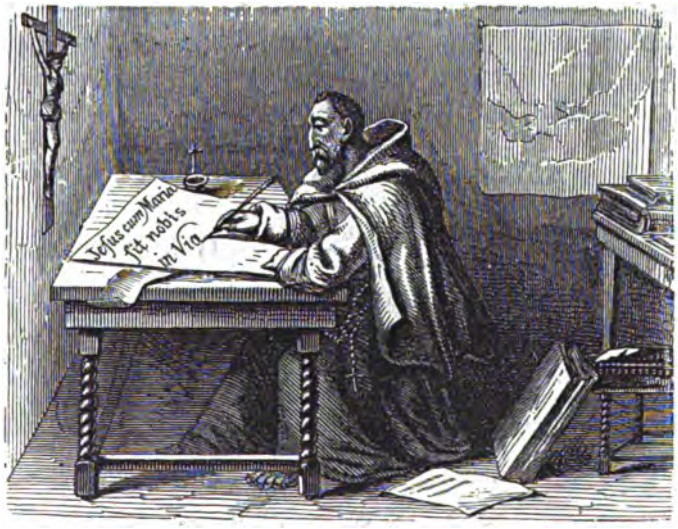
All this religious affectation disgusts the truly reverent mind. Above all, when we find what atrocious acts were committed under its protection, and how widely the actions of Columbus differed from his professions when he had attained his end, and was far from all who could bring him to account.

On reaching the island of San Salvador, his first act was, we are told, to fall on his face and kiss the sand; his next, to take possession for Castile; his third, to make all swear allegiance to him as Viceroy of India. This done, he proceeded at leisure to capture the unoffending natives, and bear them into slavery. Years later, when his cruel government had driven Spaniards and natives alike to desperation, so that they sent across the ocean piteous appeals to be relieved from so merciless a tyrant, we find him accused of refusing to permit the baptism of these unfortunate Indians, for the welfare of whose souls he had professed such solicitude, because by embracing Christianity they exempted themselves from slavery, and could no longer minister to his love of gain.

His son tells us: "He was so strict in religious matters, that,

for fasting and saying the divine offices, he might be thought professed in some religious order. So great was his aversion to swearing and cursing, that I protest I never heard him swear any other oath than by San Fernando, and when in the greatest passion with anybody he would vent his spleen by saying, 'God take you, for doing so and so.' When he was to write, his way of trying his pen was by writing the words '*Jesus cum Maria fit nobis in via*," and that in such a character as might very well serve to get his bread."

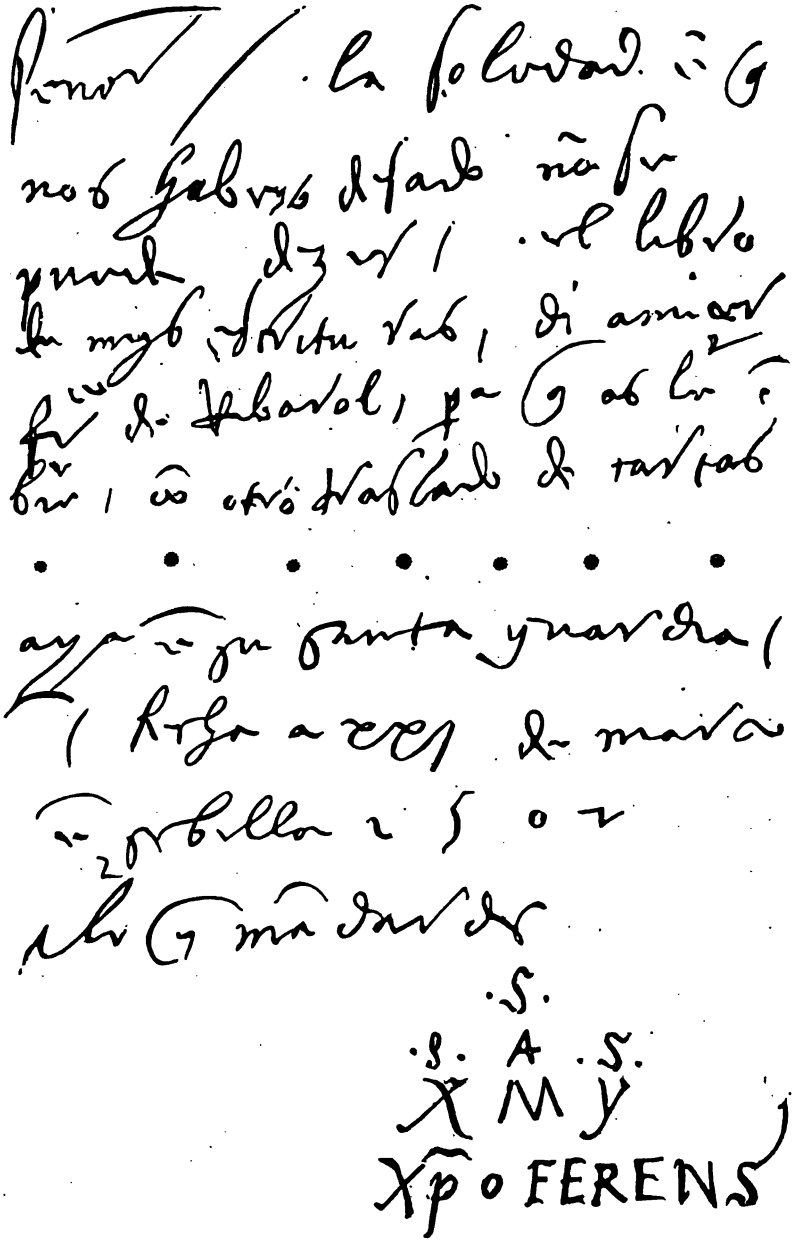
The praises here given are somewhat equivocal. He does not say his *father's life* and *acts* were such as to render him a



COLUMBUS TRIES HIS PEN.

bright example of goodness, but that, for *praying* and *fasting*, he might be thought to belong to some holy order. In matters pertaining to religion both father and son seem to have depended more upon the form than the substance; for reality and practical piety they substituted show and profession, and were far from conceiving the ideal of the poet who wrote:

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All creatures great and small,
For the good God who loveth us,
Hath made and loved them all."



FAC SIMILE OF THE HANDWRITING AND SIGNATURE OF COLUMBUS.—(From his MSS. deposited at Genoa.)[161]

[161] The above specimen of this exquisite handwriting would seem to suggest that copyists were at a premium.

To try one's pen with the words recorded by Fernando hardly suits the inspiration of genuine reverence, while the gentle oath, uttered with due vehemence, must have fully answered its purpose, and is vigorous enough to meet the requirements of the modern Anglo-Saxon.

From some such original as Columbus, Molière must have draw his inimitable "Tartufe," who is disturbed by the sin of having caught a flea while at prayers, and dispatched him with anger; who advertises his wearing a hair shirt, and, withal, would rob his dupe of home, fortune, and honor. Does not the following seem strangely applicable to our hero?

"The profession of hypocrite has marvelous advantages. How many thus redeem the scandal of youth, and, sagely making a buckler and cloak of religion, indulge their favorite sins with impunity! When found out, they are far from losing credit. A penitent air, a sigh of mortification, two turns of the eyes, and all goes on as before!"

No character in history has more truly, or, as regards posterity, more successfully made a cloak of religion wherewith to hide an ungodly life, than did Christopher Columbus. But hypocrisy availed him less in his own day. He himself, as we have shown, bears witness to the depth of ignominy into which he had fallen in the estimation of his fellow-men. Throughout his history, by whomsoever recounted, distrust and aversion are traceable in those of every rank and degree who had dealings with him, from the sovereigns to the "graceless cook."

Apparently no depravity could be attributed to him which was too gross for belief, and it was but natural and fitting that his ostentatious devotion and pious punctilio should augment the odium in which he was held, while the manner in which he represented himself as the chosen of God, THE CHRIST-BEARER, and the familiar terms in which he speaks of the Deity, are revolting in their blasphemy and hypocrisy.

But the feature of his life which chiefly troubles his would-be canonizers is his private moral character, in which are many ugly flaws which they are anxious to conceal or explain. Among these is his open and notorious illicit amour with Beatrix Enriquez of Cordova, which continued during a series of years. Of this there can be little doubt, notwithstanding the illogical and unsuccessful attempts of Messrs. De Lorgues and Cadoret to

establish a marriage;[168] nor was it worth their while to attempt a refutation of a so universally-accepted statement, even had they been more fortunate in their mode of treating the subject. Columbus stands unanswerably convicted of many atrocious deeds beside which his illicit amours sink into insignificance. Why labor, then, to acquit him of an *offense*, while all the world is supposed to know that he was guilty of *crimes?* Nor is it less absurd to allege that his being guilty of such an offense would have called down upon him the indignation and censure of the Church, and the displeasure of Isabella. Was it for the Church, at whose head was the licentious and intriguing Borgia (Alexander VI.), to reprove one of its minor devotees for such pecadillos? Was it for Ferdinand, with his various mistresses and illegitimate children, or for his wife? Such an episode may rather have been supposed to his credit, and it is worse than futile to attempt to square his actions by any high moral standard.

One of the arguments brought forward by M. Cadoret to prove that Beatrix was the wife, not the mistress, of Columbus, and which he appears to consider convincing, is, that neither Bobadilla, Ovando, nor Fonseca, ever accused him of illicit connections, and that they, as his enemies, would surely have done so had there been foundation for such an accusation.

Not to repeat what we said above about the morals of the times, Bobadilla, Ovando, and Fonseca are reported, even by their enemies and detractors, to have been gentlemen by birth and breeding. The first two were sent to Hispaniola to examine into Columbus's conduct as governor, not into his private character. The third had the direction of financial matters concerning the islands, and his relations with Columbus did not extend beyond the functions of his office. The duties of all three only extended to his official career, and we may presume they neither troubled themselves about, nor would have had the indelicacy to force upon the public and crown, the details of his private life.

The fact that Columbus on his death-bed recommended Beatrix to the care of his son Diego, and his seeming remorse at hav-

[168] A Life of Columbus, by the Abbé Cadoret appeared in 1869, and is, we believe, the latest effort that has been made to prove a marriage between Beatrix and Columbus.

ing neglected her, is also dwelt upon by M. Cadoret as proof of his marriage to her.

"Neglect," he says, "when capable of stirring the conscience, must necessarily have been practised toward a legitimate wife."[163] Thus we are taught that the man who leads an unfortunate woman to shame and ruin, begets children by her, and then abandons her to poverty and disgrace, need feel neither remorse nor qualms of conscience. The brutality of such a sentiment need scarcely be dwelt upon, particularly as emanating from an avowed disciple of Him who said: "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

The denial of Columbus's illicit connection with Beatrix is of recent date, and has been set on foot by that school of theologians who desire his canonization. Heretofore his most ardent admirers, even ministers of the Church, have admitted it. Spotorno, considering it futile to deny, seeks to make it redound to the advantage of his hero. "In yielding to his passions," he writes, "our navigator showed that he was but a man. In avowing his fault he exhibited the sincerity of his religious faith." Father Spotorno did not foresee, when he wrote the above, that a school should arise among his brethren, whose object should be to prove that "our navigator" was more than a man.

Irving, that warmest and most eloquent advocate of Columbus, writes:

"Though Columbus had now relinquished all expectations of patronage from the Castilian sovereigns, he was unwilling to break off all connection with Spain. A tie of a tender nature still bound him to that country. During his first visit to Cordova, he had conceived a passion for a lady of that city, named Beatrix Enriquez. This attachment has been given as an additional cause of his lingering so long in Spain, and bearing with the delays he experienced. Like most of the particulars of this part of his life, his connection with this lady is wrapped in obscurity. It does not appear to have been sanctioned by marriage."[164]

Major, of the British Museum, asserts that, "but for an attachment which he (Columbus) had formed at Cordova, which

[163] Cadoret, "Vie de Christophe Colombe," appendice, p. 402.
[164] Irving, "Columbus," book ii., chapter vi.

made him reluctant to leave Spain, he would, in all probability, have repaired to France.[165]

A thorough knowledge of the character of Columbus, as portrayed in his acts, and an observance of the motives which actuated him after the commencement of his voyages, render some such explanation as that given by Irving and Major necessary to account for his remaining in Spain. It goes far to throw light on dark places. We have already seen how the difficulties said to have been raised in opposition to his schemes have been grossly exaggerated, if not invented. The pecuniary outlay necessary for the execution of his project was eventually supplied by private individuals and by the little town of Palos, without difficulty. The delay, then, was not caused by any of the reasons generally given. How much more probable that Columbus, the unprincipled pirate, should have preferred for a time a life of easy dalliance at Cordova with Beatrix, supported by his friends Juan Perez and Pinzon! When wearied of it he closed his negotiations and proceeded on his voyage.

There is much reason to believe that Columbus's private morals were impure. His sickness and distemper, so often mentioned, but so lightly dwelt upon by his biographers, were attended by such symptoms as to have led some to suppose that he was afflicted, not by the gout, but by that dreadful scourge which licentiousness has entailed upon man.[166]

[165] Major, "Select Letters of Columbus," introduction, p. 52.

[166] Voltaire may have spoken, and probably did speak, figuratively, when he said: "So man is not born wicked. How comes it, then, that so many are infected with the pestilence of wickedness? It is because they who bear rule over them, having caught the distemper, communicate it to others; as a woman, having the distemper which Christopher Columbus brought from America, has spread the venom all over Europe." But, however pertinent or impertinent to Columbus the above obscure allusion to him may have been, the great French philosopher was certainly mistaken in his assertion that the disease in question was of modern origin, or that it was brought to Europe from America. Mr. Prescott, in a foot-note, refers the curious on this subject to a work entitled "Lettere sulla Storia de' Mali Venerei, di Domenico Thiene, Venezia, 1823." "In this work," he says, "the author has assembled all the early notices of the disease of any authority, and discussed their import with great integrity and judgment. The following positions may be considered as established by his researches: 1. That neither Columbus nor his son, in their copious narratives and correspondence, allude, in any way, to the existence of such a disease in the New World. I must add," continues Mr. Prescott, "that an examination of the original document published by Navarrete since the date of Dr. Thiene's work, fully confirms this statement. 2. That among the frequent notices of the disease, during the

It is strange that historians should persist in representing Columbus to have been inspired by lofty and religious enthusiasm when undertaking his voyage of so-called discovery. In view of the facts, can it really be supposed that it was devotion

twenty-five years immediately following the discovery of America, there is not a single intimation of its having been brought from that country; but, on the contrary, a uniform derivation of it from some other source, generally France. 3. That the disorder was known and circumstantially described previous to the expedition of Charles VIII., and, of course, could not have been introduced by the Spaniards in that way, as vulgarly supposed. 4. That various contemporary authors trace its existence, in a variety of countries, as far back as 1493 and the beginning of 1494, showing a rapidity and extent of diffusion perfectly irreconcilable with its importation by Columbus in 1493. 5. Lastly, that it was not till after the close of Ferdinand and Isabella's reigns that the first work appeared, affecting to trace the origin of the disease to America."

If the conclusions at which Mr. Prescott and Dr. Thiene have arrived, be correct, it is not certain that the authorities cited by them sustain their verdict. Fernando Columbus, who is represented as silent upon this subject, says ("Historia del Amirante," chapter lxxiv.): "The admiral being come to San Domingo . . . . found that abundance of those he had left were dead, and, of those that remained, above one hundred and sixty were sick of the French pox."

In chapter lxi. he also states that "it had pleased His Divine Majesty . . . . to send such scarcity of provisions and such violent diseases among them" (the natives) "that they were reduced to one-third of what they had been at first, to make it appear more plain that such miraculous victories, and the subduing of nations, are his right, and not the effect of our power or conduct."

This loathsome visitation, in which Fernando professes to see the divine hand, appears to have formed a portion of the blessings borne by Columbus, *certainly from Spain to Hispaniola, or from Hispaniola to Spain*, probably both; and one of the results of his voyage was the conversion of Europe into a charnel-house, or vale of Hinnom, and the reduction of the population of the island to one-third of its former numbers.

Upon this subject it may be well to consult the history of the period. Peter Martyr, alluding to the case noticed by Fernando at San Domingo, says: "Such as desired to be cured of the troublesome disease of the pox," used a decoction of guaiacan-wood, which remedy, he informs us, was soon employed in the treatment of patients in Europe, "to draw the unhappy disease out of the bones and marrow." So efficacious did the wood and bark of this tree prove, that the pious Spaniards, after having tested its virtues, named it "*the holy tree.*" Herrera would have us regard this disease as of American origin. Alluding to the case mentioned by Fernando and Peter Martyr, he says: "Provisions now growing very scarce, many of the Spaniards fell sick; but, what was worse, by having to do with the Indian women, they contracted a distemper *common enough among the natives, but altogether unknown to them* (the Spaniards), which occasioned them to break out in blotches all over their bodies, of which many died, and others, thinking to be cured by change of air, returned to Spain, and spread the distemper there. However, it pleased God that the same place afforded the remedy as gave the evil, for, some time after, an Indian woman, wife to a Spaniard, showed the use of the wood called guaiacan, which relieved them. This is the disease now commonly known by the name of the French pox."—(Herrera, Decade I., book v., chapter v.)

to the Church, to Christianity, which made him haunt and importune the court of Spain for years? Was he, in truth, actuated by a noble desire to benefit a benighted portion of humanity, or does he not rather appear to have been stimulated by

In Ramusio's great work we find the following: "Your majesty may be assured that this sickness comes from the Indies, and is very common among the Indians; but it is not as virulent in those parts as among us, so that the Indians cure themselves easily in those islands with the wood (guaiacan), and in *terra firma* with herbs, or things they know of, for they are great herbalists. *The first time that this sickness was seen in Spain* was after Don Christopher Columbus had discovered the Indies and returned to these parts; and some Christians that came with him, who had accompanied him on his discovery, and those also who had gone with him on his second voyage, of whom there were many, brought over this sickness, and by them it was communicated to other persons. And in the year 1495, when the great captain, Don Gonsalvo Ferrando, of Cordoba, passed into Italy with troops to support the King of Naples, Don Ferdinand the Younger, against the King of France, by command of the Catholic sovereigns, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella of immortal memory, ancestors of your majesty, the sickness was brought over by some Spaniards, and that was the first time it was seen in Italy; and, as this was the time when the French, with the aforesaid King Charles, came into Italy, the Italians called the sickness French sickness, and the French called it Naples sickness, because they had never known it till this war, after which it was disseminated throughout Christendom, and passed into Africa."—(RAMUSIO, tome iii., p. 65.)

Army surgeons, and those familiar with the rapid spread of this disease, especially when aided by camp-followers, will not, we think, regard the time intervening between the return of Columbus and the developments above noted as too brief for compassing the wide-spread ruin generally recorded of this period.

Captain Jonathan Carver, in his account of travel in the Northwest, notices the successful manner in which the Indians residing in regions remote from civilization, treat this disease, displaying a skill evidently not acquired from contact with the white race.

The disease in question is undoubtedly of far earlier origin than the advent of Columbus in the Western islands. Its presence may be traced to the most ancient times, in writings both sacred and profane.

"His bones are full of the sin of his youth, which shall lie down with him in the dust," saith Job.

The Hindoo sacred writings, probably older than Job, contain evident allusions to this malady, among others the following: "Every man who has contracted disease from the use or abuse of women, shall be impure while it continues, and for ten days and ten nights after his restoration. . . . The mat of his bed is defiled, and must be burned. . . . The horse, the camel, the elephant, on which he may ride on pilgrimages, shall be impure, and shall be washed in water wherein is dissolved a sprig of cousa."

We read in Herodotus that, after the Scythians had overrun Asia, and were advancing upon Egypt, Psammetichus met them in Palestine, and, by presents and entreaties, prevailed upon them to return to their homes; that the Scythians, on their homeward march, came to Ascalon; that the greater part of their body passed through without molesting it, but that some remained behind and plundered the temple of the *Celestial* Venus; that "upon the Scythians who plundered this temple,

avarice, petty ambition, and vanity? A perusal of the conditions he laid down suffices to convince us that the latter was the case. He affects love for Christ, for the Blessed Virgin. He would be the bearer of the Gospel to heathen nations, would

and, indeed, upon all their posterity, the deity entailed a fearful punishment—they were afflicted with the female disease. The Scythians themselves confess that their countrymen suffered this malady in consequence of the above crime." It seems probable that the Scythians in question, not only plundered the temple of the goddess, but received from her priestesses, whose lives were not the most chaste, the disease which thereafter afflicted them and their posterity. The fifteenth chapter of Leviticus contains instructions for cleanliness, evidently looking to this disease. The ordinance of circumcision is an ancient one, and was instituted to check its ravages. Herod of Judea died of it. Many references to ancient history might be made, tending to establish an antiquity much higher than that of the Spaniards in Hispaniola. In Europe its presence is traced as early at least as 1347. Jane I., Queen of the two Sicilies, ordered, in that year, that a public brothel be set up at Avignon, that the "wenches who played there" should be examined every Saturday by the abbess and a surgeon, "and if any of them had contracted any illness by their whoring, they should not be suffered to prostitute themselves, lest the youth who conversed with them should catch their distemper." Thus it appears that, more than a hundred years previous to the siege of Naples, in 1495, the date of the dissemination of the venereal disease, as fixed by many authors, we find regulations for preventing its spread. It seems probable that the inhabitants of Hispaniola may, like those of the Old World, have engendered this scourge, but it did not originate with them. It is true that, shortly after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, Europe became one vast lazar-house. But this was owing, not to the introduction of a *new* disease, but to the *increased virulence* of one already known, *consequent* upon sexual intercourse between persons of diverse races, *white* and *dark*. The disease, which before had been curable when contracted between members of the Caucasian family, when communicated by the Spaniards to the islanders of Hispaniola, and in a few days returned by the latter with interest, became, to the inhabitants of Europe, a new disease, which baffled the skill of the physician. Thus was inaugurated an "*irrepressible conflict*," or war of races, by which some of the Western islands were nearly depopulated. Many are the conjectures and explanations as to the origin of this virus. Some attempt to account for it by the use of water from poisoned wells; others, to lime mixed with the blood of diseased patients at the hospital of St. Lazarus. Phioravanti says that, in 1456, during the war between Alfonso V. of Arragon, and John, Duke of Anjou, provisions becoming scarce in both camps, the purveyors privately cut up the bodies of the slain, and dressed and sold them to the men for food; that, shortly, those who thus ate, broke out in ulcers, and, in a word, had the venereal disease. The French named this the Neapolitan disease, because they had contracted it in the kingdom of Naples. The Spanish and Italians called it the French disease, which name it bears to this day in Africa and the Turkish Empire. Some writers pronounce this scourge to be a special judgment from God, as the punishment of the wickedness of kings, priests, or people, as their peculiar notions suggest.

It is more reasonable, however, to suppose that, since the world began, the same disease has been a punishment for the transgression of the same laws (*see* Sanger on prostitution, and Ricord on venereal, for matter not here noticed).

reclaim the Holy Sepulchre, annihilate the infidel, *provided* the sovereigns will pay him well with offices, titles, riches, and honors—*without* all these he refuses to become the messenger of Christ to the New World. "He would not abate one tittle of his princely exactions." The heathen might die unconverted, and their souls be eternally damned, unless he obtain all he asked, and his demands were most exorbitant. We cannot wonder that, when the sovereigns heard this remarkably disinterested offer, it "caused them to smile" in mingled pity and contempt at the arrogance of the "pauper pilot," who proposed to raise a vast army at his own (or rather the sovereigns') expense, yet had not a maravedi wherewith to purchase a decent doublet to appear in their presence.

And if religion had little to do with his undertaking, science had still less. Notwithstanding his boasted learning in all that pertains to geography, astronomy, navigation, the form and size of our planet (and he and his biographers certainly set up high claims), he stands before the world as a deliberate falsifier of the learning of his age, in order that he may appear wise at the expense of the truth of history; and, nevertheless, succeeds in writing himself down most ignorant in the very sciences wherein he claims superhuman knowledge. We have seen his theory as to the earth's shape elsewhere. He writes:

"I affirm that the globe is not spherical."

And, to crown all his learned affirmations, he says:

"The world is but small. Out of seven divisions, the dry part occupies six, and the seventh is entirely covered by water. Experience has shown it, and I have written it with quotations from the Holy Scripture." [167]

His theories on the compass are unique:

"This morning," writes Fernando, "the Dutch compasses, varied, as they used to do, a point, and those of Genoa, that used to agree with them, varied but a very little; but afterward, sailing east, vary more, which is a sign we are one hundred leagues or more west of the Azores. . . .

"The Dutch needles varied a point, those of Genoa cutting the north-pole."

These variations Columbus attributes to the "several sorts of loadstone the needles are made by, for, till they come just to

[167] Letter to the sovereigns, July 7, 1503.

that longitude, they all varied a point, and there some held it; and those of Genoa cut the north star."

"I believe," continues this learned navigator, "the star (pole) has the quality of the four quarters, as has the needle, which, if *touched to the east side, points to the east, and so of the west and south;* and, therefore, he *that makes the compass covers the* loadstone with a cloth, all but the north part of it, viz., that which has the virtue to make steel point north."[168]

It would be difficult to imagine any thing more ambiguous and absurd than this affected science and real ignorance. This ignorance, which is so palpable to us, has not been so ignored by learned men as most biographers of Columbus would lead us to suppose. Las Casas calls him "an unlettered admiral." Humboldt says he was "a wholly unlettered seaman," and that "he was but little familiar with mathematics;" that he "made false observations in the neighborhood of the Azores," and regards him as "in absolute want of a knowledge of natural history." M. de Lorgues, a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, is "astonished at the ignorance of Columbus," and we have, on the same authority, that "several navigators of his time were regarded as his superiors in public opinion."

It is amusing to observe how ingeniously the admirers of Columbus pass over some circumstances, conceal or distort others, that all things may work together to prove the greatness of their hero. Witness the case of the two eclipses. The one he rightly predicts to the Indians is regarded as proof of his wonderful scientific knowledge; the miscalculation of eighteen degrees he makes in computing the other, is ascribed to his incorrect "tables of eclipse."

His biographers would have the world believe that his career of piracy was rendered reputable by reason of the alleged prevalence of that crime—that it was a fashion into which *Christian* nations had fallen—and lead us to infer that it was a popular if not a commendable vocation. The error of such a conclusion is apparent. Rienzi (the last of the tribunes) and the good people of his time were opposed to piracy, as Gibbon, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," bears witness in the following relation:

"Martin Ursini had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the

[168] "Historia del Amirante," chapter lxiii.

mouth of the Tiber. His name, the purple of the two cardinals (his uncles), a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inexorable tribune who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed. His trial was short and satisfactory. The bell of the Capitol convened the people. Stripped of his mantle, on his knees, and his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death, and, after a short confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none, who were conscious of guilt, could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, soon purified the city and territory of Rome. . . . At this time," the historian tells us, "*Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world.*"

If such were the punishment incurred by one who had plundered an abandoned vessel, what should have been visited upon the plunderer of the Flanders galleys, the slaughterer of their crews, who had been guilty of many former piratical crimes?

How can we expect to read the truth regarding a man whose faults, ignorance, and crimes, are thus dealt with? After encountering many of these inconsistencies (and they abound in the various histories of the man) we naturally lose confidence in all the statements, particularly of a laudatory character, which these too partial historians have made.

What did Columbus originate, save fiction? Certainly not the idea of a western passage to India, for Fernando tells us that "the second motive that encouraged the admiral . . . . was the great authority of learned men who said that it was possible to sail from the western coast of Africa and Spain, westward, to the eastern bounds of India,[100] and much more to the same purpose.

The form and size of the earth, the proportions of land and water of which it is composed, were earlier known and better understood by others than by himself; nor did he, we have shown, discover the variations of the magnetic needle. Most assuredly he did not discover America, or the islands adjacent thereto, as we have already made manifest by relating the circumstances which put him in possession of the fact that lands lay at such a distance to the west.

Gain was his great object, love of gold, not science or reli-

[100] "Historia del Amirante," chapter vii.

gion, his motive power. Gold was his god; to acquire riches he became a *pirate* and a *slave-dealer*, and the same desire prompted him to profess religion, attend mass, and repeat all the canonical hours—these were but baits wherewith he sought to catch the precious metal. He affects to believe that with gold he may purchase even the kingdom of heaven. He writes to the sovereigns:

"Gold is the most precious of all commodities; gold constitutes treasure, *and he who possesses it has all he needs in this world*, as also the means of rescuing souls from purgatory and restoring them to the enjoyments of paradise."

We do not wonder at the crimes of the man who propounds such a doctrine. Inordinate love of gold will surely steel the heart to all the noble impulses of humanity, but we must wonder that such a man should be admired and lauded; above all, that he should become a candidate for canonization.

His whole conduct relative to his "great and glorious undertaking" was deceit: he traded upon information received from one who could no longer assert his claims, and extorted the most extravagant rewards as the price of revealing such information.

The eulogists of Columbus, perceiving how obstinately he persisted in asserting that he had visited Asia, and desiring to prove him honest, even if ignorant, say that he died in the persuasion that he really had reached Asiatic India. His son, however, never supposed such to be the case, but that, "because he knew all men were sensible of the riches and wealth of India, therefore by that name he sought to tempt their Catholic majesties, by telling them he went to discover India by way of the West." This statement is apparently truthful. Columbus professed to be sailing to Asia to pour its wealth into the coffers of Spain; and what merchandise did he take with him to exchange for the precious wares of the richest lands of the earth? Glass beads! Hawk-bells! Trifles it would be an insult to offer any but the most primitive races. It must be evident to every reflective mind that such worthless baubles were never intended to be the medium of trade and barter with the enlightened merchants of the East. The idea is preposterous, and the fact that Columbus supplied himself with them shows plainly that he had not only been informed of the location of the islands he pro-

fessed to discover, but also of the nature of their inhabitants. He availed himself of the protection and treasure of Spain and the Pinzons, avowedly that he might sail to India by a western passage, an idea which had been popular with the Portuguese for many years, but with the *real object* of reaching lands in the West, of the existence and situation of which he had perfect knowledge.

He would have been more than ordinarily ignorant not to have known that the latitude and longitude of the Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, as well as of the port in India to which he professed to be sailing, had been determined many centuries, and that, therefore, seven hundred and fifty leagues west of the former could not bring him to India beyond the Ganges. That he desired others to think this is, however, evident, from the shameful oath he required his men to take in the island of Cuba. Moreover, in his letter to his son Diego, in which he urges the latter to profit by the influence of Amerigo Vespucci at court, after enjoining secrecy, he says, "Let his majesty believe that his ships were in the richest and best parts of the Indies." This information, which appears to us fully to reveal the systematic deceit of Columbus, has been considerably softened by the English translators of his letter. They render "crea su majestad, *let* his majesty believe" (*crea* being the imperative of the verb), by the words "his majesty *believes*," which renders the phrase more ambiguous, and the fraud enjoined not so palpable.

The deceitful and treacherous acts of Columbus pervade his whole career. His contemporaries rarely gave credence to his statements, and he himself did not expect to be believed by those who knew him well, as is made manifest by the swinish evidence of his veracity which he thought necessary to send his men in Jamaica. Nor is this incredulity to be wondered at when we reflect upon the absurdity of many of his assertions. He laid claim to supernatural powers, and professed to believe in sorcery:

"In Cariari and the neighboring country there are great enchanters of a very fearful character."

His son tells us the Porrases persuaded their followers in Jamaica that "the coming of the caravel with news of Diego Mendez might make no impression on them. They intimated to them that it was no true caravel, but a phantom made by art-

magic, the admiral being very skillful in that art.[170] We need not dwell upon the lack of dignity which Columbus's claim to such a knowledge makes evident.

The two prevailing traits of his character, hypocrisy and deceit, rarely, if ever, exist without their accompanying vices, cowardice and cruelty; and he is no exception to the rule, as the shocking cruelty with which he murdered Moxico and enslaved the Indians, the perfidy which he displayed in the capture of the chief Caonabo, with many other of his acts, will prove, while his quailing before Roldan—conferring upon him office,

CONVERSION OF THE HEATHEN.—(From De Bry's Las Casas.)

lands, slaves, and other property, giving him certificates of good character and conduct, while secretly traducing him to the sovereigns—leaves no doubt of his cowardice.

Humanity stands appalled at his frightful manifestations of cruelty, even as they are faintly portrayed by his too partial biographers. That delight in blood and thirst for gain which led him to embrace the life of a pirate and slave-catcher for the first fifty or sixty years of his life, did not abandon him when he assumed the mission of Christ-bearer.

[170] "Historia del Amirante," chapter cvi.

If we need proof of this let us picture to ourselves, for a moment, those beautiful islands, their glowing vegetation and balmy climate, as first seen by Columbus. The peaceful and innocent inhabitants received him with childlike wonder and noble hospitality, imagining, alas! that those white-winged ships bore messengers from the skies. They eagerly tendered gifts, among which were the little ornaments of gold which were to be the cause of all their misery; for no sooner did the eyes of Columbus rest upon them, than he formed extravagant ideas of the riches he was to acquire without labor. Let us turn our eyes,

CONVERSION OF THE HEATHEN.—(From De Bry's Las Casas.)

then, upon these same beautiful islands when this blood-thirsty pirate, who blasphemously assumed the name of "Christ-bearer," had sown desolation among them; when the shrieks of the tortured, the groans of the captives who labor unceasingly, the cries of women and maidens whom husbands and fathers dare no longer protect, resound within their once peaceful shores; when he whom they had supposed a messenger from heaven, has brought among them the miseries of hell; and, as we mark the contrast, and remember how all this cruelty is wrought in the name of religion, the man Columbus inspires us with such horror and disgust that we are amazed there should exist histo-

rians who cry out with pity and indignation when he is sent from the scenes of his crimes in chains, yet find neither pity nor indignation for his thousand victims whose chains had been their least sufferings.

Let us remember, too, that, of the people whom he thus tortured and enslaved, Columbus had once written:

"So loving, so tractable, so peaceful are these people that I swear to your majesties there is not in the world a better na-

"Now (the captive cazique) being bound to the post, in order to his execution, a certain holy monk, of the Franciscan order, discoursed with him concerning God and the articles of our faith, . . . promising him eternal glory and repose if he truly believed them, or otherwise everlasting torments. After that Hathney had been silently pensive some time, he asked the monk whether the Spaniards also were admitted to heaven, and he answering that the gates of heaven were open to all that were good and godly, the cazique replied, without further consideration, that he would rather go to hell than heaven, for fear he should associate in the same mansion with so sanguinary a nation."—(Las Casas, "Crudelitates Hispanorum.")

tion. They love their neighbors as themselves, their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and, though it is true they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy."

There are natures whose faults we admit, but whose noble qualities outbalance those faults—whose very failings seem to render them more attractive, as being rather noble excesses than defects. Truly great and noble men are often assailed by the

public, and condemned by party-spirit; but we always find that those who were nearest them, seeing them daily in familiar intercourse, were devoted and admiring, alike through prosperity and adversity. Thus the weeping followers of the great Napoleon are proud to share his dreary exile on the lonely rock of St. Helena; but how different is the case with Columbus! Those who knew him the most intimately, despised him the most openly and cordially. We do not find that he stood nobly by one friend, or indeed that he ever entertained such a noble feeling as friendship. When he had obtained all that was possible from those who befriended him, they were requited by gross ingratitude or forgetfulness. Pinzon, who was the first to protect him, he repaid so cruelly as to cause that noble man to die broken-hearted. Diego Mendez, who saved his life in Jamaica, received, as reward, promises that were never fulfilled. The long list of those who associated with him in the islands is but a long list of quarrels. We look in vain through his life for any trait or action that would endear him to the hearts of men, for one deed that may be regarded as the impulse of a great and noble mind or generous heart; we find nothing but low cunning, arrogance, avarice, religious cant, deceit, and cruelty.

THE HEATHEN CONVERTED.—(From Philopono, "Nova Typis," etc., 1621.)

CHAPTER XXX.

LAWSUIT OF THE HEIRS OF COLUMBUS WITH THE CROWN.

As we have so repeatedly declared that not only did Columbus forfeit his right to the titles of viceroy, admiral, etc., by his own misconduct, but that the sovereigns were powerless to confer upon him such rank and titles in perpetuity, it may be well to note the events which took place touching his claim after his death.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.—(From an Italian Work.)

The importance of his negotiations and controversies with the sovereigns has been very much magnified; these controversies were the legitimate fruits of the ill-advised and illegal bargaining we have already recorded as taking place between Isabella and Columbus. The latter appears to have been as ignorant in law as in other matters; he had a wholesome dread of lawyers, and seems to have believed that, whatever he should succeed in

inserting in his contract with the queen, would be valid. He was confident that the sovereigns had power, not only to put value upon base metal, but, as an old book hath it, "to give estimation to a mean person, by conferring upon him a mark of honor and dignity." [171]

Had his wisdom predominated over his avarice, he would have asked such reasonable compensation and reward as his services might merit, and the crown might legally promise. Such a contract could have been enforced by the courts of law, but such was not the character of the one in question. There can be little doubt that Columbus too late discovered the invalid character of his claim. We have seen how unwilling he was to have any but himself declare its import; he would not even submit the question to his tried friend, the Bishop of Palencia. The lameness of the subterfuge with which, after consenting to arbitration and selecting the arbiter, he finally declared that it was only the question of revenue [172] he was willing to submit to the decision of the latter, leaves little doubt as to the merits of the case, particularly when we find Ferdinand, though well aware of the friendship existing between the bishop and Columbus, cheerfully consenting to abide by his decision.

It is difficult to ascertain upon what basis Columbus expected the question of revenue to be decided. It depended upon the validity of the original contract; if that were void, no rents were due—but it is vain to seek logic, law, or reason, in his demands; no attention was paid to them during his lifetime, no deference shown to his opinions; new instructions were sent to Ovando, of which he was kept in ignorance. At one time, his claims were referred to the *council for the discharge of the queen's conscience.* This junta seems to have consulted, but no action was taken; it could hardly discharge the conscience of the de-

[171] Brydall, "Law of Nobility and Gentry," 1675, p. 58.

[172] Las Casas would excuse or explain the conduct of Columbus in this wise: "By which I understand that he did not think it necessary to put the latter point" (his titles) "in dispute, his right to it being clearly manifest." We fear that the logic of the Bishop of Chiapa is here somewhat on a par with that of Columbus, when we reflect that he comes to this conclusion well knowing that the latter had for years annoyed the court, by incessant application in person and by letter, for the recognition of his so-called rights, and that the crown had as constantly refused to reinstate him. In other words, we are called upon to believe that Columbus regarded a matter as beyond dispute which had been repeatedly decided against him, which decision he sought to reverse.

funct sovereign by reversing her judgment, and placing in power a man who had rebelled against her authority.

But, not only does it appear that Columbus's claims were unjustifiable—the contract on which they were based illegal—it is also evident that, admitting it to be just and valid, he had failed to perform what had been stipulated as its basis; had acted upon false pretenses; had traded upon knowledge received from the dead pilot; and had, moreover, so misconducted himself, that to intrust him with power or government would be a gross injustice to the people over whom he should be placed.

Notwithstanding these facts, after his death, his son Diego presented himself as heir-apparent to the honors from which his father had been deposed, and for two years preferred his claims without avail. In 1508, he resolved to enter upon a proceeding from which his father shrank, and declared to be "a controversy with the wind;" namely, to endeavor to establish his claim by law.

He therefore summoned King Ferdinand to appear before the Council of the Indies, and show cause why he, the said Diego, should not be inducted into the offices and honors from which his father had been ejected. We have not been able to learn that this body possessed judicial powers—we believe it did not; certainly it could not legally try the most important suit "the world has ever witnessed," as too partial historians are wont to term it. The crown, however, appears to have waived the question of jurisdiction, and to have consented to plead to the merits of the case, even before an inferior commission.

The royal plea appears to have been in itself sufficient to determine the case against Columbus in any court of law or equity. It was as follows:

1. That, if the contract of 1492 purported to grant to Columbus, or his heirs, the viceroyalty and admiralty in perpetuity, such grant was void, being hostile to the best interests of the state, and in violation of a solemn statute enacted and promulgated at Toledo in 1480, wherein it was ordained that no office involving the administration of justice should be granted in perpetuity; therefore, that these powers and privileges could only be granted to Columbus during his lifetime, and had been most justly taken from him during that period on account of his cruelty and disloyalty.

2. That such grants were contrary to, and in excess of, the inherent prerogative of the crown, and subversive of the rights of the Cortes and people, of which the latter could not be divested.[173]

This royal plea appears to strike at the root of the matter, and to have been unanswerable. In it the acts of the crown are subjected to the solemn test of the law, and Ferdinand declares the act of the late queen to be void in the eye of the law.

To this Diego made replication that "the contract was binding," but cited neither law nor precedent by which to sustain his replication, for the reason, we suppose, that none existed. "As to the allegation that his father had been deprived of his viceroyalty for his demerits, it was false, and his being sent from the islands by Bobadilla was audacious." Such is his extremely legal and forcible response, a somewhat "audacious" one, as it will be remembered that Bobadilla had performed no acts for which he had not royal authority, and that his conduct had been tacitly approved by Isabella, as she neither reinstated Columbus in power, nor consented that he should return to Hispaniola.

It needs no very expert lawyer to perceive that such a replication could not have the least weight in a legal decision, as it was not sustained by judicial authority; while the plea of the crown was unanswerable, because founded upon *the supreme law of the land.*

Another question, however, was agitating the public mind, and seemed to strike at the rights of Spain. It was very generally asserted that Columbus had not been the first to discover these lands: contemporary writers not only claimed this honor for living navigators, but actively *revived the memory of the dead pilot.*[174] These assertions, if proved correct, would have made manifest the fact that Spain had obtained the lands by fraud, and that Alexander VI. had granted the deed, and drawn the famous line of demarcation *on the false testimony of Columbus.*

The crown, perfectly secure against the claims of Diego, on the strength of the above plea, wisely considered it to her interests that the latter should make out a case, which, while securing to Spain all the advantages accruing from the falsehoods and

[173] Ferdinand had, moreover, been required to take the royal oath which forbade him to nominate *a foreigner* to office.

[174] Spotorno, "Historia Memoria," p. 29; Irving, Appendix No. 2.

treachery of Columbus, could not materially benefit his heirs. For this, Ferdinand considered the present a fit opportunity, and, while largely interested in Columbus's being proclaimed the original discoverer, he asserts that he was not, in order to enable Diego to prove that he was.

About one hundred witnesses were examined. The final decision was in favor of Columbus, the testimony being, according to most historians, "overwhelmingly in his favor." We may, however, be permitted to doubt the truth of this assertion, notwithstanding the ultimate decision, which was, as we have said, in accordance with the real wishes of Ferdinand.

We have not, like Mr. Irving, had the advantage of examining the original documents of this suit. It may, however, be presumed that Navarrete, whose "Coleccion Diplomatica" of all papers relating to the discoveries, was made with the avowed object of still further establishing the glory of Columbus, has given a tolerably complete *résumé* of the testimony, and that, if any hiatus exists, it is not the result of the omission of any thing favorable to the cause of the latter. This testimony we have carefully examined, and cannot agree with those historians who declare it to be "overwhelmingly in favor of Columbus." Notwithstanding their assertion, and the ultimate decision by the Council of the Indies in favor of his son, we rather regard it as proving how small a part of the glory or merits of the enterprise he was entitled to. No history written in the English language has heretofore considered it necessary to give this testimony to the public—the eulogists of Columbus wisely considered it could not but be detrimental to his cause in the eyes of an intelligent reader. They have, therefore, contented themselves with recording their perusal of it, and declaring it to be overwhelmingly in favor of their hero.

While the testimony taken by the *fiscal* (an officer who appears to have occupied a position combining the duties of an attorney-general and solicitor of the treasury) is pertinent, ample, and circumstantial, much of it tending to completely overturn the popular belief with regard to Columbus, the testimony on the part of Diego is as vague, irrelevant, and impertinent, as are his interrogatories. The witnesses examined for the crown are also men of some status, testifying to what they have seen and know; while those examined for Diego are, with one or

two exceptions, ignorant men, who generally testify to what they have *heard* said. The important parts, indeed nearly the whole of this testimony, has been disregarded, either by accident or design, by the mass of historians, which leads us to suppose that their partiality is not altogether unwitting.

We have said the crown was most desirous (even at the sacrifice of being *apparently* defeated by a subject) to have the claims of Columbus, as prior discoverer, established. There is one circumstance connected with this lawsuit which strongly supports our statement. Vespucci, the learned cosmographer and navigator, the one man who could best have shattered Columbus's pretensions to having been the first to visit *terra firma*, *was not summoned* as a witness, when sailors before the mast, and ignorant men, were made to testify. The maligners of Vespucci seek to prove by this that he was little thought of; that the idea of his being the first to reach America was too preposterous to have been entertained; for, say they, had he been the discoverer, had the voyages he relates in his letters been really made, the crown, so largely interested in disproving Columbus's claims, would have called him as a witness. This reasoning is, however, erroneous; it assumes the crown to have been, in truth, interested in, and desirous of, annihilating the claims of Columbus. This was evidently not the case, for Amerigo was not examined, and the omission to do so was not owing to his being considered of too little importance, or to the knowledge or belief that he had not visited *terra firma* before Columbus; for he was, at that time, filling a most important office in recognition of the services he had rendered during his voyages: he had been appointed, not only surveyor-general of coasts in the new lands, but inspector and corrector of charts; all former charts had been *abolished* (Columbus's among the number), and a penalty imposed upon pilots sailing by any others than those made or authorized by Vespucci. This amply proves, not only the esteem in which his maritime knowledge and experience were held, but also that the counsel for the crown would not have overlooked him, had the latter been in truth anxious to overthrow the claims of Columbus; and that the forgetfulness was, therefore, intentional.

In view of these facts, and as a sample of the pertinence and validity of the testimony in favor of Columbus, we may cite

that of Francisco Morales, styled by Irving "one of the best and most creditable of all the pilots," who, notwithstanding what we have already stated as to charts of the new lands, and Vespucci's supervision of them, testified that he had seen a sea-chart, made by Columbus, of the coast of Paria, and "*he believed all governed themselves by it.*"

The testimony taken by the *fiscal* is extremely interesting—it gives us an insight into the opinions entertained of Columbus and other voyagers by the people who sailed with them; it brings forward, in bold relief, the noble qualities of that generous victim of Columbus's ingratitude and avarice, Martin Alonzo Pinzon; it is from this source that we learn to what an extent Columbus was indebted to him; we find here a corroboration of the story of the *dead pilot*, and proof that *Columbus sailed by a chart* in which a certain route was laid down, *not on a voyage of discovery*, the results of which were vague and uncertain; we also learn how unjustly the mariner, Roderigo de Triana, who first sighted land, was deprived of his reward.

All this is related in the most circumstantial manner by the various witnesses, who, as they relate minute occurrences, repeat portions of conversation, give a life-like and truthful coloring to their testimony, while the witnesses for Diego, with a few exceptions, merely affirm or deny in general terms, as his interests demand. As examples of interest, we may take the following:

Fourteenth interrogatory for the crown, which requires the witnesses to affirm or deny "whether they know that, after going to court, the admiral returned to Palos, where he found none who would give him ships, nor crews who would accompany him, and that the said Martin Alonzo, to serve their highnesses, gave him his two ships, and determined to go with him, with his relations and friends, because the said admiral promised him the half of all the privileges that their highnesses had promised if land were found, and had shown him the said privileges."

Eight witnesses testify to a knowledge of the above facts. A fair sample of all the testimony is that of Diego Penton, who testifies that "he knows the above, because he saw and was present; but whether Martin Alonzo gave his ships, because the admiral showed his privileges, this witness knows not, for he saw them go on the voyage, and knows that the said Martin Alonzo

Pinzon went with the said admiral, and this he knows, that, but for him, the said admiral had not gone then to discover."

The fifteenth interrogatory requires the witnesses to testify whether they know that on the voyage the admiral, not finding land where he had expected, asked Martin Alonzo what they should do.

Twelve witnesses testify more or less minutely to the points made in this interrogatory. Francisco Vallejo says that, "being two hundred leagues, more or less, distant from land, after leaving the Canaries, the Admiral Don Cristobal Colon spoke with all the captains, and with the said Martin Alonzo, and said to them, 'What shall we do?' This was on the 6th of October, of the year '92, and said: 'Captains, what shall we do, for my people complain bitterly? What do you advise?' And that then Vincent Yanez said: 'Let us go forward, sir, two thousand leagues, and, if then we find not what we are in search of, we may return.' Then said Martin Alonzo Pinzon, *who went as chief captain*: 'How, sir? We have but just left the town of Palos, and already you are discouraged! Forward, sir! God will give us victory! God forbid that we should return with such shame!' Then answered the said admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, 'May good fortune attend you!' And thus, through the said Martin Alonzo Pinzon, they went forward."

The seventeenth interrogatory requires the witness to testify "whether the said admiral asked Martin Alonzo whether they were pursuing a right course, and that the said Martin Alonzo said *no;* that he had many times told him that they were not going right, but that they should tack to the southwest, and would then find the land; and that the said admiral answered, 'Let us do so!' and that they then changed the course, by the advice of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who was a man very learned in matters pertaining to the sea."

Of ten witnesses who testify to the above, the most succinct is Francis Garcia Vallejo, who says that "he was present and heard Martin Alonzo Pinzon say to the said admiral on this voyage, 'Sir, in my opinion, we should steer to the southwest; we shall then find land'—that the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus answered: 'Let it be so, Martin Alonzo; let us do so'—and that then, by the advice of Martin Alonzo, they changed the course to the southwest; and he knows it was by

the advice and industry of the said Martin Alonzo, because he was a man very learned in sea-matters; and all this he knows because he was present."

Again, it is proved by answers to the eighteenth interrogatory that, three or four days after the said change of course directed by Martin Alonzo, the island of Guanahani was reached. To this fifteen witnesses testify.

Nor do we fail to find, in the testimony of this lawsuit, evidence of the petty spite to which Columbus could descend. It is therein asserted that, Martin Alonzo having given his name to a river in Hispaniola, "the admiral changed the name of the said river and port, because the said Martin Alonzo had discovered it, and that there might remain no remembrance of him; nor would he allow any of his crew to call the port Martin Alonzo, but Puerto de Gracio, that there might be no memorial of Martin Alonzo, discoverer of the island of Hispaniola."

The extracts we have given are samples of the general character of the testimony, as the reader may ascertain by a perusal of the whole, as contained in Navarrete.

The Council of the Indies, however, decided the case in favor of Diego; but were the results such as would have accrued had the decision been given by a court of law powerful against, as well as for, the crown? In other words, were they such as to lead us to suppose the decision had been given, in spite of the prestige and power of the sovereign, by a court able to enforce the execution of its decrees? They were not. The Council of the Indies decided that Columbus was the first discoverer. This legalized and set at rest the claim of Spain to the lands said to have been discovered, but the plaintiff was in no wise benefited by the decision in his favor—he still continued penniless, still importuned humbly and in vain; he was neither recognized viceroy, nor did he touch any of the revenue, nor enter into any of the offices which would have been his, maugre any resistance on the part of Ferdinand, had his lawsuit been a valid one.

It was to a totally different cause that he owed the final recognition of his claims—he married into the family of Alva. The members of this proud house were powerful as proud, and, through their influence, the much-coveted titles of viceroy and admiral were accorded to the husband of their kinswoman; but

these titles were shorn of any thing approaching the power they would seem to imply.

Ovando was recalled, and Diego and his wife, his half-brother Fernando, and his uncles Bartholomew and Diego, set sail for the new lands in 1509. The prestige of the lady's high birth and influential friends surrounded them with a numerous retinue, composed largely of young damsels, who, possessed of more rank than fortune, were about to seek rich husbands in the Western islands.

Diego appears to have inherited his father's quarrelsome and tyrannous disposition. His administration, restricted as was his power, soon became oppressive and odious, so that, within a few months of his arrival, a tribunal (entitled the Royal Audience) was established, to which appeals from the government might be taken.

Diego, autocratic and unreasonable, resented this as an infringement upon his rights. He became involved in lawsuit after lawsuit with the *fiscal*, so that Herrera declares "he might truly say he was heir to the troubles of his father," to which may be added that he was no less an heir to those vices of his father of which the troubles were a natural consequence.

At length the difficulties became so serious that Diego asked leave to appear at court and defend himself. His request was granted, and in 1515 he returned to Spain, where he remained five years, at the end of which time he was again allowed to return to the islands; but he had not been long at the head of affairs when he was charged with a design to usurp the government and throw off allegiance to Spain—a charge which appears to have been sufficiently well founded for the Council of the Indies to consider it necessary, not only severely to reprimand him, but also to command him, under penalty of forfeiting all his privileges, to place matters of government as they were under Ovando. This order was to be proclaimed and enforced by officers of the crown, in the island, even though Diego should refuse to regard it. The latter was ordered home to give an account of his stewardship. Regarding the recall as peremptory, he obeyed, and remained in Spain, where, till his death, in 1526, he wearied the court with requests similar to those of his father, and for like reasons as fruitless.

His infant son Luis, aged six years, was declared Admiral of the Indies. This lad, on reaching the age of reason, appears to have had more good sense and a truer perception of the state of affairs, and the legitimate extent of his claims, than his progenitors. He wisely gave up all pretensions to viceroyalty and revenue, and remained in Spain, receiving in lieu of these the title of Duke of Veragua and Marquis of Jamaica, with a pension of a thousand doubloons of gold. He died leaving no legitimate issue, and henceforth the Columbos are engaged in litigation among themselves, till, in 1608, the Council of the Indies declared the male line to be extinct, and Nuño or Nugno Gelves de Portogallo, grandson of Isabella, third daughter of Diego, son of Christopher Columbus, was invested with the titles and pension aforesaid.

Thus, Time, which is, in the main, just, settled at last the question which had so vexed the pirate admiral during his brief day, in a manner somewhat compatible with its merits. Had Columbus, in the inception, stipulated for possibilities, the validity of his contract would probably never have been questioned; he would not have sunk to the depth of misery and degradation in which death overtook him, nor would an enthusiastic throng of eulogists have been called upon to place him among the noble army of martyrs. Yet, as he deceitfully took advantage of the information received or purloined from the unfortunate pilot who died in his house at Madeira; as he took to himself all the merit and honors of the enterprise, recognizing and acknowledging neither the source of his knowledge nor the assistance he received from contemporaries, he was, we think, as deserving of his fate as he is undeserving of the plaudits of posterity.

For three hundred years his fame has steadily increased. It has reached its culmination; and already, from more than one quarter, reaction in favor of truth has made itself felt.

Though the writer was, perhaps, the first in the field, and may have more thoroughly and exhaustively than another examined into the case of Columbus *versus* his contemporaries, with a view of seeing some justice done to the latter, yet he has not been quite alone—other and powerful blows have been struck at the idol which the imagination and superstition of generations, with the assistance of ecclesiastical power, have erect-

ed. The field is a fresh and fruitful one. Coming research will every year, the author is convinced, confirm the statements and justify the reasoning contained in this work, which is the imperfect fruit of several years' study and research devoted to the subject.

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS.—(From a German Work.)

APPENDIX.

A RECAPITULATION of the works consulted by the author in the preparation of this volume would unnecessarily swell its proportions; it may suffice to say that he has, during a period of more than seven years, had access to many of the best libraries of Western Europe, especially the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris; the British Museum, London; Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; together with the valuable collections at Venice, Naples, Milan, Turin, Florence, etc., etc.

In the preparation of that portion of Chapter II. which treats of the mariner's compass, the author was aided by an Oriental scholar of great erudition, whose name he has not authority to mention, but whose learning and valuable assistance are held in grateful remembrance.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

It was the intention of the author, at one time, to have published this work in London. To this end the illustrations (with the exception of those on pages 250 and 270) were made in Belgium (some designed, others copied, and all engraved) by the late Wm. Brown, of Brussels. Some of those copied would seem, from the peculiarity of their subjects, or of the works from which they have been taken, to deserve some slight mention or explanation.

The cuts upon pages 69, 76, 83–89, are chiefly copies from earlier works upon the Northmen.

On page 96 is illustrated the account given by Fernando Columbus (in his "Historia del Amirante," chapter ii.) of the destruction of a polyglot edition of the Psalter, published at Genoa in 1516. Among other reasons alleged for the destruction of the writings of Giustiniani, besides that of calling Columbus a mechanic, Fernando charges him with telling "thirteen lies;" though, in a majority of the cases cited by him, the truth appears to have been on the side of the author of the Psalter. For instance, says Fernando: "He" (Giustiniani) "charges that the admiral took, by force of arms, on his first voyage, a canoe or Indian boat he saw, *whereas it appears that he had no war the first voyage with any Indians, and continued in peace and amity with them till the day of his departure from Hispaniola.*"

After the above statement, made avowedly in the vindication of sacred truth, it is refreshing to turn to the self-constituted vindicator's thirty-sixth

chapter, the heading of which reads: "*Of the first skirmish between the Christians and Indians, which happened about the gulf of Samana, in Hispianola,*" and which forms a part of his account of the first voyage. The skirmish in question took place on *Sunday*, and appears to have been one of the Sabbath-day diversions of the pious admiral.

Fernando writes: "On Sunday, the 13th of January, being near the cape called *Enamorado*, the admiral sent the boat ashore, where our men found some Indians, with fierce countenances, on the shore, with bows and arrows, who seemed to be ready to engage, but, at the same time, were in a consternation. However, having some conference with them, they bought two of their bows and arrows, and with much difficulty prevailed to have one of them go aboard the Admiral." A party of men were sent on shore. "When our men landed, the Indian that had been aboard made the others lay down their bows and arrows, and a great cudgel they carry instead of a sword; for, as has been said, they have no iron at all. When they came to the boat, the Christians stepped ashore, and, having begun to trade for bows and arrows by order of the admiral, the Indians, who had already sold two, not only refused to sell any more, but, with scorn, made as if they would seize the Christians, and ran to their bows and arrows where they had left them, taking up with them ropes to bind our men. They, being upon their guard, seeing them come in that fury, though they were but seven, fell courageously upon them, and cut one with a sword on the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast. The Indians, astonished at the resolution of our men, and the wounds our weapons made, fled most of them, leaving their bows and arrows; and many of them had been killed, had not the pilot of the caravel, who commanded the boat, protected them. The admiral was not at all displeased at this skirmish, imagining these were the Caribs all the other Indians so much dreaded, or that at least they bordered on them, they being a bold and resolute people, as appeared by their aspect, arms, and actions; and he hoped that the islanders, hearing how seven Christians had behaved themselves against fifty-five fierce Indians of that country, would the more respect and honor our men that were left behind at Nativity."

Thus it is evident that it was *he*, Fernando, and not Giustiniani, who in this case spoke falsely.

The seventh lie charged by Fernando is, that he stated that the admiral "returned by way of the Canary Islands, which is not the proper way for those vessels to return;" *yet he did so return*, as appears by the following extract:

"God gives victory to all those who walk in his paths, as is clear in this case. I have now found and seen the islands of which so many fables have been told. Next to God, I am most indebted to the King and Queen of Spain. The discovery is so great that the whole of Christendom ought to keep festivals and praise the Holy Trinity. An immense number of people will be converted to the Christian faith. Moreover, great material gains will be obtained. On the 2d they had frost and hail-storms in the Canary Islands.—Calavera, on the Canary Islands, 15th February (1493).

"P. S.—Encountered such a storm on the Spanish seas, that I was obliged to lighten the ships by throwing the cargo overboard. Have been fortunate enough to gain the port of Lisbon. Will write to the King and Queen of Castile.—March 14 (1493)."—(*Christopher Columbus to the Escribano de Racion of the Islands of the Indies.*)

The eighth lie is made chiefly to grow out of the statement of Giustiniani that the admiral sent a messenger to the Spanish sovereigns, informing them of his discoveries and return, while "he himself was the messenger," says Fernando ("Historia del Amirante," chapter ii.). But, in chapter xl. of the same work, we read: "He" (the admiral) "came to an anchor in the river of Lisbon upon Monday, the 4th of March, *and presently sent away an express to their Catholic Majesties with the news of his arrival.*"

The tenth lie charged by Fernando is, that Giustiniani stated that the admiral "arrived in Hispaniola in twenty days, which is a very short time to reach the nearest island, and he performed it not in two months," etc., etc.

Columbus, in a letter to the sovereigns, writes as follows: "My passage from Cadiz to the Canaries occupied four days, and thence to the Indies, from which I wrote, sixteen days."

Fernando continues:

"So that, by his negligence and heedlessness in being well informed, and writing the truth of these particulars, which are so plain, we may easily discern what inquiry he made into that which was so obscure, wherein he contradicts himself, as has been made to appear. But, laying aside this controversy, wherewith, I believe, I have by this time tired the reader, we will only add that, considering the many mistakes and falsehoods found in the said Giustiniani's history and Psalter, the Senate of Genoa has laid a penalty upon any person that shall read or keep it; and has caused it to be carefully sought out in all places it has been sent to, that it may, by public decree, be destroyed and utterly extinguished. I will return to our main design, concluding with this assertion, that the admiral was a man of learning and great experience; that he did not employ his time in handicraft or mechanic exercises, but in such as became the grandeur and renown of his wonderful exploits; and will conclude this chapter with some words taken out of a letter he wrote himself to Prince John of Castile's nurse, which are these: 'I am not the first admiral of my family; let them give me what name they please; for, when all is done, David, that most prudent king, was first a shepherd, and afterward chosen King of Jerusalem, and I am servant of that same Lord who raised him to such dignity.'"

As the reader may wish to know more of the obnoxious writings of Giustiniani, we make the following extracts from his note in the Psalter to the fourth verse of the nineteenth psalm, referred to on pages 94 and 95 of this work:

"Now, as Columbus often declared himself to be chosen of God, that through him should be fulfilled this prophecy, I have thought it not inappropriate to insert here some account of his life. Christopher, surnamed Columbus, of the state of Genoa, born of low parentage, it was who, in our time, by his industry, explored, in a few months, more of land and ocean than al-

most all the rest of mortals in all by-gone ages. This wonderful fact rests not on the testimony of some vessels, but has been investigated and proved by the passing and repassing of whole fleets and armies. Columbus, in his boyish years having been taught just the lowest rudiments of learning, as he grew up, devoted himself to navigation (i. e., *piracy*). Afterward, his brother having gone to Portugal, and set up at Lisbon in the business of drawing maps for the use of mariners, representing the seas, coasts, and harbors, Columbus in this way learned from him the configuration of the coasts and the position of the islands, which his brother had probably ascertained from many persons who were in the habit of going every year from Portugal, by royal authority, to explore the unknown lands of Ethiopia, and the remote shores of the ocean between the south and west, he being often in conversation with them. . . . As soon as Columbus was sufficiently exactly made aware of these things" (*here we have a glimpse of the history of the dead pilot*), "he at length made known to certain grandees of the court of Spain what he had in contemplation, stipulating, however, that suitable provision should be made by the king, and to be prompt in doing it, *before the Portuguese should make their preparations to go among these new peoples*, and penetrate fresh regions hitherto unknown. The intelligence of this scheme was promptly communicated to the king, who, both from jealousy of the Portuguese and from ambition of this sort of honor of new discoveries, and of the glories which would accrue to him and his successors from this enterprise, was *allured* into the negotiation with Columbus; and, after it had lasted a long time, he commanded two vessels to be equipped. With these Columbus, setting out, steered to the Fortunate Islands; thence he took his departure, navigating a very little off the west line to the left, between southwest and west; when farther out, however, farther from southwest, and almost due west. When the voyage had continued a great many days, and, by their reckoning, they had already made four thousand miles (say twenty-five hundred English) in a direct line, the rest of the company lost hope, and desired to turn back; but he persisted in the enterprise, and, as far as he could judge, he undertook to promise that they were not more than one day's navigation from some continental lands or islands. His words did not fail to be realized. . . ." Here follows a more or less correct account of the islands discovered and their inhabitants, of Columbus's return to Spain and departure on his second voyage, when, continues Giustiniani, "Spain now sent out into a hitherto innocent world the poison of its vices, pride, and debauchery; not content with their triumph in this our continent, sailed away in quest of hitherto pure and harmless nations, and the woods which could barely satisfy our greed, being, as it were, exhausted by incessant hunting; sent forth into the most remote regions that wild-boar, among those whose appetites had till now been without excitement. But there also sailed those who could heal, by the art of Æsculapius, the people of the diseases that were to come upon them—the prey of lust and avarice (*see* note 166). They also carried out seeds and shoots of trees; but wheat, as was afterward ascertained, wherever sown, grew first to a great height immediately, and shortly afterward withered and vanished away, as if Nature condemned

the use of new kinds of food, and commanded them to be content with their roots."

These extracts may serve to give an idea of some of the earlier written histories of Columbus.

To return to the illustration on page 96, it may be well to add that the scenes represented on either side of the burning Psalter are copied from curious carved representations of tortures of the period of Columbus, which are preserved at the Musée of the Porte de Halle, at Brussels, Belgium.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

The portrait of Amerigo Vespucci on page 125 is, beyond question, a correct one; the fact that *all* the efforts, bearing a master's touch, whether sculptured, cast, painted, or engraved, purporting to represent him, are critically identical, would seem to vouch for its truthfulness, on the same principle as the non-similarity of all purported likenesses of Columbus would seem to prove their falsity. The late Mr. Brown, as well as the school to which he belonged, regarded it as authentic. It is believed that there is now in the United States an original portrait of this great man, painted from life by an Italian artist; that this portrait was until recently carefully preserved and much prized by the descendants of Vespucci, of which there is an *unwritten history*.

PORTRAIT IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE.

On page 150 is one of the many *pretended* portraits of the so-called Christopher Columbus; it is from an engraving in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris, and is declared by many to be genuine.

From such study of his character as we have been able to make, we incline to the belief that this *creation* is more just to the subject than any we have consulted. Here "the great navigator" is clad and adorned, so far as we may judge, in an *appropriate* manner; beneath is appended a fac-simile of that remarkable signature by which he wrote himself down "THE CHRIST-BEARER." Though a hundred would not exaggerate the list of these *pretended* portraits, we have in this work reproduced but eight, believing that as these, though dissimilar in appearance, are all declared to be genuine, the reader may as rightly judge from them as from the hundred we do not reproduce. We shall only notice, in their order, such of those comprised in this work as have been the subject of special mention or controversy.

THE CHRIST-BEARER.

The apparently somewhat irreverent illustration on page 153 is a portrait of Columbus in his self-styled character of "Christ-bearer," copied from an old religious work wherein Columbus is greatly glorified. In this scene the pious artist seems to have symbolized, as clearly as possible, the *name*, *person*, *pretended character*, *attributes*, and *mission*, of our hero. A statue similar in design adorns one of the streets of Brussels.

The DOVE, typifying the HOLY GHOST, as it appeared at the baptism of

St. John, is especially significant in connection with the subject of the engraving, who, when changing his name on abandoning his piratical career, appears to have thought that he might as well assume one which should in every way typify his pretended mission; and from the sacred symbol of the *dove*, called in Latin COLUMBA, and undergoing but slight variation in different languages, our hero not only *took his name*, but would lay claim to Divine ordination. "*He also carried the olive-branch and oil of baptism over the waters of the ocean*, LIKE NOAH'S DOVE."—(*See* FERNANDO, "Historia del Amirante," chapter i.)

BUST OF COLUMBUS AT GENOA (PAGE 151).

Thinking it might be of interest to the reader to know how the *portraits*, as well as the *character*, of Columbus are invented, we copy the following satisfactory and dogmatical mode of treating the subject by Spotorno; the italics are ours:

"Girolamo Benzone, *who, although he never saw Columbus*, speaks of him with such minuteness, that it is evident he either copied some authentic account, or derived his information from the *viva-voce* details of Spaniards who had sailed with Columbus, gives the following account: 'He was a man of reasonably good stature, of strong and active body, sound judgment, lofty understanding, and agreeable aspect; he had sparkling eyes, red hair, aquiline nose, and rather large mouth; above all, he was a friend to justice, but passionate when provoked.'

"These particulars, which I communicated to the sculptor, *directed his hand and mind;* and his production has succeeded in obtaining distinguished praise from the connoisseurs of the fine arts. *Every one possessed of a grain of understanding, after seeing this head, which expresses the living and true lineaments of the hero, will throw aside every other portrait;* and especially that engraved on wood given in the 'Eulogies' of Giovio, in which the discoverer of America is represented with a hood and prelate's gown, as if he had been a conventual friar, or a hermit of St. Augustin." (SPOTORNO, "Introduction," pages cli., clii.)

MEN WITH DOGS' HEADS, ETC.

The illustration on page 210 represents the men with dogs' heads, tails, the lions, tigers, and griffins, which Columbus professed to have seen in the Western Hemisphere.

COLUMBUS AND HIS EGG (PAGE 225).

The curious contend that the story of the egg, illustrations of which have adorned so many works of art and letters, is symbolized on the shield or arms of the Columbos, as represented on page 225. Ridiculous as this affair certainly is, it has been made to appear, perhaps with some propriety, as one of the crowning efforts of the genius of the "great navigator;" it certainly is not more absurd than many of his well-authenticated exploits, and may, on the whole, tend to elevate and adorn the character of this great man; the

fact that it was, like the log-book of Alonzo Sanchez, purloined from the dead, would seem to vindicate its fitness as an embellishment to the character of Columbus, while its *antiquity* at his birth will admirably accord with the studied confusion of dates found in most works which treat of him. His would-be canonizers, however, reject this story as trivial and absurd, and M. De Lorgues thus relegates the anecdote to its true source:

"It was with this solemn banquet (*supposed to have been given by Cardinal Mendoza*) that some have connected the anecdote of the egg, that insipid story to which the memory of Columbus probably owes its greatest popularity in Europe.

"One of the party, it is said, having asked him whether, if he had not discovered the Indies, some other person would not have done so, as his only response the admiral ordered an egg to be brought him, and proposed that it should be made to stand on one end on the table. One after the other of the guests tried in vain; then he took it, and, breaking it a little on one extremity, made it stand on the flattened one. Such, in substance, is the story as it is told. Washington Irving hesitates not to give it credit. To surpass him, no doubt, M. de Lamartine has this farce acted at the very table of King Ferdinand.

"We will not waste our time in demonstrating the absurdity of this tale, by its utter improbability. In the first place, it is without sense or wit; it proves nothing, it explains nothing. No consequence to the point can be inferred from it. It is no more an answer than it is an allusion; and presents, on the whole, but a gross piece of trickery. It was not by breaking an egg at the end, when the question was how to maintain it by its own equilibrium, that the admiral showed the cause of the discovery. It was not by this low artifice, this want of delicacy, that he would show his superiority of genius and of perseverance. Would Columbus have explained the favors with which Providence had loaded him, and justified the truth of his theory, by a juggler's trick? and, still more, by a clumsy trick, not to say an unfair one? The circumstances of time and place tend no less to contradict this silly story. Who would have dared, whether at the table of the sovereigns or at that of the grand-cardinal, to propose so impertinent a question to the Viceroy of the Indies? Who would have ventured a question that would be as disobliging as it would be disrespectful? And how could the admiral have forgotten the rules of etiquette (*supposing the 'unlettered seaman' could forget what he never knew*) to the point of giving orders to his august host, and ask that an egg be brought him? Was this sport compatible with the number and the dignity of the guests? None of the Spanish historians have mentioned such a circumstance. The Milanese Girolamo Benzoni, the only old historian who relates this miserable story, was, no doubt, unable to distinguish his former recollections from each other. At any rate, the anecdote of the egg is most positively of Italian origin; we recognize it as such, and we have every reason to believe that Columbus must have heard it from the lips of his own mother. With some probability it has been attributed to the celebrated architect Brunelleschi, by whom the church of Santa Maria del Fiore raises its cupola into the sky of Florence. Here the fact does not seem improbable, however trifling it may appear. Around a joyous table at a

tavern, Florentine artists may come to these bantering questions, to these jugglings, where jesting holds the place of reason, and where one can avail himself of 'pill and poll,' rather than of logic. At such a table we can easily conceive such a trivial trick to be played, but not elsewhere. Before us Voltaire has said that the story of the egg was related of Brunelleschi ('Essai sur les Mœurs,' chapter cxlix.). Upon this point we are entirely of his opinion."—(De Lorgues, vol. i., book i., chapter xi.)

It is curious to discover, however, that this trick, or mode of argument, did not originate even with Brunelleschi. The story of the egg is infinitely less witty, and seems to lose all point by the side of the following anecdote, which refers to a knight of the time of the Crusades: It was at Cardiff Castle, in Wales, according to an old Welsh chronicle, that Sir Foulk Fitzwarren was speaking of toils encountered and hardships endured in warring with the Saracens, and his knights murmured, and each one said he could have done as much as their chief had done. "But," said Sir Foulk, "these were nothing to one feat I accomplished." "What was that?" quoth they all. "I jumped," answered the knight, "from the ground to the top of yonder tower of my castle, which you know to be the tallest tower in these parts." So they laughed scornfully, and gainsayed his words. "If," said the knight, "you will dine with me at noonday to-morrow, I will do it once again." So every one of the knights came to the feast; and, when they had well eaten and drunken, "Now come," said Sir Foulk, "with me, and you shall see me jump from the ground to the top of the castle-tower." They proceeded to the foot of the stairs, and Sir Foulk jumped to the top of the first step, then on to another, and so on until upon the topmost step. "Oh!" said the knights, "we could do that ourselves." "So you could," said Sir Foulk, "now I have taught you the way to do it."

Thus it is that not only history, but gossip and trivial anecdote repeat themselves; verily, *there is no new thing under the sun!* As usual, in such cases as the one we speak of, the imitation falls far short of the original in pith and point.

THE MANATI.

The fish or animal in the illustration, taken from Philopono, which appears on page 227 of this work, is less apocryphal than this curious representation of it would lead us to suppose. The latter furnishes an instance of how difficult it is to delineate correctly from mere written description, or rather, perhaps, a proof of how largely the imagination was drawn upon in writing the history of the period and lands of which we treat. As the following quaint and interesting passage, however, from Peter Martyr, has apparently furnished the matter for a description of the manati (a specimen of which is now to be seen in Central Park, New York) in a late magazine for the instruction of youth, and, as the modern author, with the creature before him, has not found it necessary to deviate materially from the description given by the Italian scholar, we have thought the original might interest the curious:

"The king of this region, named Caramatexius, taketh great pleasure in fishing. Into his nets chanced a young fish, of the kind of those monsters

of the sea which the inhabitors called manati. . . . This fish is four-footed, and in shape like unto a tortoise, although she be not covered with a shell, but with scales, and those of such hardness that no arrow can hurt her. Her scales are beset and defended with a thousand knobs, her back is plain, and her head utterly like the head of an ox. She liveth both in the water and on the land, is slow of moving, of condition meek, gentle, loving to mankind, and of marvelous sense of memory, as are the elephant and the dolphin. The king nourished this fish certain days at home with the bread of the country, made of yucca and panycke, and with such other roots as men are accustomed to eat, for, when she was yet young, he cast her into a pool or lake near unto his palace, there to be fed with the hand. This lake also receiveth waters and casteth not the same forth again; it was in time past called Guarabo, but is now called the Lake of Manati, after the name of this fish, which wandered safely in the same for the space of twenty-five years, and grew exceeding big. Whatsoever is written of the dolphins of Baian or Arion are much inferior to the doings of this fish, which, for her gentle nature, they named Matum, that is, gentle or noble; therefore, whensoever any of the king's familiars, especially such as are known to her, resort to the banks of the lake and call 'Matum! Matum!' then she (as mindful of such benefits as she hath received of men) lifteth up her head and cometh to the place whither she is called, and there receiveth meat at the hands of such as feed her. If any desire to pass over the lake, and make signs and tokens of their intent, she boweth herself to them, thereby, as it were, gently inviting them to mount upon her, and conveyeth them safely over. It hath been seen that this monstrous fish hath at one time safely carried over ten men, singing and playing. But if, by chance, when she lifted up her head, she espied any of the Christian men, she would immediately plunge down again into the water, and refuse to obey, because she had once received injury at the hands of a certain wanton young man among the Christians, who had cast a sharp dart at her, although she were not hurt by reason of the hardness of her skin—being rough, and full of scales and knobs, as we have said; yet did she bear in memory the injury she sustained, with so gentle a revenge, requiting the ingratitude of him which had dealt with her so ungently. From that day, whensoever she was called by any of her familiars, she first looked circumspectly about her, lest any were present appareled after the manner of the Christians; she would oftentimes play and wrestle upon the bank with the king's chamberlains, and especially with a young man whom the king favored well, being also accustomed to feed her. She would be sometimes as pleasant and full of play as it had been a monkey or marmoset, and was of long time a great comfort and solace to the whole island, for no small confluence, as well of the Christians as of the inhabitants, had daily concourse to behold so strange a miracle of Nature, the contemplation of which was no less pleasant than wonderful. They say that the meat of this kind of fish is of good taste, and that many are engendered in the seas thereabout. But, at length, this pleasant playfellow was lost, and carried into the sea by the great river Attibunicus, one of the four which divide the island, for at that time there chanced so terrible a tempest of wind and rain, with such floods ensuing,

that the like hath not been heard of. By reason of this tempest, the river Attibunicus so overflowed the banks that it filled the whole vale, and mixed itself with all the other lakes, at which time, also, this gentle Matum and pleasant companion, following the vehement course and fall of the floods, was thereby restored to his old mother and native waters, and, since that time, never seen again."—(PETER MARTYR, decade iii., chapter viii.)

PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS (PAGE 235).

The portrait of Columbus which appears on page 235 is a faithful copy of De Bry's. While we believe, with Spotorno, that this portrait and its history are forgeries, yet it appears to possess as high claims to authenticity as any of the myriad of these creations with which the curious are familiar. Spotorno comments justly upon the false claims of this portrait, though the conclusions at which he ultimately arrives are somewhat original, if not quite logical (*see* this Appendix, notice of cut on page 151). Of De Bry he writes:

"We have no wish to conceal the fact that Theodore De Bry pretended that he possessed a portrait of the hero, the same that was to be seen in an apartment of the Council of the Indies, from which place, having been stolen, and carried to the Netherlands for sale, it came finally into the hands of De Bry, who gave an engraving of it in his 'America.' This print has been copied in the 'Eulogium of Columbus,' by the Marquis Durazzo, printed by Bodini, and in the 'Life of Bossi,' published at Milan. There are numerous reasons for impugning the authenticity of De Bry's portrait. A man who feels no remorse at stealing, and is not even ashamed to avow himself a thief, will be ready enough to tell a lie for the purpose of extorting a few ducats from a credulous amateur. The history of the Spanish painters gives no countenance to this thief's story. But what is more, on comparing De Bry's engraving with Fernando's description, it will be seen that they entirely disagree. And Baron Vernazza, having compared that of De Bry with the one published by Bullart, and that given by Muñoz, as well as the Cuccaro portrait, finds an essential discrepancy in the whole of them."—(SPOTORNO, "Introduction," pages cxlv., cxlviii.)

Of the many ridiculous stories told of these portraits, there is none less worthy of belief than that portion of De Bry's which represents *his* to be a copy of one for which Columbus sat *at the instance* of Ferdinand and Isabella. Had this been so, the vanity of Fernando Columbus would have caused him to enlarge upon it in his history, while Christopher would have added, no doubt, to his recapitulation of the royal honors conferred upon him, when exclaiming, "He called me Don," by continuing, "and asked me to sit for my portrait that he might possess a memorial of his dear friend." At any rate, his silence and that of his son on the subject may be regarded as proof positive that the story of De Bry is an invention; to enhance the value of this invention he tells us that Columbus was an extraordinary genius, and most excellent man—upright, "pure, and noble-minded, and an earnest friend of peace and justice." This last assertion will enable those

who are competent to judge of the character of Columbus, to determine the value of the statements touching his portrait.

SPANISH CRUELTIES.

The numerous illustrations of the cruelties perpetrated on the natives of the Western Hemisphere would seem to explain themselves; they are taken chiefly from the work on Spanish cruelties in the New World, by Las Casas, illustrated by De Bry.

We may quote one or two descriptions of the scenes represented; the following, on the cut on page 245, is from the work of the venerable prelate:

"They erected certain gibbets, large, but low made, so that their feet almost reached the ground, every one of which was so arranged as to bear thirteen persons, in honor and reverence (as they blasphemously and derisively said) of our Redeemer and his twelve apostles, under which they made a fire to burn them to ashes while hanging on them; but those they intended to preserve alive they dismissed, having cut their hands half off, leaving them still hanging by the skin to carry these as letters missive to those that fly from them and lie skulking in the mountains, as a warning of their fate.

"The lords, and persons of noble extraction, were usually exposed to this kind of death: they ordered gridirons to be placed and supported with wooden forks, and, putting a small fire under them, these miserable wretches by degrees, with loud shrieks and exquisite torments, at last expired. I once saw four or five of these chiefs laid on these gridirons, but the shrill clamors which were heard there being offensive to the captain, by hindering his repose, he commanded them to be strangled with a halter. The executioner (whose name and parents at Seville are not unknown to me) prohibited the doing of it, but stuffed gags into their mouths to prevent the hearing of the noise (he himself making the fire) till they died, when they had been roasted as long as he thought convenient. I was an eye-witness of these and an innumerable number of other cruelties."

The following passage in Herrera is illustrated on page 253: The Indians are carrying bread to the Spaniards, the latter "always using to carry their dogs along with them, while the Indians were busy carrying the bread to the caravel's boat; the cazique went about with a wand in his hand, hastening his people, and a Spaniard standing by, who held a dog in a chain; the dog, observing the cazique in motion, and the wand in his hand, offered several times to fly at him, so that the Spaniard could scarce hold him, and said to another, 'What if we should let him on?' No sooner had he spoke, than the other, in jest, said, 'At him!' thinking he could have held him; the dog, hearing the word, flew out with all his force, and breaking loose from the Spaniard, seized the cazique by the belly, tore out his bowels, and left him dead, the Spaniards going away to their caravel."—(HERRERA, decade i., book v., chapter ii.)

Thus did the Spaniards amuse themselves!

LAWS, SACRED AND PROFANE.

Las Casas tells us of the more lawful (?) and decorous manner of murdering the Indians for the sake of their supposed wealth. He says:

"These wicked Spaniards, like thieves, came to any place by stealth, half a mile off of any city, town, or village, and there in the night published and proclaimed the edict among themselves, after this manner: 'You caziques and Indians of this continent, the inhabitants of such a place' (which they named), 'we declare (or be it known to you all) that there is but one God, one pope, and one King of Castile, who is lord of these countries. Appear forth without delay, and take the oath of allegiance to the Spanish king, as his vassals.' So about the fourth watch of the night, or three in the morning, while these poor innocents were overwhelmed with heavy sleep, they ran violently on that place they named, set fire to the hovels, which were all thatched, and so, without notice, burned men, women, and children, and killed whom they pleased upon the spot; but those they reserved as captives were compelled, through torments, to confess where they had hid the gold, when they found little or none at their houses, and when the fire was extinguished, they came hastily in quest of the gold."

Later in the course of Spanish villainies, pious divines elaborated and rendered this proceeding more formal, as will appear from the subjoined copy. This paper was read to the Indians by the chaplains of the army, in order to justify, if not to sanctify, the slaughter about to be enacted, of persons who understood not a word of this remarkable production:

"MANIFESTO.

"I, servant of the high and mighty Kings of Castile and Leon, civilizers of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify and make known to you, in the best way I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heavens and earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you, and we, and all the people of the earth, were and are descendants, procreated, and all those who shall come after us; but the vast number of generations which have proceeded from them in the course of more than five thousand years that have elapsed since the creation of the world, made it necessary that some of the human race should disperse in one direction, and some in another, and that they should divide themselves into many kingdoms and provinces, as they could not sustain and preserve themselves in one alone. All these people were given in charge, by God our Lord, to one person, named Saint Peter, who was thus made lord and superior of all the people of the earth, and head of the whole human lineage; whom all should obey, wherever they might live, and whatever might be their law, sect, or belief: he gave him also the whole world for his service and jurisdiction; and though he desired that he should establish his chair in Rome, as a place most convenient for governing the world, yet he permitted that he might establish his chair in any other part of the world, and judge and govern all the nations, Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and whatever other sect or belief

might be. This person was denominated Pope, that is to say, Admirable, Supreme, Father, and Guardian, because he is father and governor of all mankind. This holy father was obeyed and honored as lord, king, and superior of the universe, by those who lived in his time, and, in like manner, have been obeyed and honored all those who have been elected to the pontificate; and thus it has continued until the present day, and will continue until the end of the world.

"One of these pontiffs, of whom I have spoken as lord of the world, made a donation of these islands and continents of the ocean sea, and all that they contain, to the Catholic Kings of Castile, who, at that time, were Ferdinand and Isabella, of glorious memory, and to their successors, our sovereigns, according to the tenor of certain papers, drawn up for the purpose (which you may see if you desire). Thus his Majesty is king and sovereign of these islands and continents by virtue of the said donation, and as king and sovereign, certain islands, and almost all, to whom this has been notified, have received his Majesty, and have obeyed and served, and do actually serve him. And, moreover, like good subjects, and with good-will, and without any resistance or delay, the moment they were informed of the foregoing, they obeyed all the religious men sent among them to preach and teach our holy faith; and these of their free and cheerful will, without any condition or reward, became Christians and continue so to be. And his Majesty received them kindly and benignantly, and ordered that they should be treated like his other subjects and vassals. You also are required and obliged to do the same. Therefore, in the best manner I can, I pray and entreat you, that you consider well what I have said, and that you take whatever time is reasonable to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you recognize the Church for sovereign and superior of the universal world, and the supreme pontiff, called Pope, in her name, and his Majesty, in his place, as superior and sovereign king of the islands and *terra firma* by virtue of the said donation; and that you consent that these religious fathers declare and preach to you the foregoing; and if you shall so do, you will do well, and will do that to which you are bounden and obliged; and his Majesty, and I, in his name, will receive you with all due love and charity, and will leave you your wives and children free from servitude, that you may freely do with them and with yourselves whatever you please and think proper, as have done the inhabitants of the other islands. And, besides this, his Majesty will give you many privileges and exemptions, and grant you many favors. If you do not do this, or wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that by the aid of God I will forcibly invade and make war upon you in all parts and modes that I can, and will subdue you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of his Majesty; and I will take your wives and children, and make slaves of them, and sell them as such, and dispose of them as his Majesty may command: and I will take your effects, and will do you all the harm and injury in my power, as vassals who will not obey or receive their sovereign, and who resist and oppose him. And I protest that the deaths and disasters, which may in this manner be occasioned, will be the fault of yourselves, and not of his Majesty, nor of me, nor of those cavaliers who

accompany me. And of what I here tell you and require of you, I call upon the notary here present to give me his signed testimonial."

It would be scarce possible more appropriately to close this brief mention of the inhumanity practised toward the wretched inhabitants of the New World by the Spaniards, than by quoting the following heart-rending description:

"The vast numbers employed in these mines are bound in fetters, and compelled to work day and night without intermission, and without the least hope of escape, for they set over them soldiers who speak a foreign language, so that there is no possibility of conciliating them by persuasion, or the kind feelings which result from familiar converse. . . . No attention is paid to their persons; they have not even a piece of rag to cover themselves; and so wretched is their condition that every one who witnesses it deplores the excessive misery they endure.

"No rest, no intermission from toil, are given either to the sick or maimed: neither the weakness of age nor women's infirmities are regarded; all are driven to their work with the lash, till at last, overcome with the intolerable weight of their afflictions, they die in the midst of their toil. So that these unhappy creatures always expect worse to come than what they endure at the present, and long for death as far preferable to life."

TOBACCO, SMOKING, CHEWING, SNUFF.—(*See* illustration, page 322.)

Roderigo de Jerez, and Luis de Torres, as agents or ambassadors of Columbus to the grand-khan (*see* pages 201, 202), on their return from that ridiculous mission, among other things reported that they saw the natives going about with brands of fire in their hands, together with a dried herb, which they rolled up in a leaf. Setting one end on fire, putting the other in their mouths, they drew in and puffed out the smoke; these rolls the natives called "tabaco," substantially the name by which the plant or weed is now known. The smoke was conveyed to the mouth through what they believed to be a charred stick. Las Casas tells us that the Indians, on being questioned as to this habit, informed him that it took away fatigue, and caused them to forget their troubles, and that he had known Spaniards in Hispaniola addicted to the same habit, who, when reproved, replied that it was not in their power to abandon it. He continues: "I do not know what savor or profit they found in them" (tabacos).

Fernando says: "The cazique and chief men never ceased putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and sometimes they took a sort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd."—("Historia del Amirante," chapter xcvi.)

Navarette says: "Thus was the first lesson given to Europeans of this extraordinary habit, which has become universal; hence the origin of the much-prized and far-famed Havanas."

We copy the following from "The Landfall of Columbus," by Captain A. B. Becher, R. N., F. R. A. S., etc., etc., etc., London, 1856:

"Here," says Becher, alluding to the first time Spaniards witnessed the practice, "as Las Casas observes, is the origin of smoking tobacco, a practice which, however extensive it may be in other countries (and common enough it no doubt is there), has become so general in this, that, to the discredit of parents, it is even followed by children! The eternal cigar is seen in the mouth of old and young, even in that of the ragged urchin who swaggers along, not only astonishing those who see him at his early hardihood, but leaving them to wonder how he came by it, considering the price which must have been paid for it. As already observed, it is profitable to the state, if it is indulged in at the cost of the pocket, the health, and the personal comfort of society.

"The following, from an official source, is a statement of the amount of duty derived from tobacco in the United Kingdom for the last three years:

1853	£4,560,827
1854	4,751,776
1855	4,704,663."

Between September 1, 1862, and June 30, 1872, the United States collected the sum of $200,218,837 from tobacco, and for the year ending June, 1873, $34,386,303.09.

It is therefore apparent that, if this discovery has not profited the individual, it has swelled the revenue of states. To Spain it was of far greater value than all the gold derived from the mines of which Columbus gave such extravagant accounts.

It would seem that this plant might furnish a theme for those who write upon the wealth of nations.

The illustrations on pages 148 and 328 of this work might appear to some irreverent, yet it has not been the desire of the author to perpetrate any irreverence; he has considered that the disgusting and blasphemous manner in which Columbus shielded himself behind the Deity, and declared himself divinely justified in the commission of his most revolting crimes, cannot be too forcibly or palpably presented to the eye of the reader; and, if these engravings should shock the latter, how much more will he abhor the inventor of their subjects! We feel confident that he will exonerate us from any imputation of irreverence when he shall carefully examine the statements of Columbus which these engravings were intended to illustrate. *We have not "carried the war up to the manifesto."*

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